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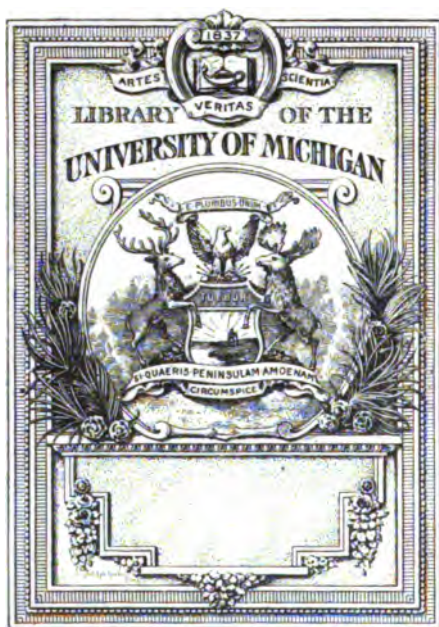
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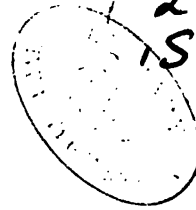


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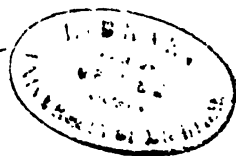
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HISTORY



OF THE

# EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

AND OF THE

## NINETEENTH

TILL THE OVERTHROW OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE.

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO

MENTAL CULTIVATION AND PROGRESS.

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# HISTORY

## OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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### CHAPTER II. (CONTINUED).

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE STATES OF EUROPE IN REFERENCE TO LIFE, MORALS AND ADMINISTRATION TILL 1755.

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#### § III.

ENGLAND, HOLLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK.

**WILLIAM IV.** was neither a hero in war nor a great man ; but he was born and trained to be the chief of a trading nation ; he was a mild, accessible, moderate and clear-sighted ruler. He never hesitated to dismiss twelve thousand troops immediately after the war, nor did he adopt any changes in the administration till he was compelled to come forward as arbitrator between the incensed people and the obstinate aristocracy, who would rather risk or lose the whole of their privileges than make any voluntary concessions. The people in all directions rose in opposition to the mode of farming the revenue and collecting the imposts, which were used as means of enriching the aristocracy, although the taxes were oppressive enough in themselves ; but the citizens and peasants were excited to madness, especially by the conduct of the old long-continued governments of the provinces and the magistrates of the towns, who monopolized the administration of the post, and used that and other institutions which properly belonged to the state as a private possession for

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the benefit of themselves and their families ; the disturbances at length (1748) extended even to Amsterdam\*.

The rich and powerful contrived to manage this revolution in such a manner that the system of taxation should undergo no material change, however oppressive it might be to the poor as affecting the prime necessities of life ; the mode of collection indeed was altered, and rendered less obnoxious and costly, but the prosperity of Holland at the same time immediately began to decline, partly in consequence of unavoidable changes which time and destiny brought about, and partly in consequence of political circumstances. The English had now gained the superiority on all coasts and in all seas ; their manufactures, commerce, trade and navigation flourished beyond example ; the Dutch could no longer enter into competition with them ; their close connexion therefore with the English government was unfavourable to their interests, and of a nature which is always ruinous to the weaker party. This had previously been made a ground of reproach against William IV. ; and after his death Holland appeared to have become completely an English province.

When William IV. began to be aware that his life was drawing towards a close, he tried to form the closest bonds of union with England, and to provide his wife, who was an English princess, with the best protection and support in the person of a prince of her own house. This was unhappily a German prince who was not accustomed to a constitution in his native land, or to any law which was binding upon the arbitrary will of princes. He was a person much better acquainted with military discipline and the use of the corporal's staff than with freedom and right, or with men who were accustomed to the privileges of citizens and set a value upon their own rights. This gave rise to unspeakable evils in the Low Countries, and

\* The four thousand inhabitants of Amsterdam, belonging to the middle classes, who revolted against their magistrate, looked to William for relief. From the name of the place at which they assembled they were called *Doelists*, and demanded in 1748 what had been previously extorted by popular tumults and resistance in other provinces and towns. 1. The post-office was to be given over to the prince, who was to employ the proceeds for the advantage of the country. 2. The abuses which prevailed in official appointments were to be remedied, and natives or naturalized citizens only were to be eligible to places in Amsterdam. 3. The body of citizens demanded to be restored to the exercise of those rights and privileges of which they had been robbed by their government.



after the American war led to the formation of a third party in Holland, who neither belonged to the aristocratic patriots, nor adhered to the old party who were favourable to a hereditary stadtholdership.

When William IV. died, he left his widow pregnant. Anticipating a long minority, he had invited prince Louis Ernest of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel to Holland in December 1750. This prince had previously served in the Austrian army as a field-marshal, and was now called to command in Holland on condition of the seven united provinces being placed under his rule during the long minority of William V. This German military prince, into whose hands the country was thus thrown, best proved by the miserable manner in which he educated William V., the ideas which he entertained of his duty, in spite of all that has been said of him by Schlözer in the thick octavo volume in which he has made him a Phocion in return for his gold. According to legal appointment indeed, the widow of William IV. was to be at the head of the government; but she and her husband had signed a formal agreement with Louis Ernest, by virtue of which he was not only to have full and unconditional command over the army during the whole period of the minority of William V., but to manage the whole affairs of the government with all the dignity and power of a stadtholder, and to watch over the well-being of the country. We shall hereafter return to this subject and point out the consequences to which these arrangements led in the Low Countries after the sudden death of William IV., which took place in October 1751. We now pass on to the northern states.

Russia, in which a system of government and administration prevailed the very opposite of the English constitution, at this time made no less rapid advances in its way than did England after its fashion. Properly speaking Elizabeth did not govern the country, but lived in the full indulgence of her inclinations; and yet Russia under her government made as much progress in civilization, power, wealth and influence as it had done under that of her father. In one point the English aristocrats completely coincided in their views with the Russian empress: they manifested an immense zeal for outward forms in religion, were devotedly attached to priestly dominion and ecclesiastical benefices, they pretended to be as full of blind faith as the multitude, and in secret laughed at all principles of morality and every

feeling of shame. The English fashionable world did not indeed venture at that time to push their forgetfulness of all duties of morality and of social virtues so far as is now the case, or as was done in Russia, that is, in a country where men who had only to do with those who were like-minded with themselves or with the superstitious and slavish multitude. In Russia no attempt was made to preserve even the appearances of social morality, but men publicly boasted of their depravity. We have already observed, that Lestocque and La Chetardie had been mainly instrumental in elevating Elizabeth to the throne; but notwithstanding this, the Russian ministry in the year 1742 demanded from Fleury La Chetardie's recal, and succeeded in their demand. In order not to appear ungrateful, the empress made so many and such valuable presents to him on his departure from Russia, that on Chetardie's arrival in Paris, the king himself thought it worth while to inspect and examine them; their value was computed at a million and half of livres.

The circumstances of the war of succession induced the French court to send La Chetardie anew to St. Petersburg, in order, in connexion with Lestocque, to form intrigues against Bestuscheff; but the latter was far superior to both, in cunning and talents. They at first tried to prejudice the empress against Austria, and incidentally against Prussia, although Frederick at this very time had negotiated a marriage between the duke of Holstein, who was next in succession to the throne of Russia, and the princess of Anhalt-Zerbst. It was pretended that lieutenant Berger, who was entrusted with the safe keeping of Löwenwolde, in his imprisonment had discovered a wide-spread conspiracy, in which the marquis Botta, who had formerly been Austrian ambassador in St. Petersburg and afterwards in Berlin, was deeply implicated, and of which the king of Prussia had been informed. The most cruel torments were inflicted upon persons of the highest distinction, in order to extort confessions and to furnish grounds for the imposition of the most horrible punishments; the whole conspiracy however was either a matter of pure invention, or at least the account of it greatly exaggerated\*. Berger, who was used as an accuser on the occasion, was however rewarded with an excellent appointment. Maria Theresa at first refused to exhibit any sign of displeasure against Botta,

\* Such at least is the opinion of the well-informed and intelligent author of the Russian favourites (Tübingen, Cotta, 1809).

who firmly denied that he had had any participation whatever in this pretended conspiracy ; but as Bestuscheff sought to avail himself of this affair to effect a reconciliation between the queen of Hungary and the empress, and to expose Frederick to double hatred, Botta willingly allowed himself to be made the scape-goat, and to be for a time banished from the court. Frederick continually protested that he knew nothing whatever of any such conspiracy as he was charged with according to some portions of Botta's letters, but still he remained suspected, and Maria Theresa satisfied the empress Elizabeth by sending Botta for some time to a fortress. He was afterwards fully indemnified by the queen for consenting to be made the sin-offering on the occasion.

La Chetardie however had scarcely returned to St. Petersburg, when he received a very sensible proof of having very much overrated his influence. Relying upon a degree of favour which he did not possess, he formed a most absurd and comprehensive plan for overthrowing the ministers, bringing about great changes in Russia, and laying a sure foundation for the preponderating influence of France. The French government was even blind and foolish enough to allow him to spend above a million of livres in Russia for the accomplishment of this most absurd plan, before he formally undertook the character of an ambassador. This revolutionary scheme was brought to light by La Chetardie's own letters ; he was cited before the empress, and although he was still French ambassador, she caused him to be arrested, deprived him of all the presents, orders and diamonds which she had previously bestowed upon him, and ordered him to be sent over the borders under a military escort (1744). Lestocque maintained his ground for four years longer, till the chancellor Bestuscheff, Riumin and general Apraxin united to effect his downfall.

The unfortunate choice of an ambassador and the personal qualities of La Chetardie and his successor D'Allion contributed no little to the useless expenditure of those immense sums which were applied by France to secure a preponderating influence at the Russian court. D'Allion and La Chetardie first of all fell publicly into such a violent and unbecoming quarrel that swords were drawn on both sides ; and the former afterwards made so mean and disgraceful a use of the privilege of exemption from duties which the ambassadors of foreign courts at that time en-

joyed, that in consequence of his misconduct the whole system was abolished. La Chetardie, as has been just related, was conveyed beyond the frontiers, and the recal of his successor was soon after urgently demanded by the Russian court, when D'Allion once more brought disgrace upon his employers by a scandalous quarrel with the secretary of the embassy, because the latter laid claim to a velvet dress which the ambassador regarded as unnecessary.

During the whole reign of Elizabeth, the government of Russia was completely in the hands of Romanzoff, Bestuscheff, and Woronzoff, who were only occasionally disturbed when one of the queen's numerous personal favourites induced her to inform herself about or interfere with public affairs. Elizabeth lived only for herself and her pleasures; she dressed like a child, changed her costume several times every day, and indulged in two degrading propensities, altogether inconsistent with an adequate degree of attention to public business. Any one who reads Wichmann's register of the singular, arbitrary and unconnected laws and decrees which were made and published but seldom observed in the time of Elizabeth, cannot fail to be astonished that there should be persons who wish to write history and found it upon such documents and similar authorities! We leave such history as can be written from documents and records to the Russian historians of all nations, because no possible danger can result from it. We shall however just as little dwell upon the private life of the empress Elizabeth as upon the secret history of Louis XV., because the former was as disagreeable and offensive as the latter. A mere notice must suffice. The court of Elizabeth consisted of the true vulgar, in the worst sense of that much-abused word. Peasants, grooms, soldiers, servants and the most dissolute people, who had once enjoyed the greatest personal favours she could bestow, were put in possession of the highest offices at court, obtained immense wealth, and were decorated with all kinds of orders. Schubin and the Rasumowskys may serve as examples.

Alexis Rasumowsky was the son of a peasant, and a chorister of the lowest class. He was created a field-marshal and finally became the rightful husband of the superstitious empress. His brother Cyrilla Rasumowsky for form's sake was sent to Berlin, that he might at least with some appearance of truth be called educated. He was then appointed president of the Academy of

Sciences, as in his nineteenth year he had been made Hetman of the Cosacks without ever having been in military service. Sievers, previously a servant and coffee-house-keeper, was in the same manner created an imperial count, and became high chamberlain under the empress Catharine. It would however lead us too far to enumerate all those who made their fortune by their mere personal advantages; and it would not reward the labour to collect a mere catalogue of names unconnected with deeds. One of the most renowned of these men was Schuwaloff, who had however as little influence in political affairs as the rest. The government was conducted wholly by Bestuscheff, who was in the pay of England and favourable to Austria, and therefore entered heartily into all those measures which contributed to promote and cherish the bad feeling of the empress towards Prussia, and which showed themselves immediately after, or more properly speaking before the peace of Aix la Chapelle, against Frederick II.

During the whole of this period, Sweden continued to suffer from those evils which usually affect ill-regulated republics, and from those which are peculiar to monarchies administered by weak-minded rulers. Foreign powers lavished their money in order to purchase the Swedish aristocracy, and the Russian, English and French ambassadors emulated each other in bribery, entertainments and expenditure. Each of these ambassadors assembled around their splendid tables and in their mansions at dinners, balls and orgies, the peculiar clients of his court; and the state councillors of Sweden, whose pride knew no limits, were not ashamed openly to sell their favour for money and entertainments. King Frederick, who in Sweden was a mere tool in the hands of the nobility, had so little concern with what was going forward, that in Hesse, where his brother William VIII., who succeeded him in the government, led the administration, he several times pursued a policy, and adopted measures precisely the reverse of those which were followed in his name in Sweden. This proceeded so far, that in the case of the subsidy treaty, which, as landgrave of Hesse, he concluded with England in the year 1741, he was obliged to send away all his Hessian attendants and courtiers from Sweden.

The Hanoverians were at that time better off than the Hessians; for George II., like his father, always endeavoured to favour the former at the expense of the English, whilst Fre-

derick continually profited by the services and exhausted the resources of his Hessians in order to uphold the shadow of a kingly dignity in Sweden. The blood-money, called subsidies, which he received for the services of his Hessians, served to aid his Swedish poverty; and his illegitimate children by Miss von Taube, which drew down upon him so many sermons, so many public and bitter reproaches, revilings and mortifications, were received among the first nobility in Germany. Like so many other natural children of the landgraves of Cassel, and like the favourites of the empress in Russia, and at the cost of the much-enduring Germans, they received large estates, and under the title of counts of Hessenstein, became the founders of a new family of German dynasts. Gyllenborg, who was then (1741) the head and support of the French party, quite publicly declared the principles which were maintained with respect to right and law by the Swedish nobility and the oligarchy, who were regularly bought and sold.

The ambassador of Mecklenburg had entered into a diplomatic intrigue, with a view to obstruct the French party which was at that time dominant, and to prevent them from carrying into execution the unreasonable plan of promoting a war with Russia. This intrigue was discovered, the ambassador's servant arrested, himself very roughly treated, and banished from the country. On this occasion the whole diplomatic corps made a formal complaint, to which representations Gyllenborg returned the following shameless reply: "The gentlemen should know, that according to the Swedish form of government, the secret committee possess the power to secure the persons of the whole councillors of state; nay, even of the king himself should they see legal cause so to do." According to this principle, the king was obliged to allow not only the ambassador of Mecklenburg to be instantaneously driven out of the country, simply on account of an attempt to maintain peace, but he was obliged, against his will, to forbid the English ambassador his court, merely that no voice might be raised against this unfortunate war with Russia. A few examples may serve to illustrate the enormities and cruelties which sprung from such a description of government.

As we have already related, the evil consequences of this ill-omened war fell upon the commanders Buddenbrock and Löwenhaupt, who were no doubt unfit for their office; they

were executed, and several of the subordinate commanders, such as major-general Dideron, colonels De la Valle and Silversparre, admiral Kronhaven, and colonel Frohberg, were punished and fined. The oligarchy were guilty of taking similar vengeance and inflicting the like punishments upon Blackwell, who was the king's physician, and whom they obstinately prosecuted; upon Springer a merchant, and Hedmann a manufacturer, to the great sorrow of the king, now weak with age. These were accused of having been desirous of bribing the king with English money, and of having purchased him to promote Danish and Russian plans. This case was judicially investigated; the most flagrant abuses came to light; all persons, and especially the heads of parties and of great families, appeared utterly unprincipled and worthless, and the suit itself was like that which was carried on against Görz in 1719. Hedmann alone was acquitted; the king was unable to save his physician; Blackwell was therefore executed, and Springer imprisoned for life\*.

The three lower estates, but particularly the clergy and peasants, began to feel such a strong dislike to the oppressive rule of the aristocracy, that the aged king, who had been suffering for three years from the effects of paralysis, was advised to found three orders of knights, to provide his successor at least with some means of bringing about or attempting a change. The kingdom became progressively poorer and poorer, the council of state increased in pretensions and pride, and the taxes grew more oppressive to the peasantry, so that in 1749 Russia was induced to extend her formal protection to that party which ensured her dominion over Sweden. The empress of Russia, who had made her relation Adolphus Frederick successor to the Swedish throne, in reality entertained very different views from those on which her ministry acted. The latter alleged, that the French party in Sweden were founding filial associations in Russia. Bestuscheff availed himself of the pretence of his connexion with Sweden, now wholly devoted to French interests, and with his partisans in Russia, to persuade the empress to

\* It may be seen how far they went to make the rights of the people an empty show, and the deputies of the estates mere accomplices and tools of the oligarchy, by observing, that Springer was accused, as of a heinous crime, for having alleged that the deputies of the assembly of estates should properly speaking be answerable only to their constituents. It was forbidden under heavy penalties even to attempt to make an application of any such principles.

adopt a severe course of action towards Lestocque. The Swedes had again assembled another body of troops in Finland, and the Russians on their part sent a small division of their army into the same province; and Panin, the Russian minister in Stockholm, was obliged to give the following public explanation, which sounded singular enough in the mouth of a Russian:—

That in Sweden there were persons who wished to introduce a despotism after the death of the present king; that this however was not the wish of the whole nation, but only of some private individuals, who thereby desired to secure themselves against an investigation into their whole course of conduct. That the empress was of opinion that such views, or the carrying out of such a plan, would be destructive of the peace of the North, and she therefore declared, that in such a case she should feel herself bound, by the treaties of 1721, 1743 and 1745, to have recourse to the best and most serviceable means of maintaining the present constitution of Sweden, and along with that the quiet of the North. This declaration, in which Denmark, then wholly dependent on Russia, was obliged to concur, was of no service to the old king, but to count Horn and his friends in the council of state. Adolphus Frederick however declared, on his ascending the throne, and afterwards kept his promise, that he had never thought and never would think of making the slightest alteration in the constitution.

King Frederick was seventy-five years old when he died (25th March 1751). The power of the oligarchy seemed to increase under his successor Adolphus Frederick. The pomp and magnificence exhibited at the funeral obsequies of the old king and the crowning of the new one seemed to be a formal insult to the poverty of the nation and the powerlessness of the king to magnify the honour of those nobles who in both ceremonies played the most distinguished parts. We leave the description of these ceremonies to others, and shall merely mention the single fact without application or remark, that the jewellery alone which was brought from Paris for the coronation was worth more than eight hundred thousand dollars. Before the coronation count Tessin read to the king the solemn act of assurance, which has been already mentioned, and which was to be confirmed by an oath. On the meeting of the diet of the nation, four and twenty



entirely new articles were brought forward, all expressly framed for the advantage of oligarchical pride and oppression, and for the destruction of that monarchical power which might serve as a protection to the people; and at the close of the diet, the king was further obliged to give a solemn assurance, that he would also faithfully and conscientiously observe these twenty-four articles.

The astonishing patience of the king was put to a severe trial in the following years by the members of the council of state, when all respect towards him was neglected even in things which should have been left entirely to his own judgement, even if he were in error. Opposition was made to him in the most unimportant things; he was reprimanded, and accused of acting in a manner inconsistent with his oath and formal declarations, of being unacquainted with the laws, and of spending too much money on buildings and pleasures; but the greatest of all his annoyances was that of being obliged to listen to the tedious and hypocritical lectures of a chancery pedant, who, as people of his class are accustomed to do, concealed his love of dominion under the cloak of morality and religion. This was the beau-ideal of our pietistic F. C. von Moser, who quotes his letters to the crown prince of Sweden as if they were a gospel, and frequently praises and blesses him in his books. This pietistic courtier, who was full of spiritual pride and attached to ecclesiastical dominion, was the president of the chancery, count Tessin, principal tutor to the crown prince, and as such author of these letters to him, whose long and tedious morality may be learnt from the writings of Moser, who was a man of a similar stamp, of the same strong faith and the same manner of writing. The king was at first unwilling to suffer these tedious and oppressive admonitions to the crown prince, in which there was contained much hypocritical and pietistic poison; and Tessin, when he found the king inaccessible to the complaints which he made against his pupil, then proposed an oligarchical commission for the investigation of the dispute. When Tessin was not allowed to print his exhortation, he resigned his office of tutor, and from that time forward, in all humility and professed piety, he continued to harass the king and to make his life miserable. The councillor of state at length went so far as to interfere with the king's peculiar prerogative, and without asking his permission, issued a command to the colonel of the royal guard who was

immediately under the king's orders, to arrest a subaltern officer, who, in obedience to the royal command, had prevented an insolent councillor of state from driving into the inner court of the palace.

In one respect the last years of the government of Frederick IV. in Denmark were happier than the first, but in another more oppressive, inasmuch as an absolute government had the complete control of life, intercourse and trade, by means of its regulations, which placed every step and movement under the immediate oversight of the police. Pomp and extravagance no longer prevailed at the court as they had formerly done; the king was frugal in his habits, and not only died without debts, but left behind him several millions in the treasury. The dread of future punishment moreover drove the old man, who had previously lived in open bigamy without any feeling of shame, to marry one of his numerous mistresses, and this marriage was more disadvantageous to the country than a new intrigue could possibly have been. King Frederick at length married the countess Reventlow, who cunningly contrived by means of the clergy to awaken his conscience, and when she became his wife proceeded to enrich herself and her relations at the expense of the poor Danes. Bishop Deichmann, of whose services she availed herself on this occasion for the purpose of alarming the king's conscience, assisted her in all her measures of violence, and both enriched themselves and their friends by the most scandalous means. The whole affair indeed was afterwards divulged, and a formal commission was appointed to investigate and report upon the subject; Deichmann and Reventlow however withdrew their heads from the noose, and allowed the whole blame to fall upon the subordinate instruments of their government, upon whom, according to the barbarous justice of those times, a series of cruel punishments were inflicted.

Christian VI. ascended the throne in October 1730. He was a pious and well-disposed man, but, like our present political economists and doctrinaires, entertained the conviction, that all trade and commerce, religion and morality, arts and sciences could be promoted and systematically regulated by decrees and laws, and that therefore writing and decreeing ought to be the chief business of those who rule. Many admirable things were no doubt decreed under the pious government of a king, who wished to establish and uphold religion, morality, and the pro-

prieties of life, through the instrumentality of barbarous and cruel laws. We shall however in a spirit of warning point out the mistakes, and briefly relate what took place in Denmark when the pious Christian VI. and his court preacher Blume cooperated in giving such proofs of their zeal for God and for Lutheranism. In order not to do injustice to the king, who was in reality a pious man, and rendered many important services to the country by the establishment of schools and institutions for education and the promotion of science, but who was at the same time very limited in his views, we must expressly mention, that the decrees and regulations about to be related were contemporaneous with similar ones which were made by Frederick William of Prussia, or which were at least published a very few years after his death. In three successive years the king published an ordinance, that whosoever did not attend upon divine service either in the morning or the afternoon of the Sunday, should either be punished by fine, or be *exposed on the pillory*. At the same time an order was issued to the clergy in the year 1743, that they should pay strict attention to the behaviour of the soldiers who were quartered in the towns, and furnish minute reports of what they observed. In order to guard against all instances of public rudeness, the outbreaks of ignorance, and even jesting or scoffing remarks upon what was absurd in theology, they had recourse to a law against all offences committed even by word, which we should regard as a thing altogether unheard of, had not the French doctrinaires, that is philosophical despots, published a similar ordinance in our own days\*. And further, according to the laws which sprung from this over-righteous legislation, murder and all attempts at murder were to be punished in such a manner, that every man of common sense and feeling must feel a greater degree of abhorrence for christian legislators of this class, than for Chinese or barbarian rulers†. All public amusements, theatrical exhibitions and concerts were to give way to prayers and psalms, and all entrance into the kingdom was strictly for-

\* All royal officers, heads of families, and innkeepers, are commanded, under pain of heavy penalties, to point out and deliver up all those who are guilty of blasphemy, swearing, and abuse of God's word by ridicule, or otherwise.

† Such persons were condemned to be publicly flogged by the common executioner with twenty-seven stripes for nine weeks successively; afterwards to be *racked from the feet upwards, and without receiving a finishing stroke to their torments, to be bound alive upon the wheel!!!*

bidden to play-actors, violinists, jugglers and rope-dancers; whilst the greatest exertions were ordered to be made for the promotion of christian missions. There can be no doubt but that the unreasonable though well-intended zeal of the king and his friends for the conversion of the Greenlanders led to the most astonishing sacrifices, made by pious and honourable men for the well-being of their fellow-creatures and the promotion of their highest interests. In this case the court at least set a good example to the people, which is very seldom the case where what is called piety is in the ascendant, and the higher classes in Denmark at that time in general gave much less offence by their conduct than those of the other kingdoms of Europe. The Danish government, not only under this, but the following king, was highly favourable to the establishment of institutions for education, and promoted the extension of that species of literature and science, which was not merely splendid and ornamental, but of immediate advantage; they did not pay a fashionable, distinguished and conceited body of professors, and allow the schoolmasters to starve or beg, as the Hanoverian aristocracy did, but they carefully cherished the cause of general education. The landowners hesitated and delayed; but they found themselves at length compelled to give a decent remuneration to the schoolmasters belonging to the villages on their estates, and to furnish them with comfortable dwellings; and even in neighbourhoods in which the houses lay widely apart, provision was made for the instruction of the children. We should notwithstanding be disposed to ascribe the increase of trade, of manufactures and commerce, which took place under this and the following reigns, much more to the progressive prosperity of the people at large, to the long-continued peace, and to the advantages which resulted to the Danish and Norwegian trade whilst other seafaring nations were at war, than to the singular laws and ordinances of Christian VI. and Frederick V. Both rulers, or rather their ministers, published all sorts of decrees, sometimes in favour of home manufactures, and sometimes with a view to the strictest exclusion of articles of foreign manufacture; but as many things were not manufactured in the country which at that time were indispensable, and others were only to be had at a much higher price and of a much inferior quality at home, this wisdom soon proved to be the sheerest folly. The pious Christian was moreover compelled to such heavy expenditure by the changes in

Russia and Sweden, by the danger which impended over Holstein from the Grand Duke by plans of restoring the Scandinavian kingdom, notwithstanding the assistance which he received from English subsidies, in which he also shared, that he left debts behind him to as large an amount, as he had found cash in the treasury on his accession to the government\*.

Much more was done in Denmark under the reign of Frederick V., who succeeded his father in 1746, for the arts and sciences, for learning and learned men, for religious poetry and the poets of the German nation, than in the celebrated Prussian Paris. We shall not inquire whether too much was not done, but certain it is that the whole of Europe was divided between admiration of the somewhat extravagant, but antiquatedly pious and christian government of the Danish king, Frederick V., and the philosophic, but often niggardly and antichristian king, Frederick II. of Prussia. Frederick V. moreover was pious without being monkish; he therefore again gave permission for the holding of balls, assemblies and receptions at court, and no longer forbade public amusements. The people not only took delight in the pieces of their national poet (Holberg), but the cavaliers, who were in the ascendant under Frederick, did all in their power to urge this well-meaning and amiable king to play the character of a Louis XIV., who, as is well known, was always the model of all chivalric sovereigns, and has again become so in our own days. French actors were brought to Copenhagen, Italian operas were introduced, and nobility, titles, orders, and along with them envy, pride and meanness, increased; during the twenty years of Frederick's government, the peasant remained the bondaman of his feudal superior, and wholly without property in the land which he tilled. In this reign much was done for the learned as well as for the nobility. Michaelis and all Göttingen were loud and long in its praises of the king of Denmark, who, to please them and to promote the explanation of the Bible, caused an expensive journey to the East to be undertaken; foreign poets, men of learning and artists, were induced to settle in the country and munificently pensioned; Cramer, Klopstock, Sturz, Schlegel, Oeder, Kratzenstein, Mallet, and other men of learning made a splendid figure; but in the midst of all their trumpeting and flattering commendations, we may ask, from whence came

\* Büsching's Magazine states the amount at 2,378,005 dollars; but we learn from Krag Host's *Life of Christian VII.*, that under Frederick V: the debt had amounted to the sum of 26,000,000 dollars.

the money? Misery, poverty and filth were concealed in the squalid huts of the peasants, whilst Klopstock's ode to the king, to whom the Messiah was dedicated, was known all over the world. Artists and scholars, architects, and the splendour of well-paid officials, were announcements and signs of a golden age. In fact Denmark was rich in adepts in that science, which is still as exclusively cherished in our poor Germany as it was formerly by the alchymists. Schimmelmann, minister of finance, made so many good speculations for himself, that no one could entertain a doubt of his skill in financial affairs; and along with him the high chamberlain Adam Gottlieb Moltke, and the vice-chancellor Erich Pontoppidan, renowned as a political economist, proved themselves no less able masters in the science of money-getting. The two last-mentioned men were trained quite in the spirit of our times, *i. e.* they endeavoured to create a species of prosperity which may dispense with frugality; and they were therefore renowned patrons of the physical sciences, of natural history, and of political economy.

Unhappily the system of such fools as connect the splendour of the throne and the extravagance of rulers with an advantageous operation upon the industry of the subjects was perseveringly followed. Seventy-four families were ennobled during the twenty years of this reign, and consequently, as the phrase is, the throne was surrounded with new splendour; but the revenues of the kingdom were quite disproportioned to this expenditure, and to the large incomes of the high officers of state. Noble and much-admired buildings were raised in Copenhagen; Frederickstadt or Amalienburg sprang up as if by magic; but we may ask, whence the means were to be derived in this poor and miserable country for the maintenance of those buildings, for the luxury and revelry of the great and the small by whom they were inhabited, for their costly apparel, feastings and dwellings? Notwithstanding all this, however, no one will deny that this little state made bold and rapid progress.

Count Bernstorff, who was merely renowned under the reign of Frederick by the highly equivocal eulogies of men of learning and poets, afterwards gained for himself a true and immortal reputation under Christian VII., the crown of humanity and the blessing of all good men, by accomplishing the freedom of the peasants from their feudal bondage, and his name must ever be pronounced with honour along with that of Wilberforce. The elder Bernstorff, the uncle of him who was afterwards celebrated

as a great minister, had in his youth made the celebrated tour of Europe under the guidance of Keyssler, of which the latter has given such an interesting and admirable description, that we perceive at the first glance it was no ordinary fashionable journey. Bernstorff was no mere distinguished travelling fop, and his companion was the very opposite of those who are usually selected as companions for young men of family and distinction. In the reign of Frederick V. Bernstorff had already commenced his plans, and made an attempt at a division of the common lands on an estate in Zealand, which was presented to him by the king, in order to give the peasants some acres of their own: the queen dowager, upon the recommendation of count Günther von Stolberg, had even given the right of property, in the tene-ment of which he was the occupant, to every peasant upon her estate of Hirschholm. A commission was appointed in order to promote the division of common properties, whose president count Moltke had shown himself in various ways favourable to the peasants on his estates, and especially in reference to compulsory services. During this reign however several hundred families of the peasants were destroyed, several thousand free peasants reduced to the condition of feudal slaves by the alienation of the estates of the crown, the diminution of the number of peasants' estates, and the increase of those of the nobles and great landowners. Many of those who had shares in the common lands strongly opposed the decrees for their division, and many of the endeavours of honourable and good men, who wished to set their subjects free from compulsory services, failed of success, because the latter were unable to provide for that moderate re-payment which was to be made as a compensation for labour.

The same holds good with respect to finances, notwithstanding all the noise which was made about trade, and the skilful operations of count von Schimmelmann, the Ouyard of the seven years' war. Great sums of money were consumed not only in magnificent buildings, academies, hospitals, botanic gardens, and places of amusement, but the difficult negotiations with Sweden, Holland and Russia demanded a large secret expenditure, to make no mention of what was public. We cannot therefore be surprised that the debts of the kingdom amounted to twenty-four millions of dollars; but it is nevertheless much to be able truly to affirm, that everything was effected under this reign which was feasible and good.

## § IV.

## ELECTORAL SAXONY, AUSTRIA, GERMAN PRINCES.

In the seventeenth century, and afterwards in the eighteenth, till the end of the seven years' war, Electoral Saxony was condemned to suffer all the evils which result from a weak government. The good Saxons however may console themselves with the knowledge of the fact, that the Hessians were no better off in the whole of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth century, under the rule of a strong government. Brühl was allowed without hindrance to dispose of everything at his pleasure; the king knew nothing of what was going forward in public affairs, nor did he wish to be annoyed by business. Things at length came to such a pass, that a colonel ventured to disregard Brühl and to tell the king that the whole army had now been fifteen months without pay, upon which the latter fell into a most vehement passion, and exhibited the bitterest vexation. He was notwithstanding too phlegmatic to investigate the case himself, and Brühl contrived to deceive the indolent and good-humoured king by a most scandalous artifice; the monarch suffered himself to be persuaded that the colonel was an enemy of the minister, and wished to sacrifice him to his vengeance, although all Saxony could bear witness to the truth of the allegation. Whilst the soldiers remained without pay and the whole country was suffering from distress, the son of the prime minister was pursuing his travels in Europe, surrounded with a more numerous retinue and indulging in a more extravagant expenditure than a royal prince.

Circumstances such as these deterred every one from wishing to open the king's eyes to the real state of affairs, and even the queen and the crown princess were afraid to venture on such a step, with however great vehemence and indignation they frequently expressed themselves with respect to Brühl and his expenditure. The despotism moreover was phlegmatic as well as the persons who exercised it; cruelties were not practised, but Königstein, Sonnenstein, and Pleissenburg were for twenty-four years long filled with state prisoners. Some opinion however may be formed of the quiet and patient sufferings of the faithful and long-enduring Saxons from a few incidents selected from the



occurrences of the time, without going into general details. The officers and attendants of Brühl's household were always well and regularly paid, whilst the officers of the king's army were obliged to accept notes payable by the collectors of the taxes instead of cash, if they did not wish absolutely to starve, and on these notes they were obliged to lose three-fourths, or sometimes seven-eighths of their nominal value. On the extinction of the Weissenfels collateral branch of the Saxon house, the estates and principality of Querfurt fell to the share of the electoral house; Brühl and his lackey Hennike, who always retained the manners of his former mean station, and in this way formed a foil to the brilliants of his courtly master, did not fail to turn the circumstance to their advantage, and to use this part of poor Saxony as their domain. All the crown lands and royalties which had been at any time, however remote, alienated by this family were recalled, and as the most learned jurists of the day proved, with perfect justice, numbers of families were plunged into misery, and the owners of these estates, who had long been in quiet and peaceable possession, were utterly ruined. They proceeded in the affair according to law as interpreted by a pettifogger, Brühl drew the money, and the jurists enjoyed the honour of the transaction. The unfortunate people, who were now forcibly driven out of possessions of which they had been so many years in enjoyment, in vain applied to the authorities of the principality, and these again to the king (1749); the whole town of Weissen-see was threatened with destruction. The unfortunate inhabitants, who could not live without the possession of the lands which had been formerly allotted for their use by their rulers, promised 20,000 dollars, and paid them by efforts and sacrifices which almost reduced them to despair. The petitions of the poor people at length reached and touched the compassion of the king, who commanded 8000 dollars of their money to be returned to them; this was nearly all clear gain for Brühl. He placed 8000 dollars to the king's account, and paid the poor people with tax-notes which were not in reality worth one thousand.

There can be no better proof of the industry, domestic habits, frugality, prudence and education of the Saxon branch of the great German family, than the possibility of again reviving prosperity in Saxony, of maintaining the cause of learning and science, and of preserving their feeling of attachment to their rulers after the period of Brühl's administration, and the harsh oppressions

of Prussia during the seven years' war. The oppression was so severe, that immediately after the peace of Dresden, the larger houses in Leipzig were obliged to pay from two to six hundred dollars in direct taxes, and on many of the freehold estates two dollars were extorted in the form of contributions, for every morgen of land consisting of one hundred and twenty square rods, which it would have been difficult to let for the same amount. The government was in reality neither conducted by Brühl nor his colleagues, but by the secretaries of the prime minister, of whose modes of management a contemporary and eye-witness has furnished us with the following report:—The secretaries, he observes, provide for the due management of everything; count Brühl is, however, every morning informed of what is about to be submitted to the king. When he has made himself acquainted with the business of the day, he goes to court from ten till half-past eleven o'clock, and during this time is continually engaged in running from one end of the palace to the other, with his hands full of papers. From court he is first driven to the countess Maszinska, and then home to his palace to dinner. About three he joins the king either in a drive, in hunting, or shooting at a mark. From seven till eight in the evening he again appears at court, and from thence returns to his palace, where the evening is either spent in society or in theatrical amusements.

The true causes of the decline of manufactures, of the want of credit, and failures in trade were obvious to every one, and yet the government ventured to propose to the estates the appointment of a committee of commerce, consisting of Brühl's creatures, who were to receive three hundred thousand dollars yearly for conducting an investigation into the causes of this decline. This indeed the estates refused, but they were unable to prevent the progressive accumulation of the national debt, which continued rapidly to increase, till in 1750 it amounted to more than thirty thousand dollars; at the same time the contributions from land reached a much higher sum under this than under the preceding government. The country was subject to the exorbitant exactions of the college of the exchequer, and notwithstanding this very college was now appointed judge in its own cause. The estates protested in vain by earnest and often-repeated representations against this unheard-of species of justice, which constituted the all-consuming exchequer the judge of the reasonableness of its

own demands; and the ordinary course of justice and right was not re-established till after the seven years' war, and during the reign of the second successor of king Augustus. Brühl's government, which was carried on by his pages, was no less contemptible for its management of foreign affairs, than for the direction of the internal administration.

The Saxon army was reduced as much as 30,000 men, in order to secure money for the most ridiculous expenditure, at a time when Saxony was harassed and injured in every way by Prussia, and every one foresaw the near approach of a new war. The papers which Frederick II. took away from the Saxon archives and caused to be printed, the repeated declarations of Russia in favour of Saxony, and an article in the treaty made with Austria in the year 1746 directed against Prussia, were less calculated to prove what Prussia wished to establish by their publicity, than to show the senseless and absurd intrigues which were carried on by Brühl. It appears however, from the words of the French minister for foreign affairs, that Brühl had long entered into a close alliance with Russia and Austria, and had used all possible means to induce France also to enter into a combination against Prussia. We borrow the passage from a copy of the secret instructions which were given to the French ambassador immediately after the peace of Aix la Chapelle. The attention of the ambassador the marquis de Hautefort, when he was about to set out on his splendid embassy to Vienna in 1750, was especially directed to two points, on which he was to make no concessions: these were the reunion of Silesia with Austria, and the election of the king of the Romans; and in reference to the first it is observed, that *Saxony had been intriguing for two years at the French court for the promotion of the views of Austria\**.

A very different course was pursued in Austria from that which was followed in Saxony. Maria Theresa, with all the vigour of a clear understanding with which she was endowed by nature, and a thoroughly good inclination, was zealous for

\* The document will be found in the archives of the office of foreign affairs, *Autriche*, Vol. des Correspondances, No. 241: "La cour de Vienne ne perd point de vue le projet de recouvrer le plutôt qu'elle pourra ce qu'elle a cédé malgré elle dans le cours de la dernière guerre. Cet objet lui tient tellement à cœur, que soit par elle-même soit par la cour de Dresde elle a fait faire au roi depuis 1745 jusqu'en 1748 plusieurs propositions de paix particulière et des offres même d'abandonner à la France quelques places des Pays-Bas Autrichiens pourvu que S.M. voulût bien," &c. &c. &c.

the improvement of everything which was capable of improvement, without interfering with the essence of the Austrian institutions and the power of the nobility. She was obliged to be sparing of the high nobility, to whom she was under many obligations, and she therefore suffered a crazy administration to continue in office, which was composed of pedants and men who were deeply skilled in the dead and tasteless folios of German and Roman law, as well as in all the forms of administration and ceremonies ; but she bestowed her own confidence upon count Kaunitz-Rittberg alone, who was a man of distinguished abilities.

Before the beginning of the seven years' war, the army, finances and administration of justice had been completely remodeled. In the times of Charles VI. the courtiers and employés formed an army of forty thousand men, whose support cost the country ten millions ; the number of the recipients from the public funds was computed in all at somewhat about sixty thousand. The good emperor Francis I. was thoroughly acquainted with trade, economy and house-keeping, and his wife, who in other respects carefully maintained her own privileges in the administration of the government, entrusted him with the reform of the public finances, even in her own hereditary dominions. This he fully accomplished ; but in consequence of his mercantile talents, the king of Prussia made him the butt of his keen and malicious wit. Frederick scoffingly said of him, that he had entered into a partnership with Bolza, and in connexion with him had undertaken to farm the Saxon taxes ; and that, in connexion with Schimmelmann, he had formed contracts for the supply of powers which were actually at war with his wife. Francis first subjected the whole department of the kitchen and buttery to revision, checked or put an end to innumerable and almost incredible abuses ; he then limited and reformed the mode of contracts and dismissed whole crowds of useless idlers. In this way millions were saved, and his wife, without paying any attention to the jealousy which was exhibited by the high nobility and her ministers at the interference of a foreigner, as they said, with their affairs, entrusted him also (1747) with the duty of reforming the manner of collecting the revenue. Multitudes of useless officials were dismissed, and twelve millions of florins yearly were saved to the state. Notwithstanding all these reforms, Austria would not have been able to continue

the war without the aid of supplies from England and Holland, for at that time the credit of the continental states was so low, that Maria Theresa (1746) was obliged to have recourse to Turkish usages to raise a sum of seventeen millions. A poll-tax was imposed, which every one, or as it is expressed in the ordinance, all, from the minister to the stable-boy, from the archbishop to the sexton, were obliged to pay, the mendicant orders of monks and common soldiers alone being excepted. The applotment of the tax furnishes us with some idea of the manner in which this Turkish imposition was raised : a prince was assessed at six hundred florins (£50), a peasant at forty-eight kreutzers (1s. 4d.), and a day labourer at twelve.

Many improvements had been introduced into the military department by Khevenhüller during the war, and in the course of its prosecution many officers had been appointed to high and important offices, who would not have attained those honours according to the usual course of things ; the reforms in the practice and arrangements of the army were postponed till after the conclusion of the war. An increase of the standing army was the first object to be effected, and count Haugwitz succeeded, in 1748, in having the number of troops fixed at two hundred thousand, instead of the half of that number, which had never been completed in the time of Charles VI. ; and the sum appropriated to the maintenance of the troops was raised from ten to fifteen millions of florins. In the following year (1749) the queen ventured, as far as the machinery of the Austrian state possibly allowed, or as far as it could be done without the ministry, to change the whole system of the administration of justice and the police, to separate these from the proper business of the state and from foreign affairs, and to entrust those departments to persons specially appointed for that purpose. The whole war department was completely reformed, and a new commissariat appointed, which if it was not much better than that by which it had been preceded, was at least much less costly. With respect to the discipline and training of the troops, count Daun completed what had been commenced by Khevenhüller, and aided by major-generals Von Winkelmann and Radicati, introduced a new system of drill and manœuvres which was founded on the Prussian model. All these new arrangements were opposed to the abuses of the middle ages, but according to the spirit of the time ; they were nevertheless strictly monar-

chical, and founded upon the principle of centralization ; this however was beneficial to the people, because trade and industry were thereby promoted, and the intolerant rule of the lesser barons was greatly limited. It was impossible to deprive the high privileged families of the right of occupying all the first official situations ; but an attempt was made to compel them to acquire the necessary knowledge for their administration, and to yield obedience to the laws : it was impossible, nor was it desired to root out superstition, but the political power of the clergy was greatly diminished.

Knightly academies and institutions of education were erected for the instruction of the ignorant nobility, from which the citizens in general were excluded, and the Hungarian nobles were rewarded after a peculiar fashion for their sacrifices and adherence to the cause of the queen during the war. A Hungarian guard was formed whose members were to serve without pay, but as a compensation they were to have a claim on the occupation of all the higher appointments. We make no mention here of the improvements in the schools for the education of the people, because these took place at a later period. The Protestants of the hereditary states remained in a very oppressed condition ; they applied indeed, but without advantage, to the imperial commission for the protection of Protestants (*Corpus Evangelicorum*), emigrated in great numbers, and were settled by the empress in Hungary and Transylvania. The power of the pope was notwithstanding much less in Austria than in Bavaria, the Palatinate and Cologne ; the Jansenists were protected against papal persecution, and the number of holidays was considerably diminished.

The relation of the empress to her ministry was singular enough up to the time in which Kaunitz undertook the management of affairs. Like Louis XIV., she carried on a variety of negotiations with which her ministers were wholly unacquainted, and possessed confidants who made the former ridiculous. The empress was indeed wiser and more fortunate in the choice of her confidential advisers than Louis ; for even Frederick II. did justice to the merits of Kaunitz. When count Kaunitz came from Aix la Chapelle to Vienna, the conference ministry as it was called, and of which he was the fifth and the last member, consisted of Colloredo, vice-chancellor of the empire, count Uhlefeld, chancellor of the state, field-marshal count Königseck,

high steward and president of the council, and field-marshal Batthiani, lord steward of the archduke Joseph. These four noblemen represented the aristocratic power of the empire, whilst the actual business, which properly belonged to Uhlefeld, was performed by Bartenstein, who was secretary of state. Although Bartenstein had been chief of the administration under Charles VI., and also in the commencement of the reign of Maria Theresa, he soon lost the respect of the empress, because he was a stiff pedant, nor was he esteemed in Vienna, because he did not belong to an aristocratic family.

Bartenstein had lost the favour and respect of the empress even before Blondel, the first French commissioner, arrived in Vienna, because Kaunitz, then the fifth and youngest of the cabinet ministers, had already convinced her of the advantage of a close alliance with France. For the illustration of this fact, we shall have recourse to Blondel's papers, which are deposited in the French archives of foreign affairs\*. This point is referred to by Blondel in a letter† dated the 29th of December 1748, and in the following spring he took all possible pains to persuade Kaunitz to undertake the splendid embassy to France which had been offered him‡. Kaunitz takes good care not to

\* The letters to which we refer will be found in the French archives, under the title '*Autriche*,' No. 241-256, fifteen volumes, and the correspondence runs from the year 1749 till 1756. No. 242 contains Blondel's letters, who, as consul or secretary to the embassy, was obliged to report everything which was connected with the peace of Aix la Chapelle, before Hautefort was sent on his splendid embassy to Vienna. Blondel's first negotiations and correspondence relate to Northern affairs, and the tedious withdrawal of the Russians from the Rhine. In his instructions he was warned against Colloredo, because he was in close alliance with the elector of Mayence; Uhlefeld is stated as being favourable to the maintenance of peace, and Bartenstein as having lost all his influence.

† No. 241. "La charge de grand maître n'est pas encore donnée. Parmi quelques autres prétendants on parle beaucoup de M. le comte d'Uhlefeld qui seroit remplacé à ce qu'on croit par M. le comte de Kaunitz à son retour de France. Tout le monde convient unanimement que personne ici n'est plus capable que le comte de Kaunitz de bien remplir le poste qu'occupe aujourd'hui le comte d'Uhlefeld et l'on prétend que malgré son peu de santé il ne s'éloigneroit point du tout de l'accepter."

‡ Blondel writes in May 1749: "Je l'ai sondé pour l'ambassade de France. Il ne m'a point caché qu'il en avoit été question, mais qu'il m'avouoit qu'il s'étoit tant dérangé dans ses différentes ambassades et qu'ayant famille, il craignoit de se ruiner. Qu'il sentoit cependant fort bien que tant pour la perfection de l'ouvrage d'Aix la Chapelle que pour rétablir la confiance intime qui doit être entre les deux puissances et nettoyer une quantité d'affaires où des commissaires subalternes ne feroient qu'occasioner des aigreurs et des méfiances par différens intérêts particuliers ou par l'ignorance, il seroit du

say a word to the ambassador of the French ministry of what he had already accomplished in the king's bed-chamber. He says nothing of his having made complete arrangements for carrying on the negotiations directly with Pompadour, and of his having, in connexion with the empress, left the long wigs of the cabinet ministers to the undisturbed quiet of their own dust. Kaunitz made all sorts of difficulties and hesitation about the expense to which he would necessarily be subjected in Paris as ambassador of the Austrian court, and appealed to the great sums which this position had cost prince Lichtenstein. The French minister therefore goes minutely into the consideration of the pecuniary affair\*.

Kaunitz and her secretary Koch had great influence with Maria Theresa. The empress assured Blondel in his first audience, that in the last war, as well as during the peace, she had been forsaken both by England and Holland, that she was very much dissatisfied with both powers, and regretted deeply that in 1741 she had not sent her secretary Koch sooner to Frankfort, for that thereby France would have been saved many millions of money and many thousand men. Koch was employed for the actual performance of those duties which, properly speaking, should have been performed by the proud and narrow-minded chancellor Uhlefeld, whose dullness and incapacity the empress, according to the French minister, was accustomed to ridicule. She called him always *le bon homme*. Kaunitz moreover, as it appears from Blondel's own report, showed himself in his intercourse with him to be a master in his art, and notwithstanding his pride, he was eminently successful in attaching to his cause those whom he used, and ready to sacrifice his pride to his policy. When he saw at what immense expense and with what lofty pretensions the marquis de Hautefort entered upon his office of ambassador, he willingly relinquished

bien et de l'intérêt des deux cours qu'il ne consultât pas si scrupuleusement sa situation."

\* He states that he had persuaded Kaunitz to undertake the embassy, and told him that an Austrian ambassador in Paris was not called upon to spend the half of that which was necessary for a French minister in Vienna, and especially if he took with him "sa vaisselle, son linge de table, ses chevaux et ses vins de Tokay de Hongrie et déjà sa maison montée. Il m'a paru très-ébranlé et en riant il m'a dit qu'il verroit cela lorsqu'il en seroit question, qu'effectivement il avoit été épouvanté par les mémoires et les rapports du prince de Lichtenstein qui prétend avoir mangé en France dans son ambassade deux millions cinq cent mille florins, qui font de notre monnaie six millions trois cent mille livres."



the unsubstantial ceremony and etiquette, in order to obtain what was substantial and real\*.

The French minister of foreign affairs was highly displeased with Blondel, when Frederick II. complained that the former when in Vienna had suffered himself to be completely won over to the cause of Austria, as had been repeated to him by his ambassador count Podewils; but Louis XV. entertained at that time a very different opinion from that of his minister. It may be best seen from Blondel's self-complacent reports, what pains were taken by Kaunitz and Maria Theresa, before the arrival of the marquis de Hautefort, to win over Blondel and Louis XV., who even in the greatest affairs only sought the most trifling ends. The archduchesses played trifling French comedies before a very limited circle, and Blondel relates that the papal nuntio, the Venetian, English and Dutch ambassadors, and himself were the only persons invited to be present. The empress was no sooner declared to be again *enceinte*, than it was stated, that in case of the birth of an archduke the king of France was to be invited to become godfather. In order to confer a favour upon the marquis de Hautefort even before he set out on his embassy to Vienna, Kaunitz took means to compel the king of France to bestow upon him the most honourable orders, by pretending to be offended at the court of France for sending a man to Vienna who had not administered the very highest offices in the state, as was the case with him who was appointed to be Austrian ambassador in Paris. Kaunitz stated his opinions upon this subject to Blondel, who communicated them word for word to the ministry in Paris. At the conclusion of a long explanation of his opinions, Kaunitz came at length to what he had properly in view, and said, the marquis de Hautefort, like himself, no doubt belonged to one of the first families, but instead of having been for a long time a cabinet minister, he had only been a brigadier general (*maréchal de camp*), and that it would therefore be necessary at least to distinguish him by bestowing upon him the broad riband of the first order (*cordon bleu*†).

\* It appears from the documents from which we here draw our materials, that in speaking of the sum which it was necessary to appropriate to the marquis's embassy, Richelieu, when in Vienna in the years 1737-38, had had an income of 83,000 livres, furniture 20,000, and for the expenses of his entry into the city 99,000. The marquis de Mirepoix: salary, 82,500; furniture, 20,000; ten months' maintenance before his departure, 68,000; presents, 99,000. The marquis demanded for 1750 from 220,000 to 230,000 livres.

† The order of the Holy Ghost.

On this occasion the empress and Kaunitz showed how much they were superior to those stiff and punctilious nobles who rigidly adhered to existing usages, by despising those difficulties which were raised by the Austrian ministry about mere questions of ceremony and etiquette in the reception of the new French ambassador. An embassy of honour was no sooner spoken of, than Colloredo and Uhlefeld handed in a long memoir in which the ancient usages were minutely detailed, and their observance insisted upon on this occasion; the empress however sent her confidential friend Kaunitz secretly to Blondel to tell him not to suffer himself to be led astray, for that they would take care that all such changes should be made as would be agreeable to his court\*. The same plan was pursued with her confidential explanations. Uhlefeld, true to his habits, expressed his opinions with respect to the relations with Russia in the most obscure and indefinite manner, whilst Kaunitz was open, clear, and determined†; he secretly arranged the whole affair with Blondel, and nothing remained to Uhlefeld but to receive from the mouth of the empress what, according to his fashion, he was afterwards to commit to writing. The official instructions which were given to the new French ambassador by the ministry (1750) prove that the French ministers were just as little acquainted with the wishes of Pompadour and their king, as the Austrian ministers were with those of Maria Theresa and Kaunitz. The French ambassador was expressly for-

\* Blondel writes, "L'impératrice m'a fait recommander par le comte Kaunitz, de ne point parler au comte de Colloredo ni au comte d'Uhlefeld de la commission qu'il a exécuté de sa part près de moi." He first informs the minister on the 25th of February 1750 of the subject to which this commission referred: "Je n'eus pas le tems de vous rendre compte, que le comte de Kaunitz m'avoit confié, que ce même *Promemoria sur le cérémoniel* avoit été d'abord dressé par le baron de Bartenstein fort ample et fort diffus, fondé sur le droit public dont il rapportoit les citations et les autorités sans nombre. Que sur la lecture qui en avoit été faite à la conférence lui, comte de Kaunitz, avoit représenté à l'impératrice que cette forme ne convenoit pas vis-à-vis du roi, dont elle devoit chercher le concours par des expositions simples qui puissent toucher sa justice. Qu'en conséquent l'impératrice l'avoit chargé de refondre ce *Promemoria* et d'en abstraire toutes les citations et autorités de droit. Qu'il n'avoit pas pu le rendre plus clair qu'il n'est, parcequ'il ait été gêné par le canevas. Si S. M. a de la condescendance pour les désirs de cette cour au sujet du cérémoniel j'ai lieu d'être persuadé que réciproquement cette cour ne se refusera pas aux augmentations d'honneur que S. M. demandera pour ses ambassadeurs."

† Blondel writes on the 13th of May 1750: "J'ai informé le comte de Kaunitz de la manière dont M. le comte d'Uhlefeld s'est expliqué avec moi sur les affaires du Nord. *Il en a levé les épaules* en me disant, qu'il ne falloit l'attribuer qu'à son caractère boutonné, mais que je devois m'en tenir à ce qu'il m'en a conté lui-même."

bidden to enter upon any discussion which could have any bearing upon the question of the restoration of Silesia.

Every means was employed to give pomp and splendour to the embassy, which was undertaken by Kaunitz with a view completely to gain the favour of the French court and Pompadour. Blondel was informed of all that was passing, and did not omit sending the most minute accounts of the preparations to Paris. He was astonished at the number of attendants' liveries and carriages which Kaunitz had provided in Vienna, and yet he travelled first to Aix la Chapelle, expressly with the design of completing his outfit in that city. He afterwards pursued his journey from Aix accompanied by a considerable number of gentlemen of his suite, secretaries, pages of noble family, officers of his household, and forty horses for his personal use. We shall afterwards return to this embassy, because it was closely connected with the commencement of the seven years' war, and in the meantime pass on to speak of Bavaria.

There were some symptoms of an effort after that new condition and new order of things, of which we have seen traces in the whole of Europe, even in dark Bavaria, which was completely in the hands of the jesuits and their neglected and degraded schools, sunk in immorality and in superstition bordering on idolatry; but the clergy and the feudal nobility proved too powerful for its success; they hated the light of the new age, and laboured for its suppression. Maximilian Joseph, the successor of Charles Albert, had been fortunate enough to be delivered from the two jesuits whose efforts were unceasingly directed to rendering him incapable of discharging the duties of a ruler, and to delivering him with his weakened capacities into the hands of their order. One of them had the shamelessness to recommend to his pupil a careful avoidance of all secular studies and learning. Herr von Ickstadt, who afterwards undertook the direction of his education, had been a professor in Würzburg, and took a very different view of the subject from that of the jesuits; but he was a jurist, and therefore, like all the brethren of his craft, believed that writing, speaking, lawmaking, cabinet justice and cabinet government, and official rudeness towards citizens and peasants, all belonged to the character of German nationality. The elector was undoubtedly well-meaning; but his orders and decrees were sometimes singularly inconsistent, and of writing there was no end. The whole govern-

ment of the elector Maximilian Joseph, and every page of the eulogy upon him, of which we must occasionally avail ourselves\*, furnish proofs of a struggle between the dawning light and complete darkness. This is especially worthy of notice in reference to public instruction, in order to avoid being led to false results by the consideration of single attempts at reformation.

Ingolstadt was at that time the only university in Bavaria; it was wholly under the dominion of the jesuits, and its chairs occupied by members of their order. This institution, like the latin schools in Bavaria, had sunk so far from the bloom and prosperity which both once possessed under the jesuits, that even the Bavarians were no longer willing to send their sons thither for education, because, according to the expression of a Bavarian scholar, there was nothing there to be found except blind superstition, learned ignorance, and swaggering dissoluteness†. All this was to be altered and corrected under Maximilian, and how was a commencement made? A general order was issued that all those who were looking forward to or hoped to obtain any public employment in Bavaria must pursue their studies at this corrupt university. An attempt was then made to put an end to its most glaring abuses, but with very little success. Ickstadt had too much in him of the old professor of law, and was too good a courtier to venture with too rude a hand to rouse the wasps' nest of students and professors, or to come to issue with the jesuits, although in fact he rendered very important services to the institution. The later ordinances and laws, the changes in the administration of justice and the new methods of procedure, were such as we do not venture to determine upon, be-

\* Biography of Maximilian III. of Bavaria, by Rothamel, 1785, Ratisbon. Mannert has availed himself of this book, as we shall also do. He admits that it is a most miserable compilation; but agrees with us in thinking, that even this ought not to destroy its value as a source of facts; we add also, as a specimen of the manner of representing and regarding many things, in the loyal histories of a servile time. Among other things, the author says, "Acquainted with my own weakness, I am far from capable of transmitting to posterity the character of the immortal Maximilian, surrounded by that halo of light which he shed upon Bavaria, previously sunk in darkness," &c. &c.

† Rothamel says, p. 59, "Ingolstadt was altogether a waste place, and at that time the scandal of foreigners in consequence of its internal malpractices. It was very little visited even by the Bavarians, and those who came there were for the most part depraved and ill-mannered students, who relying upon the name maintained by the jesuits, and indifferent about useful learning, thought it their highest honour to be distinguished for their immoral and licentious mode of living."

cause Kreitmayer the jurist, who was the originator and director of everything relating to this point, is usually very highly commended. We would only call attention to the fact, that the friends of the old usages and abuses were little affected, and had little to fear from the reforms of the government. The first step towards improvement was the drawing up of a code of criminal law, and this shows us what Roman jurisprudence and the laws of Justinian, united with the Carolina\*, effected in ancient Germany by means of the legal tribunals, whether the governing jurists were desirous of improving or rendering them worse.

The young and well-meaning elector was no sooner made aware of the bad constitution and condition of the higher and lower tribunals, than he took some steps for their improvement. His first measure however was not to draw the judges from their writing and decreeing darkness into light, to frighten those who were incapable, by subjecting them to the tribunal of public opinion, but he drew the whole business of the administration of justice into the cabinet. A general tribunal of revision was appointed at court, as a means of superintending all the legal tribunals of the country, and the elector himself, or a deputy by him appointed for the purpose, acted as its president.

In order to be able to form a correct opinion of the course which was pursued in the administration of criminal justice and criminal legislation, it must be known to what a condition Bavaria had been reduced by means of blind faith, by prevailing indolence favoured by the religious institutions of the country, and by the fear of the torments of hell and purgatory, in which all thought about the present life was completely forgotten. Bavaria presented a shocking picture of the condition to which the doctrines of the middle ages led, as the factories in Lancashire, Scotland, and other districts, and the miserable wages of the agricultural labourers in England, furnish terrible proofs of the goal to which the most modern principles of our calculating dabblers in political economy will lead. The numerous monasteries, and the charity which was distributed by their inmates in the most unreasonable manner, filled Bavaria with beggars; the innumerable holidays with idlers, and the vast number of monks, clergymen, and their illegitimate children, with cheats,

\* [The Carolina was the name given to the code of German laws, compounded of the laws of the Roman empire and the remnants of barbarous antiquity drawn up in the time of Charles V.—TRANS.]

impostors, and reckless law-breakers. The most desperate offences were committed, and sometimes followed with punishments which prove that the legislators and administrators of the law were as rude and barbarous as the people; most offenders altogether eluded the arm of justice, or even believed themselves to be more certain of happiness in death than other men, because, after their repentance under the gallows, they were purified by the absolution of the priest, and were quickly despatched out of the world without a stain upon their souls.

Insecurity became at length so great in the country, that its rulers, instead of endeavouring to remove the causes and to destroy the sources of the evil, resolved to prosecute offenders with rigour, and to hew down the whole tree which they did not understand how to prune. It might have been thought, that the German Carolina, in which there was no want of racks and tortures, would have been sufficient; but the new criminal code was written in blood. Racks, tortures, beheading and hanging became the order of the day in Bavaria, but it was soon seen that the number of offenders increased with the barbarity of the punishments which were inflicted. The increase of offences, and of the tortures by which they were punished, led to an increase in the number of executioners and their assistants, and this numerous class of individuals, who were regarded as utterly detestable by the people, and who were degraded by the law, and even wholly excluded from the society of the very lowest classes, formed a nursery of offenders and violent reckless men in the bosom of society itself.

The good elector would willingly have lightened the burthens and improved the condition of the peasants, and with that view he published edicts for the promotion of industry, trade and manufactures, named deputations and supported them by public money, appointed paid servants and writers for these ends, and conferred titles upon those who assisted in the promotion of his designs. It never however occurred to the weak-minded prince to set some limits to his inordinate passion for the chase, in order that the privileged nobles might also cease to make the fruits of the toilsome labour of the peasants the spoil of their game. The elector maintained a most rigid system of game laws, and the arbitrary nobles, to whom the lordships and estates in the country belonged, and the despotism of the officials who carried these laws into execution, altogether destroyed that culture and civili-

zation which was recommended from the study. The game laid waste the fields, and the unprivileged countryman was hampered and harassed in every way in the use and enjoyment of his property. The pedants of the cabinet and their secretaries intermeddled with everything. Great sums of money were appropriated to the preparation of wares in the country, which could be brought much more cheaply from abroad; and these manufactories as well as the people who were employed in them became for years afterwards a burthen and expense to the state, as soon as supplies of money ceased to be given. It would indeed have been desirable to introduce manufactories of wool into Bavaria; but it was only possible by royal decrees to command wool-spinning among Russians and Germans, in such a way as was done in Bavaria. It is still more surprising, that instead of thinking upon things which were at hand and peculiar to the country, the growth of silkworms and planting mulberry-trees, even upon the uncultivated and barren wastes where no trees could grow, were enforced by the threat of heavy penalties in case of disobedience; and the manufacture of articles of luxury, and working in the precious metals, were promoted and encouraged in a country where there was a total want of skilful cart-makers, saddlers, locksmiths and wheelwrights.

In order to promote the trade and manufactures which the state commenced and supported, the unfortunate citizens and country people were tormented by the restraints which were imposed upon importation and the singular duties which were laid on, and in this manner given up as a prey to all the bungling of the sons, cousins and friends of the favoured manufacturers. The severest laws were passed against begging and vagabondism, and yet the monks and clergy promoted in every way praying, pilgrimages and idleness. The monks regularly fed crowds of beggars at the gates of their convents, and the electress, owing to the absurd manner in which she was accustomed to bestow her alms, when she travelled, was constantly followed by a crowd of the lowest and idlest vagabonds. In order to promote sculpture and the fine arts, stucco-work, carving and gardening, after the degenerate Italian taste of the seventeenth century, were all promoted at the cost of the elector\*; and yet an artist's service

\* It will be sufficient for the intelligent reader to point out the taste which prevailed in the arts by the manner in which it was exercised and the style in which it was praised. The following is quoted from a newspaper of those

was reckoned of less value than that of a court footman, for when a man was discovered who possessed natural distinguished mechanical talents, or produced some of the most remarkable works of art, he was rewarded by conferring on him the situation of a yeoman of the guard.

The elector is entitled to commendation for having paid some of his debts, and for having discouraged that foolish expenditure in which most of the princes of his time indulged ; but the good inclinations of a ruler are of very small advantage to a country when he belongs to that class of princes whose praises are continually trumpeted forth by courtiers and idlers, and who reward their importunities and flattery with a liberal hand. In order to obtain a few hundred thousand gulden to distribute amongst his courtiers and flatterers, Maximilian Joseph was obliged to appoint a man for his finance minister who imposed one duty after another upon the people and invented numerous methods of taxation. The good elector indeed once learned with terror, that this highly favoured and all-powerful director of his exchequer behaved like a Turkish pacha. The only thing however which happened to this oppressor of the poor was, that the elector assured the minister that he took upon himself a heavy responsibility.

The jesuits were so powerful in Bavaria, that six of them were constantly at court as confessors, tutors to the princes, and court preachers. Stadler indeed, who was one of the six, drew upon himself the hatred of the electress, which was so strongly manifested, that he was obliged to leave Munich and go to Ingolstadt ; Geppert however took his place as confessor, and Ignacius Franz had established himself so firmly at court, that he remained there even after the abolition of the order, and as an exjesuit continued to fill the office of confessor to Charles Theodore till the end of the century. These men had established a body of about nine hundred, like an army of soldiers, over the whole of Bavaria, who devoted themselves to the interests of the order and of the pope, and laboured for the promotion

times and in that country, and refers to the encouragement given to the arts under the reign of Max. Joseph in the year 1751 : "The castles which had been altogether neglected in the last war, the groups (?) and cascades were improved. And because the ruler himself was a great judge and master in the art of drawing, he had taken into his service for their promotion a Statuarius Academicus, named von Groff, who had gained a high reputation by his works in marble and metals, and especially by his great success in casting."



or maintenance of a blind faith. They had all the institutions for education and the whole court completely in their power, and they even clothed theatrical representations in the dress of their order, as soon as this appeared likely to be profitable to their objects. The electors of Cologne and the Palatinate, accompanied by the duke of Deux Ponts, visited Munich, and were received with splendid hospitality; the jesuits on this occasion exhibited a species of opera, which they entitled the "Kingdom of Heaven" (Himmelreich), and called a "*meditation*." In the year 1751 they played several pieces in Augsburg for the benefit of the talkative sex (*pro garrulo sexu*), as they expressed it, in order that afterwards no reference might be had to women in their chief representations. By means of their cunning policy, they contrived to make pilgrimages, and all the idleness and nonsense connected with them, a popular usage in Bavaria, and they alone were successful in inducing the princes and nobles to promote and encourage these processions by their example. In the period of which we are now writing the history, Maximilian Joseph made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. John Nepomucenus in Prague; and when some commotions took place among the oppressed Protestants in Upper Austria, he regarded it as good jesuitical practice to erect a very singular description of barrier on the boundary of his territories to prevent the introduction of any free or heretical ideas into Bavaria. Religion was treated as contraband. All the peasants and pedlars who were liable to the suspicion of carrying or possessing anything in the nature of Protestant books, or even of being injured by heterodox verbal communications or reading, were arrested, brought before the parson of the nearest village, and examined; a decree was issued for seizing upon and taking away all such books from the peasants in whose possession they might be found, and delivering them to the priest to be burned, whilst the peasants were kept in confinement.

A better state of things appeared for some time to have found a footing in Wirtemberg; but shortly before the commencement of the seven years' war, and during its continuance, that country was again most grievously ill treated in spite of its constitution. The duke Charles Alexander was married to a princess of the house of Thurn and Taxis, who afterwards went to reside in Brussels with her three sons. On the duke's death she returned, in order to undertake the government in the name of her son

prince Charles Eugene, now nine years old : in compliance with the will of the late duke, the bishop of Würzburg was to be united with her in the regency. This arrangement however could not be carried into effect, and the bishop was first obliged to give up the administration to the old duke of Wirtemberg-Neustadt, and when he became childish from age, secondly to the duke of Wirtemberg-Oels ; the mother however had the chief influence in the education of the young prince. She was, alas ! unhappily so learned, that she played the opponent in all due form in a learned and public disputation in Tübingen\*, after having caused herself in Schwetzingen with great solemnity to be proclaimed a member of the order of the knights of Malta. We learn the manner in which the prince was brought up and educated from the instructions which, according to the usage of the times, were drawn up by this learned lady for the direction of those who were to train the future ruler of Wirtemberg, and prepare him to become the paternal prince of the honest and simple-minded Swabians. He was to be instructed after the French fashion, and in the French language ; the future duke was to be brought up to be one of those splendid people, who, as Spittler has well said, possess great prudence and splendid talents, but never show them in the course of life and conversation†.

During the minority of Charles Eugene, Wirtemberg enjoyed a much better government than might reasonably have been expected from the administration of a privy council, composed of rigid jurists and of a standing committee of aristocratic

\* As all this is merely referred to as a description of the customs of the time, we shall quote the account given of this appearance of the duchess in the words of a contemporary writer. It is as follows :—"The example of her royal highness the dowager duchess of Wirtemberg was also rare ; for during a stay of three weeks at the university of Tübingen, among other learned labours, she did not hesitate to come forward as a public opponent, and to maintain a discussion for an hour with doctor Mauchert, her highness's body physician and ordinary professor of medicine. She maintained the disputation with such facility, arrangement and solidity, that the distinguished auditory was astonished at her powers and acquirements, and honoured this great princess as the wonder of her age."

† We must leave it to our readers to examine the documents connected with this point for themselves. An analysis of them would lead us too far from our object. The French original, dated the 18th of June 1742, prepared for Messrs. Laubsky and Despard, may be seen in the eleventh volume, No. 5, pp. 271-288, of Moser's *Patr. Archives*. We shall only quote two passages. With respect to Latin, it is said, the future duke will find it necessary on a thousand occasions to understand 'quelques termes.' Grammar he has no need to learn : "Il suffit de savoir expliquer et entendre un discours, ou un livre, qui ne soit pas difficile, par exemple le Nouveau Testament, la Vulgate," &c. &c. Similar directions are given respecting poetry and history.

nobles, both of whom were much more accustomed to provide for themselves, their sons and connexions, than to take care of the interests and well-being of the people. This was the more to be wondered at in Wirtemberg, as this country usually suffered at other times from all the evils both of an aristocratic and monarchical government. All parties however are agreed in testifying, that the celebrated mathematician and speculative philosopher Bilfinger and his colleague Zech conducted the government in the most praiseworthy manner, and that Augustus von Hardenberg, who was at the head of the exchequer, administered the public money with frugality and without selfishness. It is impossible to say much good of the old estates, who about this time had invited the pious John James Moser to be their assessor. Even Moser himself proves that the whole object of the members of the estates was to maintain the old abuses, to provide for their friends and relatives at the expense of the public, and with all their power and influence to resist every sort of improvement or innovation. Moser has given details of the scornful and determined spirit in which every proposal was received for making such changes as the spirit of the age required. He has informed us of the manner in which Tübingen showed itself to be a Protestant Ingolstadt, and the Wirtemberg prelates, like the Bavarian jesuits, protected and defended all the abuses of their university, and paid no attention to the counsels of their learned and pious assessor\*.

Though Wirtemberg was pretendedly a free country, in which the prince was bound by the principles of a constitution, no one dared under such circumstances to complain. Freedom of speech or the press was wholly unknown, and the people were not suffered to participate in the management of their own affairs. All councils and consultations were covered with a veil of the deepest secrecy; it was only known that sometimes the estates or their select committee, sometimes the college of the privy council, and sometimes the dowager duchess, or afterwards the young prince, suffered themselves to do things which

\* J. J. Moser's Autobiography, 3rd edit., 1777, 1st Part, pp. 102, 103. "As I distributed the above-mentioned principles, &c. in the select committee, one of the prelates read for some time, and then said to me with a most satirical sneer, '*Es ist so schön, dass es einen in den Zähnen wehe thut, dass neues daraus wird;*' and another prelate expressed himself as follows: '*Er habe dem Herzoge schon oft gesagt, nuh nix nuis (nur nichts Neues) Ihro Durchlaucht.*' I replied, except always new pay and emoluments," &c.

were wholly inconsistent with all principles of legal order. The estates, in which the prelates had the chief influence, most anxiously and jealously watched the conduct of the young duke and his mother, lest they should take any step favourable to the interests of Catholicism, and in such cases application was immediately made to the Protestant princes of the empire, who were also appealed to with great frequency by the inhabitants of the Palatinate. A new agreement was even formally entered into on the application of the imperial Protestant commission (*Corpus Evangelicorum*), when the duchess, in opposition to former agreements and treaties, gave permission for a public procession to take place in Ludwigsberg (1749), and drove out of the country some foreigners who had been in her service and had gone over to the Protestant faith\*.

The universal condition of the administration of justice in Germany may be best learned from the prosecutions which were instituted immediately after the death of duke Charles Alexander against those who had abused his favour. Whoever possessed friends or money escaped the penalties with which they were threatened; the miserable Jew, Süß, was persecuted in the most contemptible spirit of vengeance, and afterwards executed in a most barbarous manner. The newspapers and political writers of that time, who were not suffered to insert reports of interesting subjects, or to make any remarks upon passing events, were yet permitted to entertain the people of Germany from one end of the country to another with accounts of the scandalous inventions of new punishments which the Wirtemberg jurists had made, and that not to the disgrace of those who were condemned, but to their own eternal dishonour†. It is clear that the newspapers had no other resource than to give reports of the fêtes, journeys and ceremonies of their imperious masters, and of the flogging, hanging, torturing and beheading of miserable convicts, because attempts were made to bring conversation in private society, nay, even the still prayer in the closet, under police regulations. Notwithstanding the cruel and public prosecutions which were carried on against the confidential servants of the late duke, a decree was issued by the administrator of Wirtem-

\* Spittler's Coll. of Authorities and Records in First Coll., Nos. 3 and 4.

† The story of the execution of Süß is to be found related in all the books of that time, together with the form of the gallows, cage, &c., along with descriptions of the fêtes, marriages, and hunting parties, &c. of the high nobility.

berg, in which the public was commanded to cherish a *respectful* remembrance of Herr Vettters Liebden, now resting in God, and every reproachful remark against the dowager duchess, however true it might be, strictly forbidden\*.

The transactions of the government and of the old estates were kept perfectly secret, and if we are not much misinformed, the records are still withheld from the public knowledge; it was therefore impossible that things could go on better than they actually did. The mode of conduct usually pursued was however well exhibited in the year 1736, on the occasion of a new agreement which was opposed by the whole country, but into which nevertheless the inhabitants were compelled to enter. The duke sent a commission over the country, used all kinds of threats to the assembled deputies, and in this way obtained a stipulation which placed the whole country in the power of the ruling party at court; and yet at that very time Bilfinger and Zech were members of the privy council, who afterwards received universal commendation because they succeeded in having the most hateful points in this agreement changed in the new one which was entered into in 1739!!

Moreover it was Bilfinger who insisted upon the young duke when in his fifteenth year making a journey to Berlin, where he remained for almost three years. As the king received him with great kindness, and the prince was by no means deficient in talents, he might have gained much knowledge during his stay. In his seventeenth year the king caused his majority to be proclaimed (1744), and on his departure to Stuttgart† gave him some very admirable instructions for his guidance.

\* This singular cabinet order may be found in the eleventh vol., p. 360, of Moser's 'Patriotic Archives.' It runs as follows:—"Als verordnen wir hiemit gnädiget, ihr sollet sämtliche euch untergebene, sowohl geist- als weltlichen Standes ernstlich erinnern, dass sie deshalb in gebührenden Schranken verbleiben, und von allen widrigen Nachreden und ungleichen Urtheilen, sowohl von weiland des hochseeligen Herrn, als auch dero zurück-gelassenen Frau Gemahlinn, wie nicht weniger dem gesamten Fürstlichen Haus gänzlich und bei sonsten zu befahren habender scharpfer Straff und Ahndung sich enthalten, vielmehr aber gegen unseres in Gott ruhenden Herrn Vettters Liebden ein *schuldiges respectuöses Andenken* erhalten, auch der hinterbliebenen Wittib Liebden und übrige Anverwandschaft vor Gott seegenen über höchst Dieselbige, *alles Hoch-Fürstliche Wohlergehen in ihrem Gebette eyferig erbitten,*" &c.

† The document here referred to may be found in Meiner's and Spittler's Göttingen Magazine, vol. i. p. 683. Two points excited Spittler's surprise; the one may be explained, the other can only be quoted. Spittler in a note at the place above referred to, and Moser in a note to the eulogy upon Bilfinger in the 'Patriotic Archives,' express their wonder that Frederick should have

The young duke however was desirous of immediately playing a character; he fell into the power of the French and the friends of the French, and after Bilfinger's death he became a tyrant and spendthrift. The duke's new career commenced with the removal of Hardenberg from the management of the finances, and with the indulgence of passions which required abundance of money; a scandalous minister afterwards sold himself and the duke to the French, who however in the end were the parties betrayed. It will hereafter be shown, and proved by documents from the red book of Louis XV., that during the seven years' war, almost all the German princes were in French pay, or betrayed the king of the French confessedly for money, and duke Charles certainly constituted no exception. From the year 1752, he received a quarterly allowance for himself of 81,250 livres, so that from 1752–1756 he drew more than a million and a half of livres from France; and all his servants who had any influence, or were capable of being used by the French either as traitors or tools, were paid precisely as if they had been in the service of king Louis. The Wirtemberg ambassador to the circle of Swabia (Rentze) received eight thousand livres, and baron von Röder, who was a creature of the dowager duchess, had previously received twelve. The latter was the originator of the dispute with the estates concerning the procession at Ludwigsberg, and in 1750 was conducted under military escort out of Stuttgart at the same time with his protectress the dowager duchess.

The ridiculous pride and pretensions and the mad expenditure of the high German nobility, compared with the means of meeting their engagements which they possessed, compelled them either to have recourse to the most disgraceful methods of replenishing their coffers or to contract enormous debts, which was not easy to be done, as no one was willing to lend. This fact may be also illustrated from the history of Wirtemberg. Prince

warned him against Hardenberg and Bilfinger. We are of opinion that this only referred to the then situation of things, and Frederick perhaps either regarded them as too well disposed towards Austria, or was afraid of the oligarchical tendencies of those powerful men. The other passage we know as little how to explain as Spittler; it runs thus, p. 688 :—"Profitez de votre jeunesse sans en abuser. Laissez écouler quelques années pour le plaisir. Songez à vous marier *alors*. Le premier feu de la jeunesse n'est pas heureux pour l'hymen et la constance croit être d'une vieillesse décrépite, lorsqu'elle a fourni à trois années de carrière:" and yet Charles Eugene was immediately afterwards betrothed to a princess of Brandenburg-Culmbach, whom he married in September 1744.

Frederick Eugene was married to a princess of the house of Brandenburg. The princess received no more than 36,000 dollars as a dowry, and the prince himself had only 45,000 florins apauage. The whole amount of the princess's pin-money was 6000 dollars, and yet an article was inserted in the marriage contract, that she should have her own separate house and establishment. This indeed was not splendid, but together with the house of the prince, and compared with the income of both, was by far too great\*.

In the Palatinate, Charles Philip, the last descendant of the house of Neuburg, continued to pursue the same course till his eightieth year which he had followed from his youth. His bodily health remained firm, and his mind had been always the servant of his body; it suffered from none of the anxieties incident to dominion, with the exception of occasional fits of hatred towards the professors of the reformed religion. Charles Philip sought for his honour and his pleasures in pomp and festivities, persecuted the reformed churches, erected palaces, set on foot immense hunting parties, and was the wonder and admiration of the high nobility, who enjoyed his hospitality and found agreeable pastime in participating in his pleasures; he continued to lavish money for the entertainment of such guests, and to enjoy their society with the most wonderful and cold-blooded indifference, whilst the peasants were going to ruin before his eyes. This occurred often and especially during the imperial wars in 1734-35. At that time his poor subjects were ill treated by the French in every possible way, their crops mowed down and their cattle driven away, whilst the elector was giving the most splendid fêtes in Schwetzingen and Mannheim, inviting the French nobility who were in the army which was encamped at Spires to his house, and especially the commanders, who were received and entertained like princes. The first prince of the empire, then seventy years old, remained at that time, to the cost of his subjects and the empire, completely neutral; and full of

\* The following indication will be sufficient. In the fifth article of the contract, as recorded in Spittler, vol. i. p. 48, the prince promises to provide the following persons, who were to constitute the princess's household, with pay, liveries and other necessaries at the same rate as his own servants. a mistress of the robes, two young ladies of noble family, an equerry, a groom of the chambers, a page, two ladies of the bed-chamber, a keeper of the wardrobe, a laundress, three footmen, two jägers, a coachman and out-rider.

French compliments, he caroused and feasted with the very persons who had so wasted his beautiful country, that they themselves caused seed-corn to be brought to the Palatinate and distributed to the peasants, that in the next spring they might find something green which might be mowed down as provender for their horses and cattle. Even the aged Eugene became indignant at the folly and selfishness of a prince who begged for and bought heaven from the priests, whilst he merited the punishments of hell from his country and his subjects. In reply to his complaints that the Austrian officers had shot his game, Eugene answered, that *he had now no game to care for but soldiers.*

When Charles Theodore undertook the government he was only in his eighteenth year, and as is often the case, he gave at first some proofs of frugality, of which the people of the Palatinate had seen no examples for time immemorial; but it soon appeared, alas! that all that he at first said and did was only the jesuitical mask of his tutor, whom he had appointed to be his chief minister and director of the finances. The honourable and noble lords and ladies who had so bountifully enjoyed the pensions and entertainments of the old elector were at first left to their own resources under the new government, and the officials of the court and the crowd of attendants learned with pain that the whole expenditure was to be limited, swarms of court attendants dismissed, the splendour of the table diminished, and the incomes of the chiefs of the clergy to be reduced. The last-mentioned circumstance roused the whole church almost as much as if any new concessions had been made to the reformed party; yet the clergy, in the representations which they made to the young elector, did not venture to allege that the money which had been bestowed upon them had been well applied. They said only, "*christian compassion* required that no money should be withdrawn from the clergy." The elector returned them the very suitable answer, that "*justice* demanded its better application under the present circumstances."

It may indeed be proved by documents, that all this was, alas! the fruits of the jesuitical cunning of the then tutor of Charles Theodore, his chief minister marquis d'Itter. We are in possession of the essay (written in very bad German), in which the minister himself instructs his pupil in detail how a man must begin in order to destroy all right and justice without



thereby endangering or injuring himself. When Charles Theodore in 1743 undertook the government of the beautiful Palatinate and the duchies of Juliers and Berg, and from being a small and miserably poor prince became a great ruler, D'Itter gave him a paper of instructions for the guidance of his conduct in his new position\*. The whole government of Charles Theodore may be explained from the contents of this paper, if we add, that women and concubines, or seducers of every description, jesuits, and the clients and creatures of both, afterwards completed and whispered into his ear everything which the wicked marquis may have forgotten.

In these instructions, which are commenced with a priestly and hypocritical introduction on the advantage of holiness, the elector is first informed of the best manner of extending and promoting the interests of the holy Catholic religion in the electoral dominions. The heretics were so numerous and possessed the five-sevenths of the estates, and the German princes who professed the Lutheran and reformed faiths were so watchful and apprehensive, that great care was necessary not to do injury by a hasty and imprudent zeal. The Catholics had suffered great loss by being deprived of the church of the Holy Ghost in Heidelberg (1719), and were still obliged to pay many hundred thousand dollars because the suit was not at that time ended. They were therefore constrained for a time to work quietly, to keep alive and aggravate the disputes between the Lutheran and reformed parties, to increase by all possible means the property of the Catholic clergy, and in all official appointments and other things to be guided strictly by the principles which we shall quote in a note in the words of the instructions themselves†. This cau-

\* This paper may be seen in Meiner's and Spittler's Göttingen Magazine, vol. i. art. 3. No. 2. p. 648, &c.

† "Dass man eines Theils die katholischen Pfarreien mit tüchtigen, bescheidenen und frommen Seelsorgern und die katholischen Schulen mit fähigen Schulmeistern, woran es bisher zu vielfältig ermangelt hat, bestelle, *kein der reformirten oder lutherischen Religion zugesthanes subjectum*, ausserhalb dem reformirten Kirchenrath, dem Ehegericht, dem Lutherischen Consistorium und der geistlichen Administration, *in kein Dicasterium mehr aufgenommen, noch zu Oberbeamten oder andern churfürstlichen Bedienungen*, die geistlichen Administrations-Recepturen, welche zu 4 Theilen mit Lutherischen und Reformirten besetzt werden, ausgenommen, *befördert*, als viel es auch ohne Nachtheil der ganzen Gemeinde thunlich ist, *in den Dörfern lediglich katholische vermögende Personen zu Schultheissen angeordnet*. Andern Theils muss, sobald das churfürstliche Aerarium sich in besserem Stande befinden wird, *eine Convertiten-Casse von etwa zehntausend Gulden jährlich auf gewisse Zeit unter einer vor-sichtigen Obsorg aufgerichtet* und daraus u. s. w. Wodurch von diesen Glau-

tiousness and prudence were only to be regarded as necessary till the Catholic potentates by divine grace had so gained the upper hand, that there was no longer any ground of fear, and then an elector of the Palatinate might go farther, and promote the cause of his holy religion at discretion by all the means in his power.

To judge from this paper of instructions, the principles of right and justice were by no means recognised in the Palatinate; if indeed we do not dignify with these holy names the justice of cabinets and cameralists, tribunals arbitrarily appointed, or impartial judgments delivered by corrupt and incapable judges, and laws without power or applicability. It is indeed expressly said, that the administration of justice by the cabinet and the immediate interference of the executive with the legislative administration were undoubtedly necessary in the law proceedings among the people; but it is added in a genuine jesuitical style, that this must be done with great prudence and caution, because if not, very bad consequences might result from thus intermeddling with the tribunals of the empire. The passage is so important, that we quote the words of the instructions themselves\*. When the instructor afterwards passes on from the subject of the administration of justice to the management of the police, he admits that no superintendence had been extended to the magistrates of the country, and that even when they made reports to the government, these were indeed handed over to the council (*ad referendum*), but lay altogether neglected for years; and that these officers were also insufficiently paid. The marquis therefore proposes to his young and then uncorrupted prince, to remove this burthen from himself and to place it on the shoulders of the peasants. He says, the salaries of the officers must be increased, not by imposing any further burthens upon the electoral treasury, but the means may be drawn from the common resources of the country.

bensgenossen in kurzer Zeit sehr viele zu der wahren heiligen katholischen Religion, der in andern Ländern sich *geäußerten Erfahrung* nach, würden gebracht werden."—Page 652.

\* P. 658: "The ruler of the Palatinate *must* require reports from the tribunals in such cases *only* as furnish strong suspicions against the judges and their opinions, but he is by no means to be too hasty in calling for the causes to be examined at the court, because such proceedings are looked upon with great dislike by the highest courts of the empire, viz. by the council of the imperial court and the supreme court in Wetzlar, and may give occasion to a very inconvenient extension of the principle."

The income derived from the electoral territories, which are now obliged to pay very considerable sums, according to the official reports here given, was very small indeed. That from the Palatinate of the Rhine, after deduction of the payment of the magistrates and other officials, amounted to 800,000 gulden; it might be raised about one-fourth of the whole: the income from the district of Neuburg was rated at about 80,000, and that from Sulzbach at 60,000; after the usual deductions for the expenses of administration, Juliers and Berg yielded a sum of 300,000 gulden. The smallness of the income is to be explained by the fact, that the case in these countries was the same as in France before the Revolution,—the possession of all the estates and wealth of the country was in the hands of the nobility and clergy, who paid no contributions whatever for the service of the state. The citizens and peasants not only bore all the burthens of the state, but the nobility, public officials, and other privileged persons, in other words, the whole feudal estates of the country, consumed more of the productions of the industry of the oppressed peasants than the prince. Happily these privileged persons persisted in the maintenance of their right to contribute nothing to the necessities of the state, notwithstanding the change of the times, and in despite of the urgent claims of the respective governments and the resolutions of the empire, and thereby gave to the princes and their servants an apparently well-grounded pretence for having recourse to military force in order to compel them to submission, as had long before been done in Prussia. This point is also referred to in the instructions when speaking about what was properly called the taxes of the country, or the income destined for the maintenance of the military department, in contradistinction to the finance and patrimonial income derived from Juliers and Berg. It is stated that 600,000 gulden might be imposed on the electoral Palatinate, the money for the building of the castle inclusive; 150,000 upon Neuburg; and that if in Juliers and Berg they should prove unwilling to contribute the million which should be demanded, it ought to be taken by force\*.

\* P. 672. . . . . "Only 900,000 were imposed. But because this sum is by no means sufficient to meet the expenditure, and above 100,000 must be forgiven or paid for the support of the poor subjects in the same provinces, this will make at least 1,000,000, and now and then somewhat more may be imposed. And because the estates are not willing to pay the sum of 900,000, which has been most graciously prescribed by his imperial majesty, this sum must be raised by the strong hand and power of the prince of the country."

On the whole we see, that the administration of justice and the regulation of the police were bad beyond all imagination, the officers of the state corrupt, ignorant, indolent and despotic, and that superstition, priestcraft, pomp, luxury and licentiousness pervaded the court and the whole mob of its followers and dependents. The citizens and peasants were ill-treated by all, although the cruel art of our days had not been invented, the art of extorting from them with all friendliness the produce of their industry and labour, and of raising millions for the benefit of the court and the public officials under all sorts of splendid pretences. This new art of gold-making was however no sooner discovered, than it was zealously favoured and cherished by Charles Theodore.

The marquis d'Itter in his instructions also makes us acquainted with the manner in which the ministers of those times were accustomed to speak with their princes of the estates of the country. In the Palatinate, he observes, God be thanked, there have been no estates for two hundred years; therefore an elector of the Palatinate may impose as many taxes as, according to his best judgement, the necessities of war or of the ordinary expenses of the state may demand. In Neuburg the estates had been also in operation till 1721, and when, in the year just mentioned, they again claimed and exercised power, they referred the whole management of affairs to a committee, and this select committee had since that time so conducted itself as to have given no reason whatever to complain. In Juliers and Berg, on the contrary, the estates had greatly contracted the power of the prince by lawsuits and annoyances of various kinds; for they wished to seize upon the administration of affairs and to snatch the staff of government from the hands of the prince; in this case they were only to be dealt with by councillors born in the provinces or provided with *jure indigenatus*, and the management of the whole affair demanded the exercise of the highest degree of prudence. We shall quote below the words of this dishonest adviser, as an illustration of the plan by which this was to be effected\*. He highly commends the zeal of the privy councillors to whom the management of affairs was at that time entrusted in Juliers and

\* Page 675 :— "It is therefore very necessary to look out for such men as advisers and aids in this case, as will not suffer themselves to be misled by any of their countrymen to giving improper publicity to those private instructions and counsels which they have received, such as might be disadvantageous to the prince in his dignity, rights and prerogatives."

Berg—both nobles and scholars endeavoured to protect and promote the exercise of despotic power—but he gives the palm to the jurists. These men, learned in the law of the school of Justinian, were most bitterly hated and persecuted by the estates. He advises therefore that they *should be vigorously protected, and as had happened in the time of the preceding government, that special acts of favour and grace should be bestowed upon these ministers and councillors.* We hear moreover again the old and by no means unjust complaint, that the meetings of the estates would be prolonged on account of the pecuniary allowances to the deputies, and the cost of these often amounted to 20,000–30,000 dollars.

The same heartless, egotistical, and unpatriotic course was also recommended in foreign affairs. A close connexion with France was still to be maintained, and notwithstanding the decree of the imperial diet (1654), a strict neutrality was to be observed, self-interest and private advantage being regarded as more imperative than the wise laws of the empire, and the councillors of the state would soon find reasons for the course which was pursued. We shall quote below the marquis's own words\*. Charles Theodore moreover from the year 1736 was completely under the influence of a jesuit, who had been previously a professor in Ingolstadt, and was flattered and loaded with presents by the French. The nature of that wisdom which was inculcated by this jesuit on the mind of the prince, and the religious and political knowledge which he taught, may be best learned from the essay which Spittler caused to be printed, and to which he gave the pertinent and appropriate title of 'Wisdom and Folly†.' With respect to the case of France, the ministers of the Palatinate were not only in the pay of its government, but, as we learn from the account in the red book, the elector himself from

\* Besides other reasons given for keeping on good terms with France, which we do not think it necessary to quote, the document contains the following passage, p. 680: "France has given a guarantee or promise in favour of the princes of the Palatinate in the question of the succession with respect to Juliers and Berg, on which account this most illustrious house is bound to the observance of a strict neutrality in case of the breaking out of a war between his Imperial Majesty and the empire on the one part and the crown of France on the other. Such neutrality is indeed forbidden by the imperial decree of the year 1654, but there are motives and reasons enough for neglecting obedience to this decree in certain times and circumstances."

† Göttingen Historical Magazine, vol. iii. art. 7. pp. 322–355. "Weisheit und Thorheit in einem Gutachten, so dem Churfürsten Carl Theodor bey dem Antritt seiner Regierung übergeben worden. (Aus beglaubigter Handschrift.)"

the year 1750 received a monthly sum of 50,000 livres. By a new agreement made between the parties this sum was even increased to 75,000 livres, so that in the years 1750–1754, he drew no less an amount than 4,000,000 livres from France. The evil consequences which resulted from such conduct, and the sufferings which were entailed upon the German people by the detestable conduct of their princes and nobles in selling themselves to foreign powers, will be best seen from the history of the seven years' war, compared with the French red book. Saxony, Cologne, Bavaria, Bayreuth, Deux Ponts, Wirtemberg, and Brunswick, were all in the receipt of pensions and annuities from France.

The correspondence of all the Frenchmen who in those times visited German courts gives us a melancholy picture of the low estimation in which the German people were held by their own princes, and the honour in which the French were held, or represented themselves as being held. This may be also learned from the writings and letters of Voltaire and D'Alembert, of Denina, Thiébault, and other teachers of languages or fortune-hunters. How deeply does Voltaire despise the German courtiers and literati, whom he never saw in any other position than bowing and cringing! Foreign language and dress was so highly valued, that every *friseur* in Germany was called a marquis; and whilst a German doctor had only the rank of a court coachman, teachers of the French language were admissible at court, and associated upon an equal footing with gentlemen of rank and title. We shall here avail ourselves of the manuscript letters of a French officer, in order to give a lively picture of the manners and usages of the German courts in the time of the seven years' war, and of the way in which the stiff and haughty nobility crouched before and fawned upon every Frenchman of good family\*.

The French officer to whom we here allude was the young marquis de Fosseusse, baron de Montmorency, and therefore of a rank to which all those doors in Germany were opened which remained shut against the very highest merits; and he had previously made a journey in 1750 in company with D'Argenson, minister of war. He served in the *gensd'armerie* at the time in

\* These papers may be seen, among a mass of others relating to the seven years' war, in the 'Archives du Royaume de France,' Carton K. 161.

which Richelieu was collecting an army in Alsace destined against Germany, and left his soldiers to be drilled whilst he visited the courts. He first travelled by Neustadt to Mannheim, and after some complimentary remarks upon the town, which we pass over, he writes in a commendatory strain of the palace. He expresses his admiration of everything, especially the hall for the performance of operas (!). "The stage," he remarks, "is large, well-appointed, and there are numerous small chambers and conveniences which are very agreeable to the players, and well calculated to facilitate the action of the pieces which are brought out." There was also another room for the representation of plays, but of an ordinary description; but he adds (happy times for nobility and court!), "All the pieces brought out in both are merely for the entertainment of the court; plays are regularly performed, and none who have the privilege of admission are required to pay anything." In the stables he found three hundred choice horses. The elector himself was in Schwetzingen; thither the baron betook himself and was delighted with everything. All was pomp and splendour, such as reigned at the court of Louis XIV., or the great Mogul; everything in the French style, crowds of parasites and priests! Let us however hear his own words:—

"In Schwetzingen the chief building is old and ugly; but the elector has caused two wings to be built in the form of a crescent, which are splendid and delightful. In the one wing he lives, eats, and holds his court, the other is destined for the court theatre, and both contain immense rooms, which in winter serve for orangeries. The garden between these wings, the covered passages and walks on the other side, the plantations in the distance and the kitchen gardens right and left, all exhibit the greatest beauty and splendour. No cost has been spared; orange trees without number. The whole resembles a fairy palace, or better still the house of a great prince." And then he gives us a picture of this *great prince*, in the presence of a Frenchman:—

"We were presented by brigadier-general Custines and by our minister Mons. Southmann. We were extremely well received by the elector and the electress. At dinner and supper I was placed by the side of the latter, who appeared to me to be a woman of ordinary talents, well-informed and amiable, but a little cold. The elector is more amiable, but he has neither the talents nor the education of his wife. Both are musical, and took

part in the concert which was given after dinner. The prince bishop of Augsburg, who happened to be spending some days in Schwetzingen, also sung in the concert. The affair was comical enough, when one considers his age, figure and episcopal dignity ; his dress however was still more comical, and seemed to me more suitable for a child of ten years old than for him. On the whole, the court is noble and splendid, but a little wearisome. With the wearisomeness the ladies are perhaps chargeable ; they are very numerous but very ugly, especially the princess of Deux Ponts, the sister of the electress, who is remarkable above the rest for her ugliness. After dinner the elector invited me to join his game of Reversis without Quinola. The table was excellent and well served with good Hungarian wines. In the room in which we dined three tables were laid ; one with from thirty to thirty-five covers, at which we sat—a second nearly as large, for the rest of the court—and a third with twenty to twenty-five, for the gentlemen of the household. The whole of this court has a distinguished air.” This was no doubt true, for in 1746, when the Austrians were in possession of the country, all the newspapers were filled with accounts of the pomp with which the court was removed from Mannheim to Dusseldorf.

From the papers now before us, we might proceed much further with the picture given by the baron of the German courts, and of the manner in which he was everywhere received and entertained, had we not already dwelt too long upon the subject. He went to Mayence, and there also found French conversation and French luxury ; nay, he was quite at home even in the deserted court at Brunswick : his only complaint was that the duchess was repulsive and the table badly served, but he extols the beautiful horses and the vast crowd of attendants.

The multitude of small courts and petty despots, of despotic officials and learned jurists, has always filled our poor country with scandal and endless prosecutions. The mad and tyrannical Charles Leopold duke of Mecklenburg behaved most cruelly towards the inhabitants of Rostock and the whole nobility of his province, and having called in the Russians to his support, they desolated the country in a manner of which Russia and Turkey alone furnish examples. He was at length banished by an imperial decree, and George II., who had been appointed to carry the mandate of the imperial court into execution, was desirous of securing the province for himself, and it cost no small trouble



to establish the brother of the mad duke as administrator of the duchy. Charles Leopold made three different attempts to wrest the power from his brother's hand by force of arms before he died at Dömitz in 1747, embittered and forsaken. His brother and successor Christian Ludwig not only inherited the land, but also the lawsuits and open war which were carried on between the prince and his own subjects as well as with the tribunals of the empire, and which were only brought to a conclusion when he and the country were both completely ruined. In the course of these miserable disputes, the jurists and sophists reaped what the citizen gained by his trade and the poor peasant realized by his labour. There was no end of learned deductions, printed volumes of replies and replications, decrees and public declarations. The only advantage gained by all this was, that these decrees and declarations, which could not be subjected to the censorship or suppressed like the newspapers, served oftentimes to make the poor German acquainted with the fact, that the sovereignty of his petty despots, the tyranny of their officials, of the Roman jurists and their tribunals, and the whole decretal style, were even worse than the barbarous constitution of the middle ages.

The petty Saxon duchies, when they were not occupied with devotions, and with showing favour to flattering, long-faced affectation of piety, after the manner of the duke of Coburg-Saalfeld, with whom and whose character we are made acquainted in the life of Semler, entertained their subjects with scandal and harassed them by prosecutions. The old prince of Dessau may have been a good soldier, but he was a miserable man, and a covetous, violent and unjust tyrant. The duke of Saxe-Meiningen carried on a war with the wife of his master of the hunt, because she entered into a contest with a countess of Solms-Lich respecting precedence at court, and made good her cause by the law of the strongest. This lady of the master of the hunt was the champion, and because it was God's will, also a martyr in the cause of the Meiningen nobles, who were wounded to their hearts' core. To the great annoyance and vexation of the Meiningen nobles, the duke had married the daughter of a captain Schürmann, a Hessian, who was merely a simple citizen, and had obtained a patent of nobility for his wife from the emperor: this caused a commotion through the whole length and breadth of the empire. It now appeared to all those who laid great stress on the legiti-

macy of blood, that all was over with Germany, since the sons of the apothecary's daughter whom the aged Leopold had married might come to reign in Dessau, and that in addition the duke of Meiningen wished to secure the succession to the sons of the newly created imperial countess. Charles VI. seemed to recognise the duke's marriage as valid, and his sons as entitled to the rights of succession, when he elevated the wife of the duke expressly to the dignity of an imperial princess. This appeared to be an unheard-of invasion of the rights of the nobility! In the case of the oppression of the people and the denial or abrogation of their rights, it was difficult to find champions to stand forth in their cause or even judges, but in the case of the marriage, hundreds of voices were raised in the language of complaint, and cried out against the abuse of the imperial power and its arbitrary exercise. The courts of the empire and the diet were for once roused to activity; the numerous deduction-writers of the three Saxon houses exhausted their learning and overwhelmed the empire with papers drawn up in a barbarous style: the emperor was frightened. By an autograph note, Charles VI. declared to the court council of the empire, that by his diploma he had intended to confer rank upon the duke's wife, but not to grant the right of succession to her issue. The duke afterwards applied to the emperor Francis, and the affair - was again discussed in the diet; there followed an imperial decision, and, as was usual in Germany, everything remained as of old (1747). The dispute between the wife of the master of the hunt, Von Gleichen, and the former countess of Solms-Lich, led to a formal war between Meiningen and Gotha. An elder daughter of the count Von Lich had fallen in love with one of her father's servants, named Pfaffenrath, married him, and came to Meiningen. The duke of Meiningen appointed Pfaffenrath a court and government councillor, and granted his wife a privilege of precedency. Madame von Gleichen was enraged at this proceeding, and seemed determined to maintain her right *vi et armis*. The duke, to avoid fist-cuffs in his chambers, forbade Von Gleichen the court. This naturally became a highly important affair for the whole body of the nobility. Madame Von Gleichen, as it appears, had less ability than courage, but her cause was adopted by Herr von Diemer, who belonged to an order of German knighthood. Diemer wrote a satirical poem upon Madame *court councillor* Pfaffenrath, in

which her sister the younger Solms was not spared. The duke perceived that he could make nothing of the knight, and he therefore besought his jurists to find out or apply some law at least against Gleichen. These learned gentlemen had recourse to the Saxon law upon duelling, caused Madame von Gleichen and her husband to be arrested, and proceeded against her upon this law. The duke caused Diemer's satirical poem to be burned by the hands of the common hangman in the presence of Von Gleichen and his wife, and his judges, who were ready for every service, condemned them to beg pardon. The prisoners refused, applied to the imperial court, and during their imprisonment new libels appeared, to which Madame von Gleichen was said to have contributed, and now the learned and yielding jurists of the duke gave instructions for a formal criminal prosecution. At length the courts of the empire interfered in the case, and with threats commanded the parties to be released upon bail. Meiningen refused to concede the point, and the duke of Gotha with great willingness undertook the execution of the decree, notwithstanding the calling-out of his militia by the duke of Meiningen. The contest was too unequal; the duke of Gotha's soldiers speedily disarmed the Meiningen militia and took possession of three districts of the province, whereupon the duke fled to Coburg and appealed to the diet. Writings were exchanged on this subject during the course of a whole year, and from these barbarously composed papers, in this as well in other cases which have been referred to, our nation had an opportunity of seeing their national law openly and boldly treated, and learning that Turkish and Justinian justice is not German law. The duke was in the end obliged to give way, and to pay the costs of the suit out of the exchequer of two of the districts of his province.

Almost at the same time there arose a vehement and bitter dispute among the Saxon states, Gotha, Coburg, Meiningen, and at length even Hildburghausen also, respecting the administration of Weimar, in the capacity of guardian. On this occasion it proved greatly to the advantage of the duke of Gotha, that he also, as well as the princes of Hesse and other German princes, kept soldiers on foot, whom he hired now here and now there to the highest bidder. Duke Ernest Augustus of Weimar, at whose death this dispute arose, is deserving of mention in this place, in which we are endeavouring to present a picture

of German customs, and of the ideas which every prince and reigning count of the empire entertained with respect to his rights of dominion over his subjects, all the decisions of the imperial tribunals notwithstanding, on account of the singular law which, with the best possible intentions, he proclaimed against all those who from friendship, for money, or any other reason, should recommend incapable persons for public official situations\*. In his will, the duke gave directions that Gotha should undertake the guardianship of the hereditary prince, then a minor, and this actually took place (1748) after the death of Ernest Augustus. Meiningen however claimed the guardianship as of right belonging to him, and was supported in his pretensions by the imperial council. In consequence of this claim, Saxony was filled for two years with crimination and disputes and the empire with deductions; the ministers in Ratisbon issued protocols in no measured language, and the courts disputed in no very refined terms. Because Meiningen had fled from his province and was involved in debt, Coburg-Saalfeld was first substituted, and committed the management of his cause before the diet to Herr von Staudach; this led to a dispute between Gotha and Bayreuth, because Von Staudach was the Bayreuth minister in Ratisbon, and pushed on the cause with great eagerness. Gotha also fell into a serious quarrel with Darmstadt, because the duke thought he had reason to complain of the vehemence of the Darmstadt minister in Ratisbon. For a whole year the learned world in Germany was entertained with the scandal, the abuse and disputes of the five Saxon courts, their advocates and diplomatists, till at length in 1749 the emperor brought about an agreement in Vienna. According to arrangement, Meiningen and Hildburghausen went away

\* Moser, from whose 'Patriotic Archives,' vol. xi. p. 381, we quote the document, observes with justice,—“Nothing more was needed to complete the absurdity, than that there should have been added to the threatened loss of life and property, ‘he himself moreover shall be declared for ever incapable of any other service in our dominions.’” The decree runs as follows:—  
 .....“That in future, during our life as well as after our death, no one in ecclesiastical, military, or civil office, be he who he may, shall undertake to recommend a *subjectum*, much less to promote his interests, without our pleasure, or to take money for the same; on the contrary, whosoever takes money for such promotion of another's interest, shall pay for the first offence every dollar with a thousand; and provided he has not property enough, with an extremely heavy fine; and if he offends a second time, he shall lose his head and his whole property shall be confiscated.”

empty, and therefore the scandal and disputations were renewed in another form.

In pursuance of the terms of the Vienna treaty, the duke of Gotha in person received the homage of the states in Weimar (March 27, 1750). The duke of Meiningen however sent one of his government councillors with a notary and witnesses to make a protest at the gate, and did not suffer the matter to rest there, but disturbed the whole ceremony which had been arranged by the duke of Gotha. Whilst the celebration of the solemnity was proceeding in the town, a Meiningen notary surrounded by witnesses shouted aloud, and protested in the name of his master. In this case, the whole ended in shouting and writing; the duke of Meiningen however avenged himself in another way upon Gotha and his relations, who, in order to make sure of his inheritance, had contrived to exclude the children of his first marriage from the rights of succession. After the death of Schürmann, he married a princess of the house of Hesse-Philippsthal, and had many children by her, so that his grandson in our days has become heir to a portion of the inheritance of the extinct Gotha branch of the Saxon house.

In other parts of Germany disputes were carried on with and concerning the priests, and the Protestants also were not less intolerant than the Catholics. This happily led at that time to public disputes among the legal tribunals; the jurists had need of the people; they came forth from their offices and descended from their throne of decreeing, gave publicity to their writings, and in this proved against their will, that in the midst of their legal tyranny, there was yet another tribunal than that of their barbarous justice. This may be illustrated by the disputes between the city of Cologne and its archbishop, by the differences respecting the church which the catholic counts of Wied-Runkel built in Dierdorf, and by the very ridiculous contest between the Lutheran zealots in Frankfort and the party of the reformed church, in order to compel the latter to build their church beyond the gates, but not within the city.

We obtain some idea of the freedom of the free cities, which was then as it is now, from the example of the poor Ratisbon magistrate, who on account of the same paper was threatened with punishment by Prussia because he suppressed, and by Hanover because he suffered its publication. Documents still

continued to be written by order of the diet respecting the dispute concerning East Friesland, which had in fact been long since practically ended ; at the desire of the ambassador from the estates of Brandenburg, a paper was published entitled "Thoughts of a good Patriot" (Gedanken eines guten Patrioten). The magistrate (1752) threatened by Hanover caused this paper to be taken away from the printer and intended to punish him ; Prussia took offence at this step, and the Prussian ambassador declared that he had given orders for the printing, and demanded the copies to be given back, by which means the poor magistrate was obliged to choose one of two evils. The dispute was brought to a close in true Prussian fashion, that is to say, the magistrate of the free town was happy to have escaped from the infliction of the rattan ; so at least we think we must interpret the words, which we subjoin in a note\*. Under the protection of the Hanoverian minister Von Bähr, (the same who thought he paid the orientalist Michaelis the highest compliment, when, as curator of Göttingen after the death of Munchhausen, he called him the *greatest publicist* in Germany,) there appeared "Reflections on the Case of East Friesland," which might have led the magistrate into another similar difficulty. The latter however, warned and rendered quick-witted by experience, immediately recalled his decree against both book and printer as soon as the Prussian minister declared in writing, that it was he who had commissioned the printer to put the book to press.

Moreover, in the course which was then pursued by the jesuits, and the suppression of every free sentiment in catholic Germany, in Austria and France, Hanover and Prussia were with good reason regarded as the only defenders of legal freedom of body and mind against priestcraft and despotism. Saxony had lost the finest position, for in name at least it stood at the head of the Protestant body (Corpus Evangelicorum), but was in fact completely in the power of the oppressing jesuits.

\* "The king (Frederick II.) regarded the conduct of the magistrate as a gross and intolerable offence, and required from him a public and formal apology such as his ambassador should require in his name ; otherwise the king would himself find means, not of a very agreeable description, to ensure this satisfaction, not only from the magistrate, but from all those concerned in the transaction. Upon this the magistrate sent an express to Berlin, and made some proposals, which were so far at least accepted as *to render it unnecessary to have recourse to the threatened acts of disgrace.*"

On two occasions Prussia and Hanover showed their earnestness and zeal for the protestant cause ; first on the acts of violence perpetrated by the princely branch of the house of Hohenlohe against that which belonged to the rank of counts, and secondly on the adoption of the catholic faith by the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel. Hohenlohe-Bartenstein and Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst ruled over a few small towns and villages in Franconia, in common with the protestant counts of their house, and played the tyrants against these and against the protestant subjects of their common jurisdiction. They carried this so far as at length to abolish the consistory in Oehringen, and to remove a clergyman, a superintendent and a consistorial councillor, from their respective offices. The imperial council issued its decrees against them in vain ; in vain was Germany overwhelmed with controversial and legal writings ; the bishop of Bamberg, all the catholic estates of Germany, and even the emperor himself, in whose name the council had issued their decree against the princes, availed themselves of the endless quirks of the lawyers and of the labyrinth of the public German law, in order by all possible means to prevent or retard the execution of the decree. At length Prussia and Hanover interfered, pointed to the sword as an argument against pens and cowls, and offered their active assistance to the protestant directory of the circle. Prussian and Hanoverian troops were offered to the margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach and of Brandenburg-Culmbach, in case any resistance was offered ; this offer was made public, and the margrave, relying upon its fulfilment if necessary, undertook the execution of the decree. The princes of Hohenlohe, the jesuits in Bavaria, the bishops of Cologne and Bamberg, filled the world with their lamentations and complaints, and the writings on both sides respecting this question, which Moser enumerates in the Hanau reports on affairs connected with religion, would form a library in themselves ; the execution however was accomplished and restitution made, and the princes of Hohenlohe, how cheaply ! paid the costs.

The adhesion of the hereditary prince Frederick of Hesse to the catholic cause, which had at length become known, caused the greater excitement in men's minds because it had been kept concealed for five years (it really took place in 1749), and it was said also that Brandenburg-Culmbach and Deux Ponts concealed their apostasy in a similar jesuitical fashion. Prussia contradicted

the report with respect to the margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach and his wife, and the duke of Deux Ponts himself declared that he had not renounced his religion in Strasburg; but in the case of Hesse, the pope himself, by a brief directed to the archbishops of Germany, happily roused the slumbering or sleeping minds of the people. The aged landgrave William VIII. no sooner became aware of the step which had been taken by his son, than he was greatly enraged, entered into an understanding with Prussia and Hanover, and assembled his estates around him. In connexion with his estates, with Hanover, and with the *Corpus Evangelicorum*, he adopted all imaginable measures not only to secure the protestant faith, but also to make all future interference impossible, to prevent all influence, even the appointment of any catholic to any office in the state after his death, and wholly to put a stop to the public exercise of the religion. The prince was obliged before his father's death to recognise the validity of this will which imposed so many limitations upon himself, to sign a document, and to give his solemn assurance to the estates that he would abide by what his father had prescribed, and Prussia, Denmark, the *Corpus Evangelicorum* and the several powers became guarantees for the execution of the conditions which his father and stepfather George II. had imposed upon the hereditary prince. The education of his three sons was taken out of his hands; they were first sent to Göttingen, and after his grandfather's death the principality of Hanau was bestowed upon the eldest (William IX.) as an independent state\*.

These steps destroyed all the advantages which the pope expected to result from the conversion of the prince, and caused him to publish his most imprudent public brief to the archbishops of Germany.

No one would regard it as wrong, that in this letter he should first warn the bishops and archbishops, in order to guard against and ward off the evils from the catholic religion which might be the result of the course which had been pursued with respect to Hesse; but what follows must have had a much greater effect in keeping the Protestants alive than in rousing up the clergy to exertion, who had not the sophists on their side in

\* The whole of the transactions and documents connected with this remarkable case may be seen in Adelung's 'History of the States of Europe,' (*Staatsgeschichte von Europa*,) Part 7. B. 12. § 391-397.



those times as they have now, and must therefore have considered themselves fortunate and happy to be left at peace. He exhorts his sons in Christ to endeavour to provide the hereditary prince with all the means in their power, to enable him to carry out his *pious* wishes and to make his efforts effectual for the spread of those principles which he had adopted. His holiness showed himself anxious not to neglect anything which his paternal oversight and the duties of the apostolic see might demand from him on this occasion. As the affair in this case wholly related to Germany, even the Catholics were thus again made aware of the continually repeated attempts of the pope to reconquer the country and to bring the people again under the dominion of the holy see: two years before, the same pope, without asking permission of the diet or of the elector of Mayence, with whose rights he interfered, had made the abbot of Fulda a bishop in compliance with the wishes of Austria, and had conferred the archiepiscopal dignity upon the bishop of Würzburg.

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## CHAPTER III.

### FROM THE FIRST CAUSES OF A NEW AND GENERAL EUROPEAN WAR TILL THE PEACE OF HUBERTSBURG.

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#### § I.

#### FREDERICK II. AND THE PRUSSIAN STATE TILL THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR; DISPUTES BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND; SPAIN.

IF Frederick II. of Prussia had never performed any heroic deeds, he would nevertheless be entitled to the honour of being called the only great ruler of the eighteenth century, because he far outstripped his age, and by military power did despite to traditionary prejudices of every description, before public opinion was ripe enough to render him any assistance. As the creator of a new protestant European power, which was however by no means ecclesiastical, Frederick II., relying upon his own intellectual superiority, his experience in war, and the goodwill of a people, for whose well-being and glory he laboured with greater assiduity

than any well-paid servant, contended against the hatred of the old courts, whose ridiculous ostentation he laughed at, against the whole body of priests, whom he despised, and against the feudal aristocracy, to whom, as appears from his opinions about the Hanoverian government, he told the truth with the freedom of a democrat. The most glorious period of the unwearied and sometimes precipitate legislation and administration of the king extends from the peace of Dresden till the seven years' war, for after this event he often had recourse to means to heal the wounds which the war had inflicted upon the country, of which the friends of humanity cannot approve. Among these, we reckon especially the management and farming of the oppressive taxes, the French artists in toll-collecting whom he employed, and the mode in which he favoured spies and informers whose services were necessary to check the contraband trade, by which the poor were obstructed and harassed in the use of one of their most innocent enjoyments (coffee). On the other hand, the cruel and oppressive military and canton system\* of Frederick William was only first mitigated after the close of the seven years' war. After the war a decree was first issued, which commanded what without fear might have been done long before respecting military discipline and the despotic direction of the public officials, viz. that civil officers should be permitted to superintend the raising of the necessary recruits for the public service, and the application of the cabinet order relating to their obligations to serve, which order, as is well known, in Prussia is the substitute for a law. Besides, the friend of mankind, who knows that every comprehensive improvement could only be carried through by the exercise of power, in the period before and during the seven years' war, as well as during the French revolution, feels no regret at the means to which Frederick II. had recourse to collect an army sufficient to uphold the demands of reason against the united power of the European and German princes, who were such as we have described them to be in the foregoing chapter. Everything that Frederick did in favour of enlightenment, toleration, justice and equality before the law, was only accomplished through the power of his army, which was quite

\* [The canton system was the mode of conscription employed by Frederick William. The whole country was divided into districts named cantons, to each of which a military officer was appointed, whose duty it was to see that the given number of recruits was raised.—TRANS.]

disproportioned in its strength to the size of his dominions\*. Frederick's army and its severe discipline were not disadvantageous to Prussia, for Frederick's glory was the glory of his people, and the Germans, who even at the present day would rather seek out and honour an Englishman or a Frenchman than their own modest countryman, by his means gained for a season some sparks of national feeling. Frederick's army was however injurious, because all the small German princes, and Hesse in particular, imitated the example of Prussia, conferred all the commissions upon their nobility, ruled by means of the bayonet and the cat's-tail, sold their peasants who were forced into the service to the highest bidder, and even traded in them beyond the ocean, in America and Java. Besides, Frederick in military affairs was completely in his sphere; before the seven years' war he had already wisely improved all the arrangements and institutions of his father in reference to legislation, administration of the law, and such like subjects. He could indeed only show his good intentions in this respect, point out what occurred to his mind and leave the working out of the details to those who were lawyers by profession. For this purpose he selected Cocceii, who had been at the head of this department under the reign of Frederick William, and who was the more acceptable to the king because he did not belong to the class of learned pedants who were trained in the universities, and were so full of learning that they could not see the wood for trees. The king was desirous of introducing uniformity of legislation and in the modes of administering justice, of curtailing the duration of suits, which under the old system were interminable, of establishing a strict superintendence over the judges, and of banishing the decisions and definitions of the learned and sophistical Roman law, of the obsolete German codes, and controversies which were favourable to pettifogging alone. The recognition of the necessity

\* As we are writing general history and not that of Frederick II., we shall satisfy ourselves with the notices above given and leave the fuller investigation of the subject to others. Even the best patriots among the Prussians will find enough in the six thick volumes of Preuss, full of materials. We fully agree with what Dohm has said on the subject of the canton system, foreign recruiting and the discipline of the army. See his *Memoirs*, vol. iv. pp. 285-339. Major Seidl, who was a blind admirer of Frederick, has also furnished some useful matter in his ridiculous book, which may therefore be consulted with advantage: "*Beleuchtung manches Tadels Friedrichs des Grossen, veranlasst durch den vierten und fünften Theil der Denkwürdigkeiten des Herrn von Dohm, von C. von Seidl.*" Liegnitz, 1821, pp. 85-110.

of these changes and the desire to bring them about belong to Frederick alone, and are among the most honourable of his merits; the mode in which they were effected and the plans which were adopted belong to Cocceii, to whom the subject was unconditionally committed. We leave to those who profess to be learned in such matters to pronounce an opinion upon the nature of the legislation under Frederick II., and upon the decrees which Cocceii caused to be published. It is however obvious even to laymen, that he committed many errors in his constitution of the new tribunals, and that he was by far too precipitate in the composition of his first code and directions for the management of lawsuits, because he was desirous of gratifying the king. The chief points were completed in 1755, and then all remained *in statu quo* till the time of Carmer. The king had projected the plan of improvement, in which a speedy determination of all litigated questions formed his chief design; but the principle that a general should settle law, as he does military regulations, is one which can never be commended or approved of by those who are acquainted with the very involved relation of the administration of justice to our modern and artificial social condition, and even the rapidity of legal decisions Frederick urged on and carried through too much after a military fashion. He demanded reports respecting the number of suits decided, by his notes written on the margin vehemently urged the judges to quicken their decisions, or scoffed at their procrastination. He eradicated, it is true, the old abuses, but it soon appeared that he had sown the seeds of a bountiful crop of new ones. The same lot befell Cocceii's attempts at the reformation of legislation and the improvement of the administration of the law, which were carried through and enforced by military aid, as overtook those of Kreitmayer in Bavaria, which were pedantically conceived and juristically drawn up without the assistance of the elector: in the eighteenth century everything was to be once more completely remodeled, and these new institutions and principles of legislation were found to be imperfect and insufficient in the nineteenth century.

It was very natural for Frederick to entertain mere military ideas respecting criminal law, cabinet administration, and the rights of personal freedom, because a state which, like an army, is governed by orders, cannot subsist unless the commanding general, in case of necessity, has the same full and entire power

over the properties and lives of his subjects which he has over those of his soldiers. In Prussia the king reserved the power of deciding upon this necessity to himself, which in almost all other countries was in the hands of ministers, courtiers, mistresses and officials. The king reserved to himself alone the privilege of confirming or annulling the extreme punishments of the law, to which criminals were sentenced by the courts; he was anxious to see and examine the reasons for which every criminal was condemned, and he alone exercised the right of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment when such steps seemed to him necessary to be taken; he would not entrust these dangerous weapons in the hands of his ministers and officials, as was the case in other states in his time: all this is in the highest degree worthy of our admiration\*. It might be proved by many examples that he sometimes found it necessary to have recourse to the exercise of his military power; we shall however mention only two selected from the time of the seven years' war, because they are of a very different kind. Austria, as he believed, was instrumental in promoting the circulation of a work through Germany, which was neither official, dangerous, nor calculated to lead to a rebellion: the book was entitled "Political History of the mistakes which the European powers have made in reference to the houses of Bourbon and Brandenburg†." He persecuted this work and its abettors, whilst in other respects he maintained and proclaimed the principle of the free expression of opinion. He proceeded still further than this; for he not only importunately pressed the Austrian government to forbid and to burn the book, but he most cruelly harassed the poor magistrate of Ratisbon, who at that time had the misfortune to be a tool and a martyr in all the disputes which took place in Germany‡. On another

\* On this point we shall quote the words of a writer who was born under the old system, and to whom it never once occurred that any objection could possibly be made to the principle of governing the people of a state as if they were a regiment of soldiers. The well-meaning (the author knew him personally) major von Seidl drily observes:—"The commandants of the fortresses were not allowed to receive any prisoner without a command signed by the king's own hand, in which the nature and duration of the arrest were strictly pointed out." And he adds with great *naïveté*: "As far as I know, this is the case in no other state, and is a means of guarding against the commission of the smallest injustice by any one."

† "Politische Historie der Staatsfehler, welche die europäischen Mächte in Rücksicht der Häuser Bourbon und Brandenburg begangen haben."

‡ The work was addressed to the learned publicist Moser, and was in the end neither burned in Vienna nor Ratisbon, although the Prussian minister

occasion he caused privy councillor Färber to be even executed in Spandau (October 1746) without ever having brought him before an impartial tribunal, or having assigned any reason, on account of the very generally expressed accusation of suspicious correspondence and of circulating writings. Göthe in a tone of bitter irony and ridicule has set a very small value upon Frederick's principles of toleration\*; but from whatever source his toleration sprung, the king in those intolerant times put to shame both Protestants and Catholics. He not only maintained all the catholic institutions in Silesia, but he built a catholic church in Berlin, and gave the government in Halberstadt a very suitable reply when they wished to intermeddle in an affair which was purely a matter of conscience, and to compel the Dominicans to administer the Lord's supper and give absolution to a catholic, which they had refused him on account of his having contracted a marriage contrary to the rules of the church†.

stated to the magistrate of Ratisbon, "That in this book, the respect which was due to his majesty the king of Prussia was altogether forgotten, and that his most gracious majesty himself and his actions, as well as those of his most illustrious ancestors, now resting in God, were attacked and calumniated in the vilest manner: and that moreover the most godless principles were established, calculated to destroy the whole system of the empire, nay, every bond of human society, and all that is to be regarded as inviolable and holy."

\* In Weimar, Göthe in the dialogue between minister and king, Haman and Ahasuerus, wrote as follows:—

AHASUERUS.

"Mein Freund, ich lobe dich, du sprichst nach deiner Pflicht,  
Doch wie's die andern sehn, so sieht's der König nicht,  
Mir ist es einerlei, wem sie die Psalmen singen,  
Wenn sie nur ruhig sind, und mir die Steuern bringen."

Before Göthe was in Weimar, he wrote and we find in print as follows:—

HAMAN.

..... "will belehren  
Und zum Unglauben sie bekehren.

AHASUERUS.

"In so fern ist's mir einerlei,  
Doch brauch't's all' dünkt mich nicht Geschrei,  
Lasst sie am Sonnenlicht sich vergnügen,  
Flüssig bei ihren Weibern liegen,  
Damit wir tapfre Kinder kriegen."

† The determination of the cabinet runs thus:—By their (viz. the Dominicans) refusing to administer the ordinances of the church to the said Berkmeier, no attack is made upon our rights, which are reserved to us in reference to dispensations in cases of marriage: they do nothing more than exclude the supplicant from a privilege which he himself has lost by contracting a marriage forbidden by the Romish church, and which he cannot obtain so long as he remains a member of that church, and is acquainted with the necessity of a dispensation from the pope.

The same may be truly said of Frederick's mode of administration, of his encouragement of industry and agriculture, which has been said of his management of the legal tribunals and the police. His strict regard to responsibility and administration, his unceasing activity, his tact, his searching eye, and his choice of useful and unprejudiced men, his frugality, even his stinginess, all made him profitable to his nation and are deserving of admiration; the system which he followed was bad, and among the innumerable decrees and measures which were devised in and issued from his cabinet, the evil ones by far outweighed the good. It is not our province to investigate and prove the justice of this opinion; we shall make it clear by examples that it is an error, for any mortal man, even though he be the greatest, to imagine that he can turn and guide the life of a people, the direction of its industry, the mode of its trade, as easily as he is accustomed to command the order and movements of an army. It was not the system which was beneficial to the public, but the king's personal superintendence, his speedy attention to complaints, his enmity to German indolence and slavish adherence to custom, his zeal against cabals, his disapproval of all obstructions to intercourse, and his quick and effectual remedy of all complaints against public men. The advantage which resulted from the vigilant superintendence of a vigorous ruler over a tardy administration were especially apparent in the newly acquired provinces of Silesia and East Friesland. He succeeded in a very short time in incorporating Silesia so completely with his small kingdom, which is an undeniable testimony of his ability and good government, that its inhabitants have ever afterwards remained as faithful to his person and cause and to those of his successors as the oldest Prussian subjects; and they were not only ready to make every sacrifice, but he even succeeded, and that without the exercise of the slightest oppression, in raising eight millions of revenue from the country from which Austria only derived two. Various circumstances no doubt contributed to this result. After the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Frederick removed all restrictions upon trade and commerce; he endeavoured to promote the working of their mines; he sold the town of Schmiedeberg to a noble house and made it a corporate town; he brought merchants and artists into the country; he protected the Hussites who were oppressed in Bohemia, and granted them free settlements on the unoccupied lands; but there were also no

want of proofs that cabinet orders and the prescriptions of educated political economists never made a people successful or happy. It occurred to the king that the old and beautiful custom of decking the houses with green at Whitsuntide after a long Polish winter was injurious to the cultivation of wood, because many young birch-trees were cut down on the occasion; immediately this old and delightful custom was strictly forbidden under arbitrary penalties affecting property and person. The king had perceived that many of the good Brandenburgers on the banks of the Elbe cultivated vines, and pressed a sour wine from the grapes, which they were in the habit of drinking to the great discomfort of their stomachs; that was very pleasing to the frugal king, and he not only publicly commended his good Potsdamers for drinking bad wine from patriotic motives, but he made them a present of some thousands of the choicest vines, in order to improve the quality of their wine! The case was not much different with the raising of silk, although this had been attempted to be forced into cultivation in the most ridiculous manner, in the Palatinate and Bavaria also; but it happily as speedily disappeared as it had originated. Frederick brought several Frenchmen to Berlin, who were to give instruction to all who desired it in the mode of breeding and managing silkworms, to whom also the cocoons were brought, and by whom they were wound off at a fixed price. When the plan was so far accomplished, a decree was issued, directing the planting of mulberry-trees in *Pomerania*; a notification was given that the new silk would be received at the *royal gold manufactory* in Berlin, at a certain stated price; and finally, prizes were distributed to those who produced the raw material in the largest quantities. In all these arrangements it is impossible to avoid admiring the power and versatility of a great mind, which although engaged with the most important concerns, could also yield attention to trifles; but the absurdity of the project itself is too obvious to need remark. It may be readily shown, from one or two examples of undertakings which were directed by royal cabinet orders in the years immediately preceding the seven years' war, that this continual interference with the proper business of the citizens and peasants was more disadvantageous than useful to the public\*.

\* The whole of this subject will be found so admirably treated in Part 4. of Dohm's *Memoirs*, that we shall add a few particulars instead of transcribing



The king had undoubtedly given a great impulse to Prussian trade, and especially to that of Königsberg, which is now in such a reduced condition ; he had made the Oder navigable, cut canals and erected locks, improved and cleared out the harbour of Swinemunde and roused the inhabitants of Stettin to activity ; but what can be said, when he himself was desirous of becoming a manufacturer and merchant, and of being a model to others ? We do not refer to the Berlin porcelain manufactory, which may have had its use ; but the royal gold and silver manufactory, and the preparation of various coloured papers, like the cultivation of silk, could only be maintained by ordinances and measures which imposed the most inconvenient and hurtful restrictions upon private speculation and industry. The same royal secretary Krügel, who was very active in the affair of the silk, was also the ruling superintendent of the two manufactories just referred to. In order to maintain the royal paper manufactory, the introduction of coloured papers from abroad was strictly prohibited, and every one directed to Krügel. In East Friesland, where the king really founded so many admirable and useful institutions, this passion for regulating trade and manufactories by ordinances and this intermeddling wisdom produced similar effects.

East Friesland was not less indebted to Frederick than Silesia. The author of this history remembers well, in his youthful days, how proudly every Frieslander spoke of his king, and how deeply this annoyed his own fellow-countrymen who were the nearest neighbours to Friesland, and had at that time the misfortune to be obliged to obey the hairdresser (commissioner Schön) of the foolish Frederick Augustus of Anhalt-Zerbst. Frederick awakened East Friesland from a long and a deep slumber, protected and upheld its ancient institutions, and practised toleration : under Frederick's protection the cause of enlightenment was defended by a general superintendent like Coners against a fearful disputant like his neighbour Meenen ; the whole affairs of the finances and public domains, and particularly the debts of the country, were regulated, and everything was placed upon a systematic and solid footing. Even recruiting was compromised with the inhabitants on payment of a certain sum of money, because these maritime people were not fond of the land service ; but here

what he has written. With respect to East Friesland, the author can speak from his own experience in his youth. It will be useful also to compare Seidl's singular book with the accounts given by Dohm.

also there was no want of perverse regulations and attempts. Instead of reforming the whole system of education, and of paying the teachers and clergy, who in those sandy plains were worse provided for than shepherds, and thus by an increase of their income procuring for them the necessary influence in their parishes, Frederick's mind was full of the project of establishing an Asiatic trading company in Embden, and he appointed a number of barons in Berlin to be the directors of the association\*. The king even published a proclamation respecting the favour to be extended to the trade to China, of whose success the very fact of a trading company in Embden being directed at Berlin must have raised doubts in every one's mind. The cultivation of the extensive heaths and moors of East Friesland would have been profitable to the country in itself by the settlement of industrious day labourers, and doubly so from the deficiency of such persons which existed in the marshy districts; but the king brought his new settlers from Berlin, and what took place? Ragamuffins of all kinds and the lowest mob constituted the migration, and the author of this history can testify from his own knowledge, how unsafe these inaccessible neighbourhoods became, how the money of the frugal king was wasted, and the inhabitants of those costly settlements, twenty years afterwards, from misery, idleness, filth, beggary, robbery and murder, had grown to be the terror of the former inhabitants of the country. These colonist villages were at that time, after twenty years, in the same condition in which an eye-witness observed the two hundred and fifty towns built by Catharine II. in Russia to have been, when he visited them twenty to thirty years later.

It was undoubtedly very advantageous to Prussian navigation, that Frederick was greatly esteemed by the naval powers, and that he himself was never weary in aiding the cause of the most insignificant boatmen as well as in carrying out the plans of the greatest shipowners. We might speak of the pains bestowed by Frederick in converting the banks of the Oder into arable land, in promoting the rearing and pasturage of sheep, and other similar projects, had not all these been admirably and impartially detailed and treated of by Von Dohm. Frederick clearly did everything for the internal advantage of his kingdom which the nature of a purely military state allowed, and which could be ef-

\* Count Ramecken, baron von Schwerts, baron von Venezobre, and baron von Bilefeld.

fected without essential injury to the nobles who were possessors of the soil, and whom he undoubtedly wished to sustain. We pass on therefore to the consideration of foreign affairs.

The king of Prussia, as ruler of six millions of men, understood how to maintain his dignity among the great powers without employing splendid embassies, or spending immense sums of money on his diplomatists, whose salaries were regulated by a very slender scale. He declined the proposal of the empress Elizabeth to unite his sister Amalia, abbess of Quedlinburg, in marriage with the grand-duke Peter, under the honourable pretence, that he regarded it as unbecoming his dignity that she should change her religion. As is well known, he is said at the same time truly but bitterly to have expressed his opinion among his confidential companions respecting the manner in which the occupation of the throne of Russia had been effected. Bestuscheff is said to have made the empress acquainted with his remarks and to have incensed her against the king, but notwithstanding he recommended as a wife for the grand-duke the daughter of the clever princess of Holstein, who was married to a prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, then in the Prussian service. This princess, Sophia Augusta, on her adoption of the Greek faith, assumed the name of Catharine (1744), and the Russian grand-duke was no sooner declared by the elector of Saxony, as vicar of the empire, to have attained his majority in the character of a duke of Holstein, than this unholy union was solemnized with unexampled splendour (1745).

The Russians were no favourites with the grand-duke Peter ; his own little territory was more an object of interest and affection in his eyes than the whole immense empire of Russia. In his youth, when he amused himself with soldiers in Holstein, he had been altogether won over to the cause of king Frederick and his military Prussians by Holstein officers who had been in the Prussian service, and he hoped for support from Prussia against Denmark. Having obtained permission to train some Holstein troops in Oranienbaum, not far from Petersburg, he placed his little corps wholly upon a Prussian footing, and manifested a disposition which may have been very noble indeed, but was completely in opposition to the system of Russian policy. Bestuscheff is said to have drawn great sums from England and Austria\*, and he might also upon more personal grounds have been

\* The marquis de Hautefort, French ambassador in Vienna, in his manu-

desirous of raising a prejudice in the mind of the empress against her nephew as well as against Frederick; but it cannot be denied, that he had also very good political grounds for being unfavourable to Frederick. The latter could neither be bribed nor deceived, Sweden and Denmark were secretly supported by him, and he prevented both states from falling completely under the dominion of Russia; this embittered Bestuscheff against him. The Russian minister was continually engaged with Kaunitz and Brühl in laying plans and forming cabals, whilst the grand-duke on his part played the Prussian spy and communicated all he heard to Frederick; for this reason Bestuscheff endeavoured to alienate the empress from her nephew, to whom she was much attached, and he at length succeeded in his design. From the year 1746 Elizabeth caused her nephew to be carefully watched, surrounded him with spies, obliged him to send away all his Holstein servants, and suffered Pechlin and Brömbesen alone as Holstein ministers to remain, who were more zealous servants of Bestuscheff than of their own duke.

About this time George II. was displeased with Frederick on account of East Friesland; Russia suspected that he was desirous of supporting the king of Sweden; Bestuscheff in 1746 had drawn up the treaty which was concluded with Saxony and Austria in very equivocal terms as regards Prussia, and in 1747 Saxony entered into a new agreement, in which the article that had formed a part of the treaty with Austria in 1745, and which referred to the partition of the Prussian dominions, was introduced. It appears from the papers which Frederick carried away from the Saxon archives and caused to be printed on his invasion of Saxony, that this affair had been afterwards the subject of extensive correspondence; such a result however could not be obtained, although Russia and Austria took every possible means of showing their dislike to Prussia.

With astonishing energy Frederick maintained the honour and dignity of his little kingdom against the greatest and most powerful ones in Europe without exception. Russia had recalled all her subjects from the Prussian service, and caused captain von

script correspondence to which we have already referred, No. 246, February 1751, having given full details of all that Maria Theresa had verbally communicated, adds,—“*L'impératrice me confirma elle-même que c'étoit l'avarice de M. de Bestuscheff qui étoit la principale cause de l'accession de l'Angleterre au traité de Petersbourg.*” We must be persuaded she had the best reasons for being acquainted with the fact.

Stackelberg to be arrested, who was secretly recruiting for Prussia: Frederick immediately returned like for like. He seized upon two or three Livonians as hostages for Stackelberg, did not suffer the Russian ambassador to publish his letters of recal in the Prussian newspapers, and gave him a very serious proof of his displeasure when he ventured to send the commands of his empress to individual officers. About the same time (1750) Russia had collected troops on the borders of Finland, and Frederick immediately sent Herr von Wahrendorf as chargé d'affaires only to Petersburg, in order to make some energetic representations respecting Swedish affairs. On this occasion Bestuscheff adopted a singular means of avoiding an explanation. He had recourse to etiquette, and refused not merely to present the ambassador to the empress, but even to receive his dispatches or hear his proposals, till he had received the declaration of his sovereign with regard to his rank. In order further to relieve himself from the necessity of hearing him at all, he sent an immediate order to the Russian ambassador in Berlin to leave the capital without taking leave, on account of the disputes concerning the officers and soldiers, and the want of attention shown to him by Frederick: this would necessarily oblige Frederick to pursue the same course with regard to Wahrendorf in Petersburg\*.

\* Court councillor Simolin was sent to deliver a note to Herr von Wahrendorf on the 4th of December 1750, before his departure from Petersburg, which the latter indeed would not receive, because Bestuscheff had refused every communication forwarded to him by the Prussian ambassador. This note was composed in a vehement and almost warlike tone. It was immediately afterwards communicated to the marquis de Hautefort in Vienna, and he forwarded it to the ministry in Paris. We shall here quote the conclusion of the paper (*Archives des Aff. Etrangères, Autriche, No. 246*): "S. M. l'impératrice de Russie laisse à présent à juger à un chacun, si les procédés du roi de Prusse ne sont pas contre le droit de gens, le droit commun et contre l'honnêteté et la politesse usitées entre les cours, en enlevant de violence des sujets étrangers, en les forçant d'entrer à son service, en faisant arrêter ceux qui de la manière due et accoutumée demandoient leur congé, en assurant par des lettres de la propre main du roi aux sujets de la Russie, qui sont à son service, qu'ils n'étoient point tenus d'obéir aux susdits rappels, en promettant de se rendre responsable de ce qui en résulteroit, en voulant donner une autre interprétation aux intentions de la cour de Russie, contrôler ses démarches, prêter un sens pervers au traité de Nystadt et faire subir l'interrogatoire d'une façon inusitée et de propre autorité à un ministre qui n'est tenu de rendre compte à qui que ce soit qu'à sa propre cour." And then the conclusion is as follows:—"La cour de Russie ayant examinée avec attention la conduite du roi de Prusse envers son ministre, en a tiré avec justice la conclusion que le roi de Prusse ne se soucioit plus de cultiver l'amitié et l'alliance avec elle. En conséquence de quoi il lui a plu d'ordonner à Mr. Gros, conseiller de chancellerie de Russie, et son ministre à la cour de Prusse de partir de Berlin sans aucun délai et sans prendre congé de personne et de revenir à sa cour, afin que la suprême dignité de S. M. l'im-

This dispute had for the moment no other consequences than the absence of a Russian ambassador for a time from Berlin, and that of a Prussian one from Petersburg; but the more closely France and Austria afterwards drew the bonds of union, the more Russia became alienated from Prussia, and even England had at one time acceded to the threatening alliance of Austria and Russia. In 1751 Prussia forbade the circulation of Russian copper money in her territories; in 1752 Russia refused to the merchants trading to Danzig the privilege of conveying their wares by Königsberg, and commanded them to take the way through Poland; and at length in May 1753 a great conference\* was held in Moscow, and a resolution adopted, to have recourse to all possible means to prevent the further growth of the Prussian monarchy, and to reduce it to its former limits and condition. This was intimately connected with the cabals which were carried on in Vienna, Versailles, and Dresden. In the year 1754 matters had been so far matured, that troops were collected in Russia, and held in readiness at a moment's notice, to make an attack upon Prussia in combination with Austria†. At that time Frederick was only king of seven millions of men; he was however the only protector of Protestantism, the champion of the claims and rights of free minds, about which neither despots nor the selfish masses felt the slightest interest. He stood alone in opposition to the whole of ancient Europe, to despots and aristocrats, to all the powers and abuses of the middle ages! And modern history presents no grander spectacle, than the struggle which was commenced by him in this singular position!

England was at length induced, by her anxiety respecting Hanover, to favour the cause of Frederick; she had actually concluded a defensive treaty with Russia in September 1755, and the *pératrice de Russie, blessée dans la personne de son ministre, ne fût plus exposée à des inconvéniens dont la mesure avoit déjà été comblée ainsi qu'il a été exposé ci-dessus.*"

\* This conference was composed of representatives of the Russian ministry and those of the various persons interested in trade.

† The correspondence of the marquis de Hautefort contains a very remarkable passage bearing on this point. He writes to the French ministry from Vienna under date of March 13th, 1754, as follows:—"La cour de Vienne fera toujours ses efforts pour retenir dans le voisinage de l'Allemagne un gros corps de troupes Russes. Il paroît que cette cour est aujourd'hui dans l'intimité la plus étroite avec celle de Petersbourg. D'ailleurs le système favori du ministère Russe est depuis longtems de chercher à prendre part aux affaires d'Allemagne. Ainsi je pense que ces deux cours seront facilement d'accord sur ce point."

latter power had agreed, for a compensation in money, to place 55,000 men at her disposal for the defence of Hanover. This treaty was annulled as soon as Russia formed an alliance with France, which was at war with England, and with Austria against the king of Prussia. In consequence of this alliance, George II. was compelled to look for the protection of Hanover through the instrumentality of Prussia. The grand-duke was at that time very useful to the king of Prussia, with whom he kept up a continual correspondence by letter. He gave him secret information, made him acquainted with all the secret plans which were projected in Petersburg, threatened all those who promoted Bestuscheff's views against Prussia with his future vengeance, and as his aunt became weaker and more indisposed, he protested openly against the whole system. He united with the English ambassador to endeavour to withdraw his aunt from the coalition, and during her illness he even ventured to send commands to the generals in chief, which were the very reverse of those which they received from the ministry of the empire. Frederick on his part did all in his power to serve the grand-duke by wise counsels ; but Peter was a man by far too narrow-minded to be able to follow the advice of so great a man as the king of Prussia.

The war which was at that time being carried on beyond seas between England and France, led to a more rapid development of the causes and to an earlier commencement of the war in Germany than might have been expected from the well-known tardiness of Austria, the dislike of the French to this unnatural coalition, the miserable condition of the Saxon government, and the singular state of affairs in Russia. At that time, the present United States of America were still an English colony, and limited to the space lying between the Alleghany, Appalachian or Blue Mountains, and the sea ; Canada and Louisiana belonged to the French, who also laid claim to the whole tract constituting the valleys of the Mississippi and the Ohio. This claim the English did not and would not recognise ; and they were besides involved in disputes with the French respecting the boundaries of Acadia or New Scotland, and in the West Indies were desirous of enjoying the exclusive possession of the islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago and Dominica, which had hitherto been unclaimed by any power as its property. At the peace of Utrecht the wastes of Nova Scotia were ceded by France to England

with the expression "*within the ancient boundaries.*" In the peace of Aix la Chapelle no one thought of giving these boundaries a more distinct definition, and immediately afterwards England began to extend her claims and to maintain that her territories stretched to the river St. Lawrence. On the east coast of Nova Scotia the English founded the town of Halifax, and formed settlements on the west towards the St. Lawrence, where they came in contact with the French, whose settlements extended from that river eastward. The French settlers who were scattered about among the English colonists began to oppose their further advance, and were supported by their countrymen, who were stationed in the forts built on the boundaries of Canada.

The dispute respecting the boundaries of Nova Scotia was closely connected with another, the great importance of which has only been developed by succeeding times, and the prosperity of the North American states. The question at issue was no less than the right of property to the then waste, but now rich territory constituting the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio, and the trade in furs, which was at that time far more considerable and important than it is at present. The French and English colonists on the Ohio had had previous disputes; but the English government, to the great dissatisfaction of the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and of the whole body of the Indians, no sooner gave a monopoly of the whole internal trade of North America, together with an extensive tract of land on the Ohio, to a company of speculating merchants in London, than it led to the commencement of actual hostilities. In consequence of their patent, the Ohio company attempted to get exclusive possession of the trade with the Indians; the French on the other hand drove away the merchants or their agents by force, and built a fort for their own protection at the mouth of the Monogahela\*, as well as to watch over and guard the lands on the Ohio and Mississippi. The French proposed to construct a whole chain of forts, to which Crown Point on the borders of New York and the forts on lakes Erie and Ontario belonged. These were to be connected in the north with a chain of fortresses on the frontiers of Nova Scotia, and another chain of forts on the Ohio and Mississippi were to serve as a barrier in the west against the further progress or encroachment of the English.

\* This fort was called *Du Quesne*, in honour of the name of the French governor of Canada.



These disputes, which terminated in actual hostilities, occurred at the time in which Pelham, supported by Pitt and Legge, was at the head of the English ministry. The government possessed both the confidence of the country and the favour of the king, so that the parliament, which had now existed during its whole legal term of seven years, might be dissolved and a new one elected without endangering the stability of the ministry or the government. With a view to please the king by the payment of English subsidies to Mayence, Cologne, Bavaria, and the Palatinate, the ministers supported the Hanoverian influence on the election of a king of the Romans proposed by Austria, which Prussia tried to prevent; but except this, their attention was wholly occupied with the means of promoting the industry of the nation, which was increasing with every year.

Pelham unfortunately died in the year 1754, at the very moment in which the English and French, without having engaged in actual hostilities, were drawn up in warlike array against each other both in the East Indies and America. The duke of Newcastle, who succeeded his brother as premier and first lord of the treasury, was wholly unequal to the circumstances, and his obstinacy, self-confidence and pride would not suffer him to concede the management of affairs to such men as Pitt and Legge, who were also not very acceptable to the king. There arose a spirit of discontent and tumult among the people, and of disagreement and movement in the ministry, at the very moment in which unity would have been of the greatest importance, because the French had actually gained some advantages in the East Indies and America, and Hanover was threatened with an attack. The English nation complained that immense sums were squandered upon useless alliances in favour of Hanover, whilst fleets and armies should have been sent to the East and West Indies.

At that time constant wars were carried on in the East Indies about the possession of its provinces by native princes, who called themselves vassals of the Grand Mogul; they sometimes called in the French to their aid, who had a settlement in Pondicherry, and sometimes the English, who had troops in Madras. Bussy, a French colonel, at the head of a small body of troops disciplined after the European manner, rendered such important services to the Soobadhar of the Deccan in his incessant disputes, that the latter ceded to the French East India Company a

greater tract of territory than had ever hitherto been possessed by any European power in India\*, not even excepting Portugal in the highest bloom of its prosperity. This would immediately have led to a war between England and France, had not the French government disapproved of the course which had been pursued by the ambitious director Dupleix, whom the East India Company had sent to Pondicherry. The director was recalled, the company relinquished their claim and refused to take possession of the ceded territory, and the English were appeased. In America, on the other hand, recourse had been had to hostilities which rendered a war altogether unavoidable.

The English sent major Washington, who was then adjutant-general of the Virginia militia, and who afterwards became commander-in-chief and first president of North America, to the commandant of Fort du Quesne, requiring him under threats of hostilities to evacuate the territory. The commandant referred the English to the governor of Canada, and a course of negotiations was commenced, the result of which must have led both parties to foresee the certainty of a war. After a variety of representations and replies on the one part and the other, the English at length issued directions to meet force by force, but without at the same time making a declaration of war. These disputes in America and the diplomatic correspondence between the two governments in Europe continued for two years, and the English ministry had in reality adopted no measures for the prosecution of the war in 1754, even after acts of hostility had actually taken place between the French and the American militia, in which the latter were repulsed. The declaration of war was first made when the French sent out a fleet with reinforcements and stores to Canada. This was no sooner known, than the English sent a fleet to prevent the French from entering the St. Lawrence, and general Braddock with a small division of troops to attack the French forts.

\* The Soobadhar of the Deccan was supported by Col. Bussy with a corps of 800 Europeans, and a body of 5000 Indians disciplined in the European manner, against his enemies and the English. As a reward for this service, Dupleix received an extent of territory stretching from the Carnatic to the neighbourhood of the Ganges. The five ceded districts, afterwards called the northern Circars (on account of their position as regarded Pondicherry and Madras), consisted of the whole sea-coast of Golconda and a part of Orissa. They extended from the river Crishna to the lake of Chilka, from south to north one hundred and twenty German miles (500 English) in length; at the narrowest to 6 (26 English), and at the broadest part to 18 in breadth (80 English).

The animosity of the French towards the English at that time was very great, in consequence of the latter having seized upon some of their ships without having first made a declaration of war, whilst the French merchant ships and frigates kept at sea, confidently relying on the continuance of peace. Braddock arrived in America in January 1755, and immediately prosecuted his march into the interior; but in the beginning of July he was surprised by the enemy in the woods, and his troops driven back, before he had reached the forts, or even seen the enemy in the field. On this occasion Washington gained great glory; for whilst the regular troops, who looked with contempt upon the militia, were routed, and Braddock himself killed, he covered the retreat of the militia, and rescued the remnant of the small English army. The English generals Johnston and Shirley, who were now sent against the forts of Crown Point and Niagara, were it is true more successful in the field, but still they proved unable to reduce the forts.

The king of England was in Hanover at the very time when the French, excited by the capture of their ships, suddenly broke off all further negotiations, and not only recalled their ambassador from London, but also the commissioner who had been sent to Hanover. By means of their often repeated and universally condemned deceit, the English in a few months had deprived the French of not less than three hundred ships, with eight thousand sailors on board. They had been unsuccessful indeed in seizing upon the whole French fleet, according to their design; the ships, favoured by a fog, succeeded in entering the St. Lawrence; but in June 1755 two ships of the line, which had been accidentally detained, fell into their hands. The forts of Beauséjour and Gaspareaux on the borders of Nova Scotia were also captured, and the French driven wholly out of these northern parts.

Immediately after the commencement of the war, France sought to draw Spain into the contest, by the proposal of a family compact among the Bourbons; on the other hand, the English were obliged to furnish money to purchase defenders for the king's German principality. The treaty already referred to had been concluded with Russia, and Gotha, Hesse, and some other small princes obtained considerable sums, to keep on foot a certain number of soldiers to be used in case of neces-

sity. Bavaria likewise accepted ten thousand pounds from England, although it had been already won over by Austria and France, and afterwards actually sent six thousand men, paid for with French money, to the aid of the Austrians in Bohemia. The German princes in general drew large sums of money from abroad, whilst their own country was being ruined by war; and the soldiers received no better pay than they would have obtained in the service of their native land.

If Carvajal had been still alive, the efforts of the French in Spain would probably have been attended with success; but this noble-minded man, the only one of the whole court who was proof against corruption and intrigue, had died a short time before the outbreak of hostilities (1754). King Ferdinand himself was also incapable of any firm resolves, or of giving the question any degree of rational consideration in the brief intervals in which he was roused from his melancholy and hypochondriac condition by his wife or Farinelli. His wife Barbara, who guided his decisions, was a participant in the cabals of the Austrian minister (she was a granddaughter of the emperor Leopold), and under the influence of a contemptible avarice, she was not inaccessible to English gold. The Spanish ministry at that time, even according to the evidence of the English ambassador, as recorded by Coxe, constituted a formal regency. At the time of the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Carvajal and Ensenada were the chief persons in the government; the former a man of rank and a thorough Spaniard, the latter a *parvenu*, and one who laid great stress upon outward distinctions, as such persons are accustomed to do; but he was at the same time skilful and laborious, devoted to the French, and ready for every species of intrigue. On the first breaking out of hostilities between France and England, Carvajal, who afterwards changed his opinion on this point, succeeded in defeating the attempt to form a union in peace and war between the two branches of the house of Bourbon; his exertions in this case were supported and aided by the English ambassador Keene, and after Carvajal's death the English were further successful in overthrowing Ensenada and in bringing an Irishman who had been naturalized in Spain into the ministry. By this means, any more intimate alliance between France and Spain was prevented during the life of Ferdinand.

With respect to Ensenada's overthrow, Keene boasts that he,

in conjunction with the Austrian ambassador Migazzi\*, the duke of Huescar, and count of Valparaiso, had prevented Ensenada's appointment as minister for foreign affairs, and had succeeded in having the adventurer Wall invested with the office. This man had first succeeded in raising himself to the rank of a general in the Spanish service, and he was then sent as ambassador to London, from whence he was recalled in all haste to assume the direction of the ministry. Before he entered upon his office, an intrigue had been planned against Ensenada, which is given in all its details by Coxe from the letters of the English ambassador, and Wall had scarcely taken his place in the cabinet, when Ensenada was overthrown and the whole influence of France annihilated.

The jesuit, who in the character of the king's confessor had up till this time maintained the minister in his office, was now only just able to guard him against a criminal investigation, but unable to ward off the sentence of banishment, because unluckily his order in this very year, by their armed resistance in Paraguay, had incensed both Spain and Portugal against them; and moreover Ensenada hastened the catastrophe by his own imprudence. With a view to counteract and oppose the unceasing cabals of the English, he had ventured to give directions upon the most important subjects without consulting the king or his colleagues, so that his enemies were able to place documents before the king which furnished undeniable proofs of Ensenada's presumption. When we read the letter which, after Ensenada's arrest, was addressed by Wall to Keene, whom he regarded as the author of his fortunes, we shall see that the new minister did not know even how to spell his own mother-tongue with correctness; and when we read the catalogue of stores and treasures that were found in the house of Ensenada, we shall see that he administered his office precisely after the model of Brühl†. A detailed account of the cabals against En-

\* The marquis de Hautefort has given the following description of this archbishop of Vienna, afterwards so celebrated among the Germans. He was indebted for his promotion to the jesuits:—"Ce Migazzi est un intrigant du premier ordre, suivant le bruit général. Je n'ose cependant vous rien affirmer là dessus. Mais s'il ne l'est pas sa physiognomie est bien trompeuse, car il en a bien tout l'extérieur. C'est la créature de M. de Bartenstein."

† Wall's letter to Keene may be found in Coxe. We shall here add the remarkable inventory of the things found in the house of Ensenada: 100,000 Spanish dollars in gold, 292,000 in silver, a sword worth 7000, jewels 92,000, orders and stars 18,000, porcelain 2,000,000 (therefore for sale), salt-fish,

senada, such as is given by Coxe, can only be useful or instructive to diplomatists.

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## § II.

### FRANCE, AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, SAXONY TILL THE BATTLE OF LOWOSITZ AND THE CAPITULATION OF PIRNA.

The inward dissolution of the whole bonds of society was at this time making the more rapid progress in France, the more confidently the government, the nobility and the clergy placed their confidence upon the outward appearance of quiet. Neither minister nor court, parliament nor clergy troubled themselves to think about the changes which were taking place in opinions, education, and literature; they were in fact totally unaware of the signs of the times, and by their conduct and mutual animosities made themselves objects of ridicule or hatred to the intelligent members of the community. Louis XV. himself, according to the testimony of Marmontel, was a man wholly destitute of morality and shame, and is the true representative of those classes with whom he exclusively associated. He affected the appearance of a dignity of which he possessed none of the reality; he was anxiously scrupulous about the observance of forms whose significance had long been lost, and he possessed all that pride and egotism which those are accustomed to exhibit who from their youth up have never learned to sacrifice anything for others, but to think only of their own interest or enjoyment. His religion consisted in an anxious fear of future punishment; his religious exercises in a mechanical superstition, which was common to him with the commonest of the people; wherefore he and those like-minded were accustomed to cherish such feelings and conduct, because they falsely presumed that it would serve as a bond upon the multitude.

cotton in vast quantity, furniture invaluable, forty repeating and other watches Gallician and French hams 14,000 (also for trade), pictures 100,000, 1500 Arrobas chocolate, forty-eight complete court dresses, 180 pairs of trousers, 1170 pairs of silk hose, 600 terzios of snuff. On comparing this with the well-known list of effects found in Brühl's palace, our readers will perceive that the wardrobe of the Saxon minister, although much richer than that of the Spaniard in shoes, boots, slippers and dressing-gowns, yet contained among its numberless variety of articles no wares for trade.

The depth of degradation to which morality had fallen may be seen both from the dissatisfaction which the favour shown to Pompadour first excited at court, as well as by the manner in which she afterwards dwelt and lived in Versailles. The court was by no means dissatisfied that the king introduced or treated his mistress like a queen, but only because she was not originally a lady of rank\*. Pompadour not only resided in Versailles, as the favourites of the Russian empress did in Petersburg, publicly and with royal splendour along with the king, but she ruled the whole kingdom without restraint, appointed and removed ministers of state, distributed spiritual and temporal honours, and brought about a union with Austria, of which every French patriot heartily disapproved. We shall now offer a few brief remarks respecting the means of which Kaunitz availed himself, and the intrigues which he continued to carry on through the instrumentality of Stahremberg, to cement the union with France, after he had returned to Vienna in 1753, and undertaken the whole direction of affairs in Austria.

From the year 1752, the marchioness of Pompadour was acknowledged by the duke of Richelieu also, who was always prepared to introduce new favourites, as a complete mistress of the art of providing for the pleasures and sensual conversation of the king. She had made herself indispensable as an adviser in domestic and political affairs, and had entered into the most intimate alliance with Soubise and other noble companions of the king's orgies. Kaunitz had long foreseen this result, and the manuscript correspondence of the French ambassador in Vienna shows also, that Maria Theresa, who was in other respects noble-minded, amiable and virtuous, was in the habit on every occasion of speaking with great bitterness against the king of Prussia. It can scarcely therefore have been as difficult for him, as many would lead us to believe, to persuade her, in a decisive

\* Duclos reports, that the duke de Richelieu was not at first on good terms with Pompadour, and adds that he had good grounds for the small esteem which he felt, which were shared by the whole court :—" L'opinion du maréchal de Richelieu ne lui étoit pas particulière ; ce fut longtems celle de la cour. Il sembloit que la place de maîtresse du roi exigeât naissance et illustration. Les hommes ambitionnoient l'honneur d'en présenter une, leur parente, s'ils pouvoient ; les femmes celui d'être choisies. Peu s'en falloit qu'ils ne criassent à l'injustice sur la préférence donnée à une bourgeoise. J'en ai vu plusieurs douter dans les commencemens si elles pourroient déceurent la voir. Bientôt elle forma sa société et n'y admit pas toutes celles qui la recherchèrent."

moment, to write a confidential, and friendly autograph letter to Pompadour; and especially if cardinal Rohan be right in his assertion, that Maria Theresa was capable of any act of dissimulation. What Coxe relates in a note to the despatches of the English ambassador in Spain, and repeats in his history of the house of Austria, "That Maria Theresa, consoling herself for her intercourse with Pompadour, exclaimed, '*I have however written to Farinelli also!*'" is a great injustice towards the latter. Farinelli was in all respects far exalted above Pompadour. He was not responsible for his bodily deficiencies, and was without doubt a *great artist*, and a man of honourable reputation, who neither abused his great influence in Spain nor in Germany, nor on his return to Italy did he exhibit any of that pride, presumption and insolence in his mode of living and conduct by which upstarts in general make themselves hated and contemptible.

With respect to the cabals which were carried on for so many years by Kaunitz, and by which he accomplished a masterpiece of diplomacy, by inducing France, to her obvious disadvantage, to depart from a line of policy which she had pursued for two hundred years, it appears from the correspondence of the French ministers from 1749–1755, that everything was done without their knowledge, and that it was absolutely necessary suddenly to call the creatures of Pompadour into the ministry, in order to conclude the new alliance and to be able to begin the war. Kaunitz and the empress divided the characters between them, and kept the secret of all their plans against Frederick exclusively to themselves. In Versailles, Kaunitz assumed the character of the mere empty courtier, but only for the pleasure of the king and Pompadour. He habitually mingled in their society, delighted them by his expenditure, shared in their mode of life, played the great man, gave entertainments, and plunged into all the licentiousness of the court; in Paris, he showed that this was foreign to his real character by living in the simplest manner, associating with persons of the highest refinement and most distinguished talents, and passing for a philosopher. Marmontel has stated, that Kaunitz replied to some observations of his upon his simplicity of life in Paris, that there was no one there whom he desired to please, but in Versailles he wished to make himself agreeable to Pompadour and the king.

In the meantime, Maria Theresa not only completely won the good wishes of the French minister at her court by polite



attentions of all kinds, but she endeavoured also by his instrumentality to rouse the feelings of the French ministry against Prussia. Blondel, who was Hautefort's predecessor in Vienna, mentioned almost in every letter, that Austria and Russia were constantly drawing the bonds of their alliance closer and closer, because the former had given up Sweden and the latter Prussia\*. The empress herself afterwards warns the marquis de Hautefort, on his very first audience, against Prussian flatteries, and advises him not to be too confidential with the ministers of Prussia, Sweden, or the Palatinate, and in the background she shows her own views upon Silesia†. In all her succeeding conversations, the empress made no secret of her hopes of coming to a speedy arrangement with the king of France; but that she was afraid of the influence of the trading classes, and of those men who were acquainted with the true policy of their native land‡. In this case the minister for foreign affairs played a most singular character, one while acting as a member of the consulting cabinet, and at another as one initiated into the secrets of the court.

\* The marquis de Hautefort, at the conclusion of his long paper of instructions already referred to, is desired to declare formally, that he was commissioned to insist, that his court was determined to remain firm by the treaty concluded with Sweden in 1739, and especially by its fifth article, "par lequel il a été formellement stipulé que si la Russie attaquoit la Suède ou la Porte Ottomane, et que l'une ou l'autre des parties contractantes en fut avertie, cette attaque et ces hostilités seroient réputées faites aux deux parties, et qu'on attaqueroit sérieusement l'agresseur par mer et par terre avec les forces qui seront jugées nécessaires suivant la situation et la circonstance des tems, et qu'aucune des deux parties ne mettent bas les armes qu'on n'ait obtenu une juste satisfaction." The author has treated this point a little more at length, and incorporated extracts from the Parisian Archives more frequently in the notes, in order to enable those who wish more closely to examine the subject better to avail themselves of the extracts from the English ambassador's reports, which Coxe gives in his 'History of the House of Austria.' He finds it necessary also to observe, that he has neither here nor above introduced any extracts from the papers of Herr von Fürst with respect to Austria, which are to be found in vol. ii. no. 4. p. 676, &c. of the historico-political magazine of the Prussian department of foreign affairs, published by Ranke. He first received these notices when his MS. was ready for the press, and found nothing which appeared to him important enough either to lead him to alter the text or to insert in his notes. He recommends his readers however to consult this essay.

† Maria Theresa is blamed for thinking of nothing but Silesia: she had however by no means the idea of immediately reconquering that country: "Je ne dis pas," she adds, "que je ne la regrette. Je ne dis pas non plus, que la suite des tems amenoit des circonstances favorables, je ne pensasse peut-être à la ravoir. Mais je vous répète, je n'y pense pas pour le moment présent."

‡ The empress, the ambassador writes on the 17th of July 1751, said to him: "Je ne crains point la façon de penser du roi, je ne crains que ce qui lui est suggéré directement ou indirectement par des gens dont l'intérêt capital est de nous éloigner autant que possible."

The ambassador wrote in a very different strain to the minister for foreign affairs, and to those who were above the ministry; nay, he often wrote *one* letter to be read in the cabinet, and a very *different one* to the minister himself. The cost of such embassies may be learned from the case of the marquis de Hautefort. His yearly salary, when in Vienna, was 250,000 livres, and in 1751 he received in addition the sum of 40,000 for the expense of the splendid entertainment which he gave on the birth of the duke of Burgundy, and yet he declared on his departure, that 180,000 livres in addition must be paid for his expenses!!

Before Kaunitz left Paris for Vienna, he sent for Stahremberg to come to him, thoroughly initiated him into all his designs, and left him as ambassador in Paris: he himself went to Austria, undertook the whole management of the affairs of the state, and on his return in May 1753 was immediately appointed chancellor. Uhlefeld referred all the ambassadors to him, and was appointed high steward, whilst Bartenstein, who had formerly been secretary to the cabinet, now became useless, and received an office of honour merely. The relations between France and Austria became daily more and more friendly, and as the empress had previously made Louis XV. and the marquis de Hautefort presents of Tokay, the king now sent in return (1754) three thousand bottles of champagne and added twelve hundred for Kaunitz. Whilst the French court was thus entering into the most friendly relations with that of Vienna, a paper of instructions was given by the ministry to the new French minister, the marquis d'Aubeterre (1753), which was wholly opposed in letter and spirit to the negotiations which were carried on immediately with Pompadour. From these instructions it appears that Austria was continually threatening the French ministry with a close alliance with England, in order to make a special merit of the relinquishment and breaking up of the old friendship which subsisted between the two nations\*.

\* Among other things, the instructions contain the following:—"Mais il n'est que trop à craindre que L. M. J. n'ayent conservé les vues d'ambition héréditaires dans la maison d'Autriche, et qu'elles ne cherchent à profiter de l'occasion présente pour former de nouvelles entreprises. La cour de Vienne, intimement unie avec celle d'Angleterre, voit avec chagrin la grandeur du roi de Prusse. Ces deux cours ne peuvent souffrir que ce prince soit le seul obstacle au projet qu'elles ont formé, de se rendre maîtresses absolues dans l'Allemagne, et d'imposer à leur gré des loix à tout l'empire. Ces mêmes cours, agissant toujours de concert, sont continuellement occupées à inventer de prétextes pour attaquer le roi de Prusse, et elles se prêtent la main pour donner

The French ambassador was not deceived by this pretence: he soon saw that this pretended alliance with England was merely put forward in order to obtain subsidies, whilst in reality the alliance with Russia was actually formed; and with this conviction he writes to his ministry, that in Austria there was great joy at the death of Pelham, because he had discovered the pretence and would furnish no more money, and there was a hope of being able to work more successfully on the duke of Newcastle\*. He expresses his opinion that the empress was in need of money, for that the frugal and speculating emperor had as little desire to give any of his wealth, as to identify the Austrian interests completely with his own†. The same fact appears from another passage, in which Kaunitz admits that the emperor was as yet wholly ignorant of the whole of the negotiations which were being carried on with Pompadour. The marquis writes, that in the private affairs of Madame de Marsan, Kaunitz showed all possible attention to Pompadour's letter of recommendation, and that with respect to the dispute with Genoa respecting St. Remo, he merely shrugged his shoulders, because that affair concerned the emperor alone, whose policy was totally different from that of his wife‡.

à leurs procédés un air de justice et de vraisemblance. C'est dans cet esprit, que le roi d'Angleterre vient de faire mettre une prétention sur l'Ostfrise, prétention injuste et chimérique, mais qui néanmoins est appuyée et favorisée par la cour de Vienne," &c.

\* The subject of the alliance with Russia, in which Austria was in earnest, and of the pretended one with England in order to get money, occupies a whole series of letters; finally the minister, in reference to the impression which Pelham's death had made in Vienna, writes as follows, 20th of April, 1754: "Il me revient de toutes parts que cette cour est très-contente du changement arrivé dans le ministère Britannique, et qu'elle espère trouver plus de facilité chez Mr. de Newcastle pour avoir de l'argent, que lorsque Mr. Pelham étoit chargé de la trésorerie. Elle a vu placer aussi avec plaisir dans le ministère Mr. Robinson. Il a résidé longtems à Vienne, et elle se flatte qu'il est très-attaché à ses intérêts."

† In a letter dated April 13, 1754, the marquis first reports, that he has lately learned the reason why Herr Müller, who wished to go to the East Indies by Constantinople with a French passport, had stopped in Vienna: this was connected with the emperor's speculations in trade. In another place he writes:—"Cette cour a des troupes, mais elle n'a point d'argent, ni de moyens pour en avoir. L'empereur en a, mais jusqu'à présent il n'a pas paru vouloir s'en dessaisir, et il seroit imprudent à lui de le faire, s'il avoit le malheur de perdre l'impératrice. Il ignore de quelle façon l'archiduc Joseph en useroit à son égard et pour lors il auroit besoin de tout son trésor. D'ailleurs cette cour jusqu'à présent a témoigné ne vouloir de guerre que lorsqu'elle pourroit la faire avec beaucoup d'avantage."

‡ With respect to this point the marquis writes as follows:—"Il y a dans cette cour trois états différens, savoir l'empire, la Toscane, et les pays hérédi-

When Rouillé afterwards (August 1754) took charge for a time of the department of foreign affairs in France, the ambassador furnishes him with a very comical description of the state of affairs in Austria. He states, that in Vienna one minister is always opposed to another, and the whole of them together to Kaunitz, and that they often placed him in a state of great perplexity, by delaying or putting off the execution of the measures directed by him, in order to have an opportunity either to render their execution very difficult, or to obstruct it altogether. In these letters, as well as in all the descriptions which are elsewhere given of him, Kaunitz appears to have been a man favourable to true freedom, who honoured and zealously maintained personal independence, and therefore quite a rare phenomenon in his age of servility\*. During the whole of this time the French ministry remained the more indisposed towards an alliance with Austria, because, as it appears also from this correspondence, they could not persuade themselves that Austria would separate her interests from those of England; although England at that very time had demanded a distinct declaration

taires de la maison d'Autriche. L'empereur conduit absolument les deux premiers, sans que l'impératrice s'en mêle. En récompense elle gouverne seule les pays héréditaires et l'empereur n'y a aucune part." In another passage he gives an illustration of this point. He was speaking with Kaunitz about St. Remo, who answered: "Cela regarde l'empereur, j'en rendrai pourtant compte à l'impératrice."

\* We shall only occasionally quote the words of the letter, and give a summary of its parts. Colloredo, he states, is vice-chancellor; a man without knowledge or industry, splendid, and in the proper sense of the word a great man, vain, much admired by the emperor and not at all by the empress. Kaunitz is described as a man of talents, who can work himself and use his pen well: "Il s'énonce parfaitement bien et rend très-clairement une affaire. Son goût ne le porte point au travail et il le craint à cause de la foiblesse de sa santé. Le soin de sa personne, qu'il chérit par-dessus tout, prend une grande partie de son tems. Amateur de sa liberté il ne se gêne pour quoi que ce soit, ne rend à personne, et ne paroît rien exiger. Souvent il pousse l'indifférence jusqu'à ne point daigner instruire ceux qu'il a obligés des services qu'il leur a rendus. On prétend qu'il est très-attaché à son opinion, qu'il la soutient avec opiniâtreté; ses amis assurent pourtant que si on pouvoit lui prouver qu'elle ne valût rien, il l'abandonneroit facilement. Les partis fermes paroissent de son goût. Partisan des usages François qui conviennent à sa façon de vivre, il voudroit les établir en ce pays-ci. Il fait cas de la nation Française pour la partie des lettres et des arts, sur tout le reste il paroît peu la priser. Il est extrêmement jaloux par les autres ministres, peu aimé du public qu'il ne ménage en aucune façon. Il est celui qui paroît avoir le plus de crédit sur l'esprit de l'impératrice, et à qui cette princesse témoigne le plus de confiance." Uhlefeld he speaks of as deaf and without influence. Bathiani a soldier, an honourable but narrow-minded man, without importance. Khevenhüller confined to the duties of his office as lord chamberlain.

of her views from Austria, and not finding the answer satisfactory, had immediately opened negotiations with Prussia\*.

About this time George II., who was afraid of an attack by the French upon his principality, had gone to Hanover, and at length very unwillingly agreed to an alliance with Prussia, when Frederick convinced him, by documents, that he was deceived by Russia as well as by Austria. Frederick had had von Weingarten, the secretary to the Austrian embassy, for two years in his pay, who had communicated to him all the important papers; the affair was at last discovered, and a great outcry was raised against the king because he refused to deliver up the secretary, and lent his aid to a traitor. At this time also the Prussian ambassador in Dresden had bought the services of Menzel, the secretary to the chancery, who communicated to him the private letters which were entrusted to him every post-day, and which the ambassador transcribed and sent to Berlin. For this purpose keys were made in Potsdam, with which Menzel was also to open the presses in which documents were kept to which he had no access. In this way Frederick gained full information of the combination against Prussia, which had long been in a process of formation†.

\* After a long interview with Kaunitz, Aubeterre writes on the 13th of August 1755 as follows:—"Tout ce que je puis juger de cette conversation c'est que l'impératrice voudroit rester neutre en secourant comme auxiliaire le roi d'Angleterre, et effectivement ce seroit pour elle l'état le plus heureux, puisqu'elle pourroit alors nous faire tout le mal qu'elle jugeroit à propos sans rien appréhender de notre part pour elle-même. Je ne puis m'empêcher de vous répéter Mr. que l'impératrice n'abandonnera jamais le roi d'Angleterre. C'est le seul allié qu'elle ait et elle risquerait tout plutôt que de le perdre. Les deux cours vont travailler pendant l'hiver à se mettre en état et à concerter leurs opérations. Il est vraisemblable qu'au printemps prochain vous les trouverez dans une situation bien différente de celle où elles sont." To this the minister replies on the 14th of September: "La cour de Vienne, comme vous l'observerez très-bien, dépendra toujours du roi d'Angleterre, qui est le seul allié qui puisse lui donner de la consistance, et quelque loin qu'il lui plaise de la mener, elle ne s'en séparera jamais. Il peut bien y avoir de l'altercation entre ces deux cours par les conditions dures que celle de Vienne voudra imposer à celle de Londres, tant parceque ses traités avec elle se bornent en effet aux affaires de l'Europe que parcequ'il s'agit d'une guerre où les Anglois sont les agresseurs et qui n'a d'autre objet que l'accomplissement de leurs vues ambitieuses sur la monarchie des mers. Ainsi jusqu'à ce que la cour de Vienne ait obtenu ses demandes tant pour être soutenue par un corps de troupes Russes que par un secours considérable d'argent, il est naturel qu'elle ne fasse aucun mouvement d'éclat." We again remark, that the completion of this subject will be found in Coxe, who gives the correspondence of the English ambassador in his 'History of the House of Austria.'

† Every one must admit, that the relation between the king and von Weingarten the younger, as well as his arrangement with Menzel, are morally and legally indefensible; but when the question affected the very existence of a

Frederick had been previously warned against the designs of France, by the unwillingness of the French to renew the treaty which was about to expire in May 1756, but it was long before he could persuade himself, that France could so far forget her true principles of policy as to give up Prussia altogether\*. Frederick in fact was right; for to be able to conclude this unnatural alliance, Louis XV. and Pompadour were obliged to give the administration of the state into the hands of such persons as those whom they employed in their disgraceful private affairs. And this had really been the case since September 1755. Pompadour and king Louis had entrusted their secret to the future cardinal, then abbé Bernis, as Kaunitz and Maria Theresa had done theirs to Stahremberg. Bernis was a man of good family, but would notwithstanding have continued in very humble circumstances, had he not made himself indispensable to Pompadour by his ability in answering amatory epistles at the very moment in which the king showed his partiality to her. The abbé had some facility in writing, both in verse and prose, such compositions as the mass of educated persons read with pleasure in entertaining magazines, and his verses were also well received in the high societies of Paris; but even such an empty and insipid man as Marmontel regarded them as only mediocre: in this way however he became known to Madame d'Estrades. This lady was employed as a negotiator when the king at a hunting party had cast his eyes upon Madame d'Étioles, and because D'Estrades knew well that the lady was too inexperienced to send suitable answers to the tender epistles which she received from court, Bernis was employed to write well-composed answers to the royal notes. Madame d'Étioles no sooner took up her residence in Versailles as marchioness de Pompadour, than Bernis received apartments in the palace, and was richly loaded with ecclesiastical livings. Bernis became a statesman as quickly

state, and it is acknowledged that in politics and diplomacy everything is fair which is advantageous, the case is different. Besides, no one was acquainted with the *true* secret, for Kaunitz had neither friend nor confidant, and was his own secretary.

\* In February 1756, when the Prussian treaty with England had been concluded four weeks before in Westminster (January 1756), and was already known in Vienna, the marquis d'Aubeterre writes as follows to Rouillé: "à l'égard du roi de Prusse il paroît, parcequ'il me revient de tout côté, que deux motifs ont déterminé ce prince à conclure son traité; 1. la crainte des Russes; 2. la persuasion, où il est, que son existence importe tellement à la France que quelque chose qu'il fasse, cette cour ne souffrira jamais qu'on l'affaiblisse."

as he had already become great, and one of the most distinguished ladies of the kingdom, the princess de Rohan, was not ashamed to introduce him to the great world as her declared lover, and from that time forward he was destined for diplomatic services. After a short time Pompadour sent him as ambassador to Venice, that she might have the appearance of employing a man at least of some diplomatic experience in the negotiations which she was carrying on with Stahremberg and for which she destined the abbé. On his recal from Venice she did not admit him immediately into the cabinet, but first employed him in her secret negotiations with Austria. As soon however as the close alliance between England and Prussia was made known, the mask was thrown off, Bernis was made a member of the cabinet, and conducted the whole of the public affairs, whilst the nominal minister merely attached his name.

Shortly before the seven years' war, public affairs both in England and France were managed by a privileged class, who were quite irresponsible. In France the most grave and serious business was treated with courtier-like indifference, so that even the aged Noailles became disgusted. He had at length completely withdrawn from public affairs, and at the same time had handed a paper to the king, in which, after the fashion of old people, he very peevishly delivers his opinions upon the condition of public morality and the whole state, and without mentioning the real grounds and reasons, details some bitter truths\*. Machault, D'Argenson and Rouillé, the ministers at that time, had no knowledge whatever of the real course of events, and were at continual enmity with one another; Pompadour employed her verse-maker and *billet*-writer as the instrument of her negotiations, although he was a man destitute of experience and without any solid acquirements; and the king availed himself of the services of the duke of Richelieu, who sought fraudulently

\* We are not one of those who think that a sermon on public morality sounds very well from the mouth of a courtier, or that Noailles had any better pretensions to be a canon than others. We shall nevertheless quote a few sentences from his essay to the king for the sake of an example:—"Le trouble et la confusion règnent dans tous les ordres de l'état, la licence est extrême; on ne connoît plus de règles, de bienséances ni de subordination; chacun vise à l'indépendance; on ne voit que mécontentement et on n'entend que murmure; la fermentation des têtes est portée au dernier degré, toute émulation est éteinte, toutes les connoissances utiles s'anéantissent, et les hommes capables de servir l'état deviennent si rares, qu'à peine on en nomme encore quelques uns," &c. &c.

to obtain or to steal by any means in his power, the immense sums which he lavished upon his pleasures. The English ministry and the king's favourite son, the duke of Cumberland, exhibited as great ignorance and incapacity as the creatures of Pompadour themselves. Reports were no sooner spread of a determination in France to make a landing in England, and of the measures which were taken for the invasion of Hanover, than the English were foolish enough to pay large sums of money to Russia and to conclude the treaty to which reference has already been made, by which the Russians were to provide 55,000 men for the defence of Hanover, after an alliance had already been formed in October between Russia and Austria, by which the troops, which England had paid for, received a very different destination. The German princes, especially of Bavaria and Saxony, endeavoured at the same time and whenever it was possible to obtain money both from France and England, Cologne and the Palatinate alone excepted, which were exclusively sold to France. Cologne at that time promised the French, for a remuneration, to admit them into the country.

At the end of the year 1755, England first really took up the cause of Prussia, and Bernis, who at that time was commissioned by Pompadour to carry on the most important negotiations with the court of Vienna, sent an insipid, empty and vain chargé d'affaires, such as he himself was, to one of the greatest statesmen of his century, to counteract or prevent the alliance between England and Prussia. The duke de Nivernois travelled to Berlin in December 1755, but Frederick only laughed at the ridiculous proposals which were made to him, and showed the representative of the French court the treaty which was already concluded with England on the 16th of January 1756, and which is usually called the treaty of Westminster. The history of the negotiations which preceded the seven years' war is treated by the king of Prussia in the same manner as has been done by Voltaire and Duclos, and in fact he scarcely allows himself for a moment to adopt a serious tone when speaking of the persons who were prominent on this occasion\*.

\* In England errors of a very different kind were committed. Of the French, Duclos, vol. ii. p. 409, writes as follows :—" Il n'étoit pas difficile au roi de Prusse d'être informé de nos débats. Les maîtresses, les amis, les clients de nos ministres étoient initiés, suivant notre usage, dans tous les secrets des déli-  
bérations, et les soupers brillans de Compiègne où la cour étoit, furent pendant tout le voyage les comités où les matières politiques, traitées à la Française



The negotiations with respect to the formal reduction of the treaty, which had been long agreed upon under general heads, were commenced in 1755, in a country-house belonging to Pompadour (Babiole), between Bernis and Stahremberg, but they were only earnestly followed up on the reception of the news of the signing of the treaty of Westminster. Every one was surprised, even the emperor Francis himself, when it was suddenly made known in May 1756, that a close alliance had been formed between France and Austria. But how great was the astonishment when its secret articles, and especially the long preliminaries, were published\*! The real reasons for this ruinous treaty must be sought for in circumstances of the most disgraceful character. So long as the alliance and war continued, the dominion of Pompadour was secure: she could give away places and confer honours; she would have no reason to dread Richelieu's talents as a pimp; the king could not dispense with her; and the greatest powers in Europe must lend their aid to keep away all rivals from the throne, because the whole politics of Europe, by means of this treaty against Prussia, were connected with her person. Six months after the war broke out, she elevated her creature Bernis to the post of prime minister; another of her courtiers Stainville, afterwards duke de Choiseul, an inhabitant of Lorraine, and therefore from the former territory of the emperor, received Aubeterre's situation in Vienna; and Richelieu and Soubise, to the military ruin and disgrace of the French, were appointed to the chief commands in the army. The whole were nothing else than mere protégés of Pompadour.

Before the publication of the declaration of war against France, the English ministry had completely lost the little popularity

parmi les jolies femmes, les intrigues galantes et les saillies, se préparaient pour le conseil."

\* This treaty, with a full account of the negotiations, is contained in the French Archives, Carton K. 937; but the treaty as signed may be seen in the original language in Wenk, vol. iii.; in Adelung's *Pragmatic History of Europe*, part 7 in a German translation; and in many other works; and the author therefore has not thought it necessary to transcribe it. He did copy the separate articles, and particularly the five *main articles*; he has since seen however, that these also have been already printed by Koch in the 2nd part of his *Treatise*. He reserves the use of an important document which he had copied, and too long for insertion here, for another time and place. This long, detailed, and in its last articles argumentative document, is the celebrated "*Précis des articles préliminaires du Traité secret*," drawn up by cardinal Bernis. There are twenty-four articles, and among these there are some very long, and the 26th, which is intended to show that the treaty against Prussia would be advantageous to France.

which it had previously possessed, because it had suffered itself to be deceived and surprised by France. The hatred of the nation did not fall upon Pitt and Legge, and we shall afterwards see a ministry formed under the direction of the former, which was recognised as popular and vigorously supported by the nation. Pitt and Legge were at first members of the duke of Newcastle's ministry, along with Fox (afterwards lord Holland), who possessed in the highest degree the favour of the king and the duke of Cumberland, but who was a man that rendered himself contemptible by his degrading covetousness and avarice. The two first-mentioned however offered a determined opposition to a bill introduced by their colleagues in November 1755, in which England, by virtue of a clause therein inserted, constituted herself protectrix of the king's possessions upon the continent. The bill however was passed and the clause retained, and Pitt and Legge were obliged to retire from the ministry. The conduct of affairs now devolved upon Fox, but he was hampered and obstructed in all his designs by the obstinacy, domineering and jealousy of the duke of Newcastle, on whom he was dependent.

The condition of the English ministry in the commencement of the year 1756 will furnish a ready explanation of the triumph of Richelieu and the disgrace of the English in the case of Minorca, and of the glory which the former contrived to gain in France from the wide-spread and angry feeling which prevailed against the English, whom they denominated pirates. If we may venture to place any confidence in the boasting marshal, who maintained the same character till his ninety-second year, and continued to lead a life of debauchery at the expense of France, there was no greater unity among the French ministers than among the English. For the illustration of this point, we shall borrow some extracts from a manuscript paper which the marshal presented, when with his usual shamelessness he made application for the bestowal of some new favours. We do not refer to this paper as at all more worthy of credit than the numerous volumes of his memoirs fabricated after the Parisian fashion, but because it furnishes us with an authentic proof of the manner in which the commander-in-chief estimated his own services and the liberties which he allowed himself to take\*.

\* The document itself may be found in the Archives du Royaume, Carton K. 151. The marshal begins as follows :—" L'objet de ce mémoire étant de

Pompadour contemplated with pleasure the absence of a man from court who was dangerous to every woman, and who might at any moment bring forward a rival to herself, whilst the king was desirous of showing the highest marks of his favour to his most cherished servant; and therefore Richelieu, notwithstanding his conduct in Genoa, received anew the application of vast treasures and an unlimited and most important command. The English were deceived by preparations on the northern coasts, and a pretended landing in England was threatened, whilst means were quietly adopted in Provence to conquer Minorca before England should have reinforced the garrison. Richelieu was selected for the hero of the expedition, and for this purpose he received not only the command of the fleet and the army of the district of Toulon and the sea-coasts, but the whole of the southern provinces were placed unconditionally under his dominion in everything that related to the expedition, which was to sail from Toulon. The marshal boastingly reports that he neither found money nor preparations\*, and that the governor of Provence had assured him it would be impossible to think of the departure of the fleet before June or July, but that he had speedily adopted very different and better measures. This is indeed true, for the expedition put to sea in April; but Richelieu converted it into a party of pleasure for himself and the whole of the high nobility of France who joined him.

In addition to the distinguished persons of family, male and female, who at the royal cost embarked with Richelieu, there were above 30,000 men of all arms on board, and according to the scandalous custom of the time, they were accompanied by seven or eight hundred women. The fleet which left the harbour of Toulon on the 12th of April 1756 consisted of twelve ships of the line and 198 transports; on the 18th, which was Easter day, the troops landed at Ciudadella in Minorca. The English

justifier la confiance avec laquelle le duc de Richelieu croit pouvoir mériter la grâce qu'il ose demander, on ne peut regarder comme un air avantageux l'énumération de ses services." This was in the time of the American war, when the old spendthrift, who had reached his ninety-second year, was making claims for new grants of money.

\* We must be careful not to place too much confidence on the marshal's narrative, but it is a remarkable proof of the condition of the kingdom at that time, that Richelieu ventured to say: "On avoit poussé si loin l'oubli de ce qui étoit indispensablement nécessaire, que l'on n'avoit pas seulement préparé aucun fonds, de sorte qu'il fallût envoyer au trésor royal et chez tous les notaires de Paris pour trouver d'abord cinquante mille Louis que l'on fit partir par la poste."

Admiralty sent admiral Byng, but too late, to prevent their disembarkation, and gave him only ten bad and ill-provided ships. Port Mahon, the capital of Minorca, was taken possession of by the French on the 21st of April, and Byng's fleet did not appear at Gibraltar till the 21st of May; notwithstanding this, the courageous general Blakeney, who was the commander of the small garrison of English troops, relied with certainty upon Byng's immediately seeking out and attacking the enemy according to the principle and usage of the English navy. Blakeney was not able with his small number of forces to defend Port Mahon; he had therefore surrendered the city and withdrawn with his forces into Fort St. Philipp which commanded the harbour, where he defended himself with bravery and awaited the arrival of the fleet.

Byng indeed sailed to Minorca, and fell in with the French fleet, which was not very much superior to his own in the number of ships. They were so circumstanced that he might have forced them to an engagement. Admiral West who commanded the van engaged the enemy, but Byng did not efficiently support him, and avoided a general engagement. Contrary to the principle of the English naval service, he preferred the more prudent to the bolder resolution, and did not venture with the force, which he had previously represented to the ministry as insufficient, to try the fate of a battle, but resolved to return to Gibraltar. This undecided engagement was on two grounds regarded as a splendid triumph in France; first, because the English for the first time with an equal number of ships had declined a battle, and secondly because Richelieu, in consequence of Byng's withdrawal of his fleet, fully attained the object of his expedition against Minorca. Blakeney was compelled to surrender before the new admiral and the reinforcement sent by the Admiralty arrived at Gibraltar. According to the French accounts, from the 4th of June they had fired daily four thousand balls and thrown four hundred bombs into the fortress. They employed eighty-four cannon and twenty-two mortars in the attack; Blakeney possessed 250 guns and forty-two mortars for his defence, and capitulated (29th June) only when he was reduced to extremities.

In the mean time the ministry had caused war to be declared with the usual formalities. The people however were so incensed at the loss of Minorca, still more at the novel example of

timidity exhibited in the avoidance of an engagement, that the ministry sacrificed admiral Byng to appease the rage of the public. The admiral and the ministry mutually endeavoured to throw the blame upon each other; the former however was tried by a court-martial appointed under the influence of the ministry, condemned, and executed. After his death the rage which had been exhibited against him was changed into compassion at his fate, and the popular hatred now fell with double weight upon the ministry and the parliament which supported them.

In France nothing was heard but the sound of rejoicing; Voltaire and his friends did not fail to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity of sounding the praises and lauding the heroic deeds of Richelieu; the hero himself however was so desirous of returning, because he wished to obtain a new command, that he did not even wait for the surrender of Fort St. Philipp. Richelieu wished to obtain the chief command of the army which was destined for Germany, and hoped certainly to receive it, if he could reach the king before the nomination of another. In the paper already referred to, written in his ninetieth year, he still complained of the intrigues by which he had been prevented from appearing at the proper time at court, and after so many years felt pleasure in the recollection of having overthrown the minister of war in consequence of these intrigues\*. At the very moment (July 1756) in which Austria and Russia had their armies fully prepared to march against Frederick II., a French general was to be sent to Vienna to agree upon a combined plan of operations. D'Argenson took all possible measures to expedite this journey, because, as a man of experience, he did not wish to place either Richelieu or Soubise at the head of the army destined for Germany. The same general who concerted

\* The tone is as remarkable as the subject. He says, "M. d'Argenson, qui étoit informé de son retour, commença par lui (to the marshal) envoyer un ordre pour rester en Provence, sous prétexte d'empêcher l'effet de la colère qu'avoient les Anglois de la conquête qu'il venoit de faire sur eux et prévenir le désir qui pouvoit leur venir de s'en venger." Then follows his reply, and his declaration that his health would not suffer him to remain in Provence, and that he must certainly come to Paris. He proceeds: "M. d'Argenson n'osa alors lui faire refuser de revenir à Paris, ainsi qu'il l'avoit projeté, jusqu'au moment où toutes les intrigues l'auroient fait venir à bout de mettre toutes sortes d'entraves pour l'empêcher de commander l'armée que l'on ne pouvoit douter d'être obligé d'assembler pour la guerre qui alloit être déclarée et dont il vint à bout, mais il ne tarda pas à recevoir le prix de pareilles manœuvres qui le conduisirent à être chassé."

the measures in Vienna must necessarily be employed to carry them into execution and to command the army. Richelieu hastened with all speed to Paris, but D'Estrées was appointed to go to Vienna before the former reached the capital\*. Richelieu had as scandalously abused the power and moneys entrusted to him in the expedition against Minorca, as he had formerly done in the case of Genoa. The inhabitants of Minorca indeed gained nothing by the change, and after having carefully examined all the immense mass of papers which are deposited in the French archives with respect to the administration of Minorca, it is difficult to determine whether the poor inhabitants of Minorca were more oppressed and betrayed by the French or by their own municipal officers†. Moreover D'Estrées was in no particular haste in his journey to Vienna, because no measures had yet been taken to prepare for the campaign. Had not Frederick suddenly made an incursion into Saxony, the three powers would have continued for a year at least to arm and to consult; but this event no sooner took place than D'Estrées really set out on his journey, and the French army was equipped which he was to lead into Westphalia.

The Austrians, it is true, had an army in Bohemia, but they were not thinking of a war; their army was still unprovided with artillery, horses and cavalry, when Frederick had already taken possession of Saxony‡. The king of Prussia had quietly

\* In the paper already quoted, the marshal expresses his hatred against D'Argenson in the following manner:—"On imagine alors contre toute espèce de bon sens d'envoyer un courier qui porta l'ordre au maréchal de Richelieu de rester en Provence avec la plus pitoyable et la plus indécente raison pour prétexte. Cela donna cependant le tems de pouvoir tourner les affaires de manière à faire penser qu'il étoit nécessaire d'envoyer un militaire à Vienne pour prendre de concert des arrangemens pour la sorte de guerre que nous avions à traiter. On ne dira rien ici de la négociation ni du négociateur, mais le but en étoit de le faire maréchal de France de préférence à celui de Minorque qui l'étoit déjà; ce qui fut fait."

† The whole mass of papers lie together in the Archives du Royaume, Carton K. 153.

‡ The author pretends to give no opinion about the mere strategical operations of the war, whose results alone belong to this work. It would be superfluous to speak of the measures adopted in Saxony. It is well said of Austria in the "*Geständnissen eines österreichischen Veterans*," Part 2. p. 192, "There was no want of troops, although those from Italy and the Netherlands had not yet arrived, and those from Styria, Austria and Hungary only in part; but there was a want of artillery, pontoons, carriages, and materials of war of all sorts, and even a want of horses, which the greater part of the cavalry only received at the end of August in Kollin, that is, at a time in which they were just about to be led against the enemy; in short, the want of so many of the

equipped an army in Silesia in June 1756 which was to be commanded by Schwerin, and another of which he meant to place himself at the head, and so distributed his troops, as to be able at any moment to make an incursion into Saxony. He had long complained of the vast equipments and preparations which were going forward in Austria; at length he demanded a positive answer respecting the views of that country against Prussia, and being refused he ordered his armies to advance into Saxony, and to form a junction on the frontiers of Bohemia.

The Prussians at first appeared as friends of the Saxons, and declared that their object was to march against Bohemia and Austria only, but they soon after began to write requisitions and to raise contributions, and the king went even so far as to establish a directory in Torgau, to direct and superintend the collection of the revenues. Brühl had expended the moneys which should have been appropriated to the payment of the Saxon army upon his festivities, his pomp and his creatures; and the army, instead of being increased, as should have been done, was now reduced to 17,000 men. Brühl at length collected his forces in a strong fortress at Pirna, near the Bohemian frontiers, but they possessed neither artillery nor stores. In the course of fourteen days, from the 29th of August till the 12th of September 1756, the Prussians had taken possession of the whole of Saxony, whilst the Saxon army, the king, Brühl, and the court, were shut up in fortresses on the Upper Elbe, and Bohemia was threatened at the same time from Lusatia and Silesia.

The Saxon court went to the army at Pirna; the queen, the electoral princess, and the princesses remained at Dresden. When the Prussians entered Dresden on the 9th of September, the queen, by personal resistance to the opening of the secret archives, attempted to save the originals of the correspondence, copies of which had been sent to Frederick by Menzel. The archives however were broken open by force on the day after that on which the Prussians marched into Dresden, and the papers published by Herzberg, who however afterwards acknowledged, that any proof of Saxony having contemplated the design

essentials of a useful army oppressed our generals and limited the operations of the war, for which the cabinet, *because they thought they had still a year*, had drawn up no definite plan, and they were confined to such measures as might prevent the king from advancing further into Bohemia."

of arming against Prussia would be there sought in vain. Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother of the reigning duke Charles, at the head of the second division of the Prussian army, marched directly through Saxony to the frontiers of Bohemia, and Frederick followed him as soon as he heard that the Austrian army, assembled at Kollin, were advancing to deliver the Saxons then closely blockaded in their camp near Pirna.

At that time Austria had on foot two separate armies in Bohemia, under the command of her most distinguished generals. Piccolomini was encamped at Königgrätz in order to oppose Schwerin, who was pushing forward from Saxony into Bohemia; and Brown, who was in command of the main army, was hastening to the relief of the Saxons, when, on the 1st of October, he fell in with the Prussians under the command of Frederick himself.

The engagement which took place on the 1st of October (1756) in the neighbourhood of Lowositz was in itself very unimportant, for only one wing of the Austrians was defeated, the other having retired without loss, but its consequences were more advantageous to Frederick than the most decisive victory could have been. The king had once again established his name as a general and confirmed anew the public opinion of his superior talents, on which almost everything in war depends. He had again inspired his troops with the love of the phantom of military glory, prevented the Austrians from marching to the relief of the Saxons, and was in possession of the whole electorate, whose resources he could and did use as those of his own territory.

The Saxons were encamped on the space lying between Sonnenstein and Königstein. In this position they were beyond the reach of danger, because the ground was protected by a semicircle of mountains; but the brave Saxons were shut up as in a prison, without any possible means of escape, because they had neglected to include Lilienstein, which lay on the right bank of the Elbe, within their lines. Surrounded by the Prussians, the Saxons in this position endured the greatest want, and were reduced to the most pitiful straits, whilst the king and Brühl lived so well either in the castle of Königstein or in Struppen, that it is difficult to say whether it was from courtesy or in irony that the king of Prussia promised to suffer the game for their table to be undisturbed, about whose destruction they had complained. On the 11th of October the want and misery of the Saxons had reached the highest endurable degree, and they



agreed with the Austrians that Brown should send eight thousand men to their support as soon as they passed over to the right bank of the Elbe. These 8000 Austrians did in fact arrive and waited some time in the neighbourhood of Schandau, in hopes the Saxons would attempt the passage of the river. At first they had difficulties in the construction of their bridge; and when at length they were ready to make the attempt, they learned that their case was hopeless, because the Austrians had left Schandau two days before, and that place and the whole neighbourhood were now in the hands of the Prussians.

Thus completely cut off, and pressed from two sides, the Saxons were reduced to the melancholy necessity of accepting very hard terms of capitulation. They were to surrender as prisoners of war, and what on Frederick's part was altogether unjust, compelled to enter into the Prussian service. They were formed into regiments and placed under Prussian officers, but thought themselves, and with justice, as little bound by a compulsory oath as Frederick did by the terms of the capitulation. Saxony was afterwards subjected to oppression, misery and devastation from friend and foe. Brühl with his king travelled to Warsaw, lived in splendour, indulged in licentiousness, and collected treasure as he had previously done, and because he could not contend against the king of Prussia with arms in the field, he caused whole masses of papers to be written and books to be printed to vilify Frederick.

The king availed himself of the generally diffused opinion, that the combination against him was a formal conspiracy of darkness against the new light, of arbitrary dominion against strict legal government, of priestcraft against protestantism. Were it necessary to justify Frederick for taking possession of Saxony, we should rather rest his defence upon the right of necessity than upon the three volumes of deductions published by the learned Herzberg, who afterwards became a cabinet minister.

With respect to protestantism, it was certainly suspicious, that those very states in Germany which were under the complete dominion of the jesuits, the Palatinate, Cologne, Bavaria and the Saxon court, were those which were most zealous for the destruction of Frederick's power, and that Charles Eugene duke of Wirtemberg, who at that time began to throw himself into the hands of the despots, had attached himself to his catholic

fellow-believers, in despite of the numerous obligations which he was under to Frederick. The hereditary prince of Hesse, notwithstanding the change of his religious faith, served under Frederick. When the French advanced against Wesel, the prince as a Prussian general gave orders in the king's name for the abandonment of the whole of the Westphalian provinces. He was not therefore gained over to the side of the allies by the great pains which were taken by the emperor to defeat the measures in favour of the protestant religion adopted by the landgrave on his son's adherence to the catholic faith.

The aged landgrave was greatly incensed against his son on account of his change of religious faith. The emperor was no sooner made acquainted with the circumstances than he offered his protection to the prince, and took measures to prevent his being excluded from the succession; and count Pergen, the imperial minister plenipotentiary to the Upper Rhine and other circles, was instructed to bring him to Vienna. In order to put an end to such intrigues, the prince was first sent to Berlin, then to Wesel; but he had no sooner arrived in Hamburg, than the schemes of the proselyte-makers and their defenders were again renewed. Even the catholic zeal of the French court prompted it to interfere in these German family affairs, as we learn from a despatch of the French minister to the marquis d'Aubeterre, then ambassador in Vienna\*. These Vienna intrigues were however discovered, and count Pergen and Herr von Kurzrock, aulic councillor, resident in Hamburg, and imperial postmaster, were convinced that they should have withdrawn the prince from his father's superintendence, and wished to bring him to Vienna, where the validity of the securities given by him on the subject of religion was at that time openly disputed.

Frederick thought the season too far advanced to take up his winter-quarters in Bohemia; Brown had therefore the whole winter season completely to equip his army in Prague, whilst Daun collected a new force; for Schwerin, after the king's withdrawal, had also left Bohemia. Frederick has been blamed for

\* Rouillé in his correspondence with Aubeterre (MSS. des affaires étrangères de France) in February 1756, expressly directs him to use his best endeavours at the court of Vienna to assist the hereditary prince of Hesse, whose father wished to deprive him of his hereditary rights because he had become a catholic.

not having taken advantage of the favourable moment, when the Austrian army was badly equipped and provided, to give them a complete overthrow. Had he followed Winterfeld's advice, it is said, that instead of blockading he would at once have stormed the Saxon camp at Pirna, and then immediately have advanced with the whole of his forces. In opposition to this it may be alleged, without any pretension to strategical knowledge, that the storming of the Saxon camp would have cost the king the loss of his best disciplined troops, and at all events the reinforcements to his army, which he gained by the Saxon troops, afterwards incorporated with it. He could not venture to be so prodigal of the lives of his soldiers as Marlborough and Napoleon; because the one could easily purchase fresh troops from the German princes with Dutch and English money, and the other could as easily raise new recruits from the immense population of a continually increasing empire.

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### § III.

#### SWEDEN.—GENERAL WAR AGAINST PRUSSIA, TILL THE EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM HANOVER.

As Sweden also joined the grand alliance of the powers against Frederick, we must turn our attention to a brief notice of the circumstances of that kingdom, in order to explain how the king of Sweden, who was brother-in-law and a natural ally of Frederick, could join his enemies. Adolphus Frederick no sooner mounted the throne, than the Russians, who almost always kept a body of troops on the frontiers of Finland, became afraid that, on the first meeting of the estates, he with French aid might proceed to alter the constitution of the state. This did not take place, but in process of time the change of the relations between Russia and France exercised a great influence on Swedish affairs. The French and Russian ministers, who had hitherto by threats and money supported parties diametrically opposed to each other, now united in one and the same object, and both sought to counteract the English and Prussian influence.

In the diet of 1755, the ruling party of the majority in the assembly had secured their power, the violent disputes between the king and the council of state had led to scenes extremely

offensive to the king, and the whole country was inundated with libels against the royal family. Whilst there was free permission to annoy and calumniate the royal family by the publication of libels of every description, books in defence of the principles of monarchical government were not allowed to be printed, or their authors were visited with severe punishments. A regular committee of safety was named by the aristocratic oligarchy, in the same manner as was afterwards done by the favourers of mob government in France. This Swedish despotic committee was called "*A secret deputation of the estates for the promotion of public quiet, and the hindrance and punishment of every disturbance of the same.*" This commission, which was at once legislative and executive, almost daily arrested persons for sedition who merely ventured to complain that the king was treated in an unworthy manner. On the 3rd of February 1756 an order was issued by this commission and directed to the whole body of the parochial clergy, commanding them to abstain from intermeddling with political or worldly affairs in their sermons, that is, in other words, they were threatened if they should venture to let fall any remarks against the tyrannical oligarchy; for in the same order their attention was especially called to the fact, that they should studiously recommend passive obedience to the oligarchy, or to the oppressors of the king and the people. They could not indeed prevent the occurrence of a tumultuary rising in 1756, in order to effect a change in the constitution. This affair however ended in the same way as such short-sighted tumults always terminate, in the severe punishment of its foolish originators and the increase of the power and strength of the miserable government. The latter availed itself of the circumstances to despoil the king of the very small distinction and privileges which he had previously enjoyed. The history of the tumult is as follows:—

Immediately after the opening of the diet of 1755, some vehement commotions occurred among the peasantry, and a rising would have taken place had not Russia and France given courage and resolution to the oligarchs. Two of the leaders of the movement were arrested, and the third, Lars Larson, escaped. In January 1756 a number of officers were arrested together with a clergyman and some others; prosecutions were immediately commenced against the prisoners, a part of whom were condemned and executed. From this time forward, political offenders were

arrested and executed monthly, till at length a proclamation was issued in June, in which it was stated that a great conspiracy had been discovered, at the head of which was count Brahe. The tone of this proclamation, which appeared on the 22nd of June, and which was obviously directed at the same time against the king, was precisely of the same character as those which have been issued by the French government from the times of terror down till the present day, with this exception, that the Swedish oligarchy openly avowed, that they were indebted for their deliverance to the services of a dearly paid traitor. We shall quote the words of the document:—"The diet continues its sittings day and night, and has already taken such measures as to secure the continuance of quiet; the citizens patrol the streets on foot and on horseback, and the artillery corps are kept under arms. A corporal of the king's body guard has revealed the plot, and has been rewarded with 8000 marks, a patent of nobility, and a lieutenant's commission; on his information, all persons, without distinction of rank, have been arrested who have taken part in the conspiracy. The most distinguished of the conspirators are count Erich Brahe, colonel of the royal guards, and baron Gustavus Horn, marshal of the court, together with a lieutenant of artillery, named Puke, and a sergeant named Mozelius."

The vengeance of the oligarchs was dreadful, as is usually the case under such administrations. During this prosecution the king was deprived of the privilege of pardon in order that blood might flow in abundance, and on the 26th of the following month, the persons above-mentioned, together with some others of inferior note, were executed. Count Hård, colonel of the royal foot-guards, baron and lagmann Wrangel, and lieutenant Gylenspet would have met with the same fate, if they had not fortunately escaped; they were at least outlawed. At the same time with the Stockholm conspirators, those were also executed in Stockholm in the most cruel manner, who had been arrested as the originators of the movement in favour of a monarchical government which had broken out in Daland, but was happily repressed.

The king was compelled by a formal manifesto to declare that he had no share whatsoever in any of those attempts which had been made in his favour, and also forced to leave the city; he became in fact in some measure a prisoner in the hands of the

French, the Russians, and the oligarchs who were purchased by them. Whoever is acquainted with the judicial persecutions, the scandalous and cruel punishments, and the unceasing executions which were the work of the Swedish aristocracy of those times, can only smile when he hears the eulogists of aristocratical rule utter complaints long and loud against that jacobinism, which in France during the period of the revolution drove the maddened populace to be guilty of the greatest excesses. Such complaints are doubly unjust, because the proper leaders and guides of the iniquities which disgraced the times of terror were mostly persons who under the former regime had belonged to the higher ranks.

Up till this time the council of state had carried on its disputes with the king at least without giving publicity to the subject, but they no sooner thought themselves quite secure in their dominion, than they ventured to bring to light the correspondence which had passed between the king and themselves. Every impartial mind, every one who knows that the monarchical and legal importance of an hereditary ruler is the last refuge of degenerate humanity, corrupted by selfishness and effeminacy, will read with sympathy and emotion the words which the king employed at the conclusion of his complaints directed to the estates in November 1755. A paternal mind indisputably speaks in the following words, which flowed from a true and pious heart that scorned and abhorred every measure of violence and blood:—"The estates of the kingdom will now in the name of the Most High consider this important subject freely and unimpeded. May the eternal God guide and bless their deliberations! In submission to the wonderful providence of God, I have given up and sacrificed my own patrimonial inheritance in order to preside over and rule this kingdom. I have in all faithfulness performed the duties which I have sworn to discharge, and united my own personal interests with those of the kingdom; and am ready to venture all I possess in the world for the well-being of the people. *But in case (which may God forbid) I should be rendered incapable of performing my duties satisfactorily to the kingdom of Sweden, according to the solicitude and desire of my heart, in consequence of the embarrassing circumstances already referred to, I would rather relinquish my sceptre, which God, and the election of the estates of the kingdom have entrusted to me, than continue to carry it with anxiety and without royal dignity.*"

Under these circumstances the council paid no attention to the real interests of the kingdom, when the grand alliance was concluded against Prussia. There were existing treaties between Prussia and Sweden, by virtue of which the latter became guarantee to the former for the possession of Magdeburg and Halberstadt : Prussia claimed the fulfilment of the conditions, and was refused ; and Sweden attached herself to the cause of France, as soon as the latter declared to the diet in Ratisbon, that she was determined to avenge the cause of Saxony, to protect the country against Prussia, and to maintain the conditions of the peace of Westphalia by force of arms. This sounded very much like a formal declaration of war. The honourable and noble rulers of Sweden were well paid with foreign money for this German patriotism, as it is now called, and consumed the French subsidies on their own pleasures, whilst the people were obliged to pay the costs of the war. They were in no hurry indeed to take any active part in the war against Prussia, and when the French at length sent Montalembert and other officers to Pomerania to see whether the Swedes would do anything for their money, they continued to be very insignificant enemies of the king of Prussia.

A declaration which had been handed by the French minister to Frederick before his invasion of Bohemia, showed him that he must expect an attack from the side of France ; on his return therefore to Dresden, he caused it to be announced to Broglie the French ambassador, who in his absence had been carrying on a correspondence with the Austrians, that he was no longer to appear in his presence, but that he and all who belonged to him might follow the king to whom he was an ambassador to Warsaw. The French were at that time far less prepared for immediate operations than the Austrians, who in the spring of 1757 awaited Frederick's renewed invasion of Bohemia with an immense army. In France, D'Argenson, the minister of war, who was at least a man of great experience in his department, was first overthrown and banished from the court, because Richelieu, to whom he had very properly refused the command of the army, had united with his other enemies and with Pompadour for the accomplishment of this object. Machault, the minister of marine, who was an especial favourite of Pompadour, and given up by her very unwillingly, was also obliged to retire. Rouillé was with great propriety removed from the office of

foreign affairs, for Voltaire, who indeed related whatever occurred to him of people whom he wished to make ridiculous, said of Rouillé that he was so ignorant, as to have asked, "*if the Wetterau was not in Italy?*" However shallow and superficial and empty Bernis was, he was undoubtedly to be preferred to Rouillé, and in fact, on this complete change in the ministry, he took good care, that in January 1757 only such persons should be admitted into office as were inferior to himself.

In October 1756 D'Estrées had been sent to Vienna; he was created a marshal on the occasion; in March he returned from his mission, and assumed the chief command of the French army destined for Germany, which crossed the Rhine on the 4th of April 1757 and encamped near Düsseldorf. This was the first division of the great French army of the alliance: a second under Soubise, the companion of the orgies celebrated by the king and his mistress, was to form a junction with the imperial army as soon as the king of Prussia had been condemned by the imperial diet as a disturber of the public peace. A third division was collected in Alsace for the reinforcement of the army of Westphalia, and the command entrusted to the marshal de Richelieu. The marquis Stainville (Choiseul) remained as ambassador in Vienna.

Kaunitz had now accomplished his master-stroke of diplomatic skill; he had completely gained over Pompadour, and had effected the appointment of Bernis as minister of foreign affairs, who concluded that treaty with Stahremberg, by virtue of which France exhausted its wealth and its troops for the attainment of advantages which every one acknowledged to be chimerical. By the articles of this treaty, which were made public, not only an auxiliary army of 25,000 men was promised to the empress, but, according to the five secret articles which have been published by Koch, and still more according to the twenty-four long preliminary articles, full of singular propositions, drawn up by Bernis and copied by us from the French archives, an immense, independent French army was destined to operate in Germany.

The German princes at this time so disgraced themselves and their country, that we would rather be wholly silent with respect to them in our text; but not to deprive history of its rights, we shall subjoin some communications in the notes which are necessarily connected with the events of the seven years' war\*.

\* We here follow the authority of the so-called red book or official account



Covetousness and the thirst for foreign money were so great, that even Brunswick, though in close alliance with Prussia, and paid and enriched by England on every occasion, received 2,500,000 livres as subsidies from France from the year 1751 to 1756. It is the more worthy of remark, that in those strict orthodox times, protestant princes sold themselves to France, at a time in which the pope, by his public declaration, by his permission granted to the clergy to raise money for the war, and by the consecrated gifts which he presented to general Daun, when he gained a triumph over the head and chief of all the heretics, left no doubt that he at least regarded the war as a religious cause. The jesuits in Bavaria and France became also loud in their denunciations, and at their instigation, as we have already observed, France adopted the cause of the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel.

Although Frederick came forward as the champion of freedom and protestantism, England remained unmoved till June 1757: her ministry doubted and hesitated; and it was not till the September of this year that the elder Pitt succeeded in uniting the views of the king and the nation, and putting an end to the differences which existed between the sovereign and the people respecting the state of affairs upon the continent. The changing fate of the English administration, till the occupation of Hanover, was as follows:—the unfavourable events in North America, the loss of Minorca and the retreat of admiral Byng, the disadvantageous light in which the ministry appeared in the prosecution

of the secret expenditure of the old French government under Louis XV., and which was printed in 1790. Inasmuch as all the names and sums are given even to the smallest amounts, no interpolation or error is in this case possible. We shall not enumerate all the particulars, but leave a more minute examination to the reader, who may either consult the red book itself, or the extracts from it which have been given by Spittler in the 3rd vol. of the new Göttingen Magazine, p. 324, &c. We shall only mention the chief sums. The margraves of Anspach and Bayreuth obtained only very small sums, and the bribes of their corrupt ministers, confidants and secretaries were as contemptible as the people themselves. Anspach received pay till 1757 only, about 100,000 livres. Bayreuth continued in the pay of France during the whole war, and drew 1,100,000. Wirtemberg before the war received 1,500,000, during its continuance 7,500,000. The Palatinate before the war 5,500,000, during its continuance 11,300,000. Cologne from 1751 to 1761, 7,300,000. Bavaria till 1768, 8,700,000. The duke of Deux Ponts till 1772, 4,379,000. Hesse-Darmstadt in 1759 received an alms of 100,000. The elector of Mayence could only secure for himself 500,000. Even the prince of Waldeck got 50,000. Liège, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Saarbruck some 8,000,000 among them. The sums on the other hand which were paid to Saxony and Austria were very large: the former from 1750 to 1763 received 8,768,882 livres, and the latter from 1757 to 1769, 82,652,479.

and during the defence of Byng, the dislike of the nation, and Newcastle's presumption and incapacity, made it indispensable at any price to bring into the ministry able men who enjoyed the confidence of the public. Pitt and Legge had again joined the administration in November 1756, and the former, under the modest title of secretary of state, managed those affairs to which Newcastle was incompetent. The new ministry was bound to the treaty already concluded, although it disapproved of its object, and was therefore obliged to procure from parliament the moneys promised to the king of Prussia for the defence of the king's German territories. This indeed Pitt did, but he gave a very weak and cold support in parliament to the ministerial propositions, and declared his disapprobation in the cabinet of setting on foot an army composed of English and German troops in Westphalia. His present course was completely consistent with the views which he had always maintained and defended respecting the national debt and its causes, the politics of the continent and German princes. For this reason the duke of Cumberland, to whom the command of the army destined to act in Westphalia was offered, refused to accept it as long as Pitt was at the helm of affairs, and the king so embarrassed the ministers, that Pitt and his friends were again obliged to withdraw from office in April 1757. That Pitt was perfectly right in his views may be illustrated by the case of Frederick Augustus king of Sweden, who although in the Austrian war of succession he hired his troops to both the belligerent parties, yet, as landgrave of Hesse, had drawn more than 15,000,000 gulden (£1,249,699) from England till the year 1750.

When Pitt and Legge retired from the ministry the king had recourse to Fox, who was in full possession of his confidence and favour; but the ministry which was formed by him appeared so weak, that even the domineering and self-willed duke of Newcastle put no confidence in it, and refused to accept of the place which was offered him. The ministry was subjected to another change as early as June, and the unfortunate state of affairs in Germany at length led the two parties to unite. A ministry was formed under the leading of Pitt, in which Fox obtained a place together with the duke of Newcastle and Legge.

The consultations in Ratisbon respecting the king of Prussia's invasion of Saxony were somewhat less tedious than such deliberations usually were. Saxony first applied to the emperor

and the imperial council with its complaints in September 1756; the emperor and the council had exhausted all the means (*dehortatoria, monitoria, excitatoria*), which according to ancient right and usage were entrusted to them as judges in cases of dispute between princes of the empire; and in October the complaint of Saxony against Brandenburg had come before the diet for discussion, and in three months the suit was brought to a conclusion. On the 17th of January 1757 armed assistance was granted by a formal resolution of the diet, in order to place the empire in a situation to reinstate the elector in his dominions and to render aid to his wife who was attacked in Bohemia. In order to enable the emperor to execute this decree, the diet granted him the so-called triple contingent (*armatura ad triplum*) and a tax to be raised from the whole states of the empire (called Römer-monate), which would have amounted to 3,000,000 of florins, if the German towns, princes and nobles had been accustomed to pay such taxes in full.

It was melancholy for the German nation that it was obliged to wait till Buonaparte threatened to destroy its nationality before it freed itself from the trammels of a constitution, to which a Prussian ambassador showed such contempt, as to treat the notary, whose duty it was to communicate to him the resolution of the diet, as if he had been a shoeblick. It is however characteristic of Prussian affairs, that a Prussian captain and historian (Archenholz) should take a pride in relating these events at the very end of the century, and in having a copper-plate design representing the scene inserted in a calendar intended for the people. Moreover this same Prussian ambassador, Herr von Plotho, had previously treated the diet with contempt by insisting upon dictating a whole paper of fifteen sheets, and thereby reducing the well-trying patience of the diet and the assembled pedants who composed it to despair. The North of Germany protested against the resolution of the majority of the diet, and the rulers of Lippe, Waldeck, Hesse, Brunswick, Hanover and Gotha thought it much more prudent to accept of money from England for the troops which they sent to reinforce the English army in Westphalia than to pay Römer-monate\*, and to furnish

\* [The Römer-monate (Roman months) was the name given to a contribution raised upon all the states of the empire, for the purpose of paying the expenses of the journey of the emperor and his suite to Rome, in order to his being

their contingent to the imperial army which was to assemble in March 1757; they never condescended to remember that the poor subjects who received no subsidies must submit to all the hardships thus imposed upon them. The emperor complained of the conduct of Gotha especially, and threatened to resent its disobedience because the duke had declined the duties of a directorial prince\* in Upper Saxony committed to him in the place of the elector of Saxony.

In this year also Frederick was obliged to place his whole reliance on his army, and to seek for a speedy decision of his pretensions in the field; for he had little to hope from his ally, George II. Because Frederick was not able to send the specified number of troops into Westphalia, the English ministry made deductions from the subsidies: when indeed Prussia was threatened by the Russians, an English fleet was sent to the Baltic; but king George, as elector of Hanover, had even disapproved of the occupation of Saxony; Frederick therefore directed his attention to Bohemia. During the winter the Austrians had collected an immense force in this country, and had even brought their troops from the Netherlands, but unfortunately the commanders had been changed, and Kollowrat, who was wholly unequal to the task, had been substituted for the able Piccolomini. The chief army had been previously commanded by Brown alone, but prince Charles of Lorraine appeared as an evil omen; he had however committed so many faults in the last campaign, that he was at length obliged to be sacrificed to public opinion. As commander-in-chief he now obstructed what Brown had wisely projected, as appears from the fact that the prince no sooner appeared with the army than Brown's plans were relinquished and a defensive system adopted, which was the very thing which the king of Prussia desired.

Frederick advanced against the Austrians in order to conquer one enemy before the other took the field against him, but they constantly retreated, and allowed their magazines, whose value was estimated at millions, to fall into the hands of their enemies,

crowned by the pope. When the practice was discontinued, the name was still retained and used to denote those contributions which were levied for the execution of the decrees or assertion of the rights of the empire.—TRANS.]

\* [Each circle had two directors, somewhat resembling the president and vice-president of an assembly, whose duty it was to execute the decrees or ordinances of the general body or diet.—TRANS.]

till at length they were forced to risk a battle in order to save Prague. It was no good omen for the successful issue of the engagement fought on the 6th of May at Prague, that for some days before, prince Charles and Brown publicly carried on disputes respecting the adoption of the plans which they respectively proposed and the responsibility which attached to them, and endeavoured each to throw all this responsibility on the shoulders of the other. The battle of Prague was bloody and obstinately contested; the loss of the two armies is stated at 20,000; 12,000 Austrians were taken prisoners, and Brown mortally wounded. But Frederick purchased the victory very dearly by the death of the brave Schwerin, whose heroic sacrifice of his life determined the victory. Prince Charles and 40,000 Austrians were shut up in Prague, where there was a great want of military stores. The heavy artillery had been sent away from this fortress, and the army of the prince appeared to be threatened with the same fate as had befallen the Saxons at Pirna; fortunately however the whole of the right wing of the army of reserve had been saved. This right wing joined the main division under Daun, and every one expected that Daun would proceed with all possible expedition to deliver Prague. But however great the want and misery were which existed among the garrison and inhabitants of Prague, the Austrians remained true to their custom, and made no hasty efforts; six weeks elapsed before Daun made any attempt for the deliverance of Prague, or prince Charles endeavoured to escape from the enemy. Daun was a learned but remarkably cautious commander: he had gained great credit by the improvements which he had introduced into the discipline and training of the Austrian army, and combined in his person all those qualities, without which the highest merits, though they may be profited by and paid, will never be advanced above the lowest offices in Austria.

Daun was a member of a princely house, a very pious catholic, and a great favourite with the pope. He was a near relation of the countess Fuchs, the confidential friend of the empress, was therefore quite secure against Lorraine or other cabals, and was in a better position than other generals to appeal from the orders of the council of war immediately to the empress; yet he delayed advancing for the deliverance of Prague, till at length he received the most express commands from Vienna to risk the uttermost. On the 11th of June, Daun seriously began his

march, and compelled the duke of Brunswick-Bevern slowly to retire, whom Frederick had sent to oppose him. Frederick himself now hastened to the camp, in order to force Daun quickly to an engagement and then return to Prague: he found him encamped in a very strong position. The Austrian commander had fortified the heights near Kollin, and had caused the heavy artillery from Olmütz to be brought into his batteries: on this occasion the king set too little value on his enemy, and resolved on the 18th of June to storm the heights, but was repulsed with great loss. This was the first battle which Frederick lost.

The immediate consequences of the battle were, the raising of the siege of Prague, the evacuation of Bohemia, as well as heavy and almost irreparable losses on his retreat, which would have been still greater had not the phlegm of the Austrian generals been his best allies. Prince Charles did not venture courageously and perseveringly to assail the Prussian army which had been left before Prague under Keith, and Daun exhibited quite as little resolution and courage in the pursuit of the enemy. The king himself effected a masterly retreat into Saxony, but the elder of his two brothers was less fortunate with that division of the army which he was to lead into Lusatia. Universal and loud complaints were at that time uttered against Frederick for having given great pain to his brother by the harsh and severe reproaches which he publicly heaped upon him, which led to his removal from the army, broke his heart, and caused his death, which followed no long time after; but the historians of courts, princes and nobles are accustomed to view such things with very different eyes from those with which they are contemplated by the friends of mankind. The latter will perceive that prince Charles had no reason to fear the same sort of treatment in Austria which had been experienced by the brother of Frederick; but he must feel a double measure of admiration for the king, because he recognized and declared the truth, that his own deliverance and that of his subjects must wholly depend upon princes and common soldiers being regarded as equal before the law of necessity.

Fortunately for the king, the Austrians sent merely a detachment against Berlin, and left to the French and the imperial army the work of delivering Saxony, whilst they endeavoured to recover possession of Silesia; this fully occupied them till

Frederick in winter gained the battle of Rossbach, by his victory secured complete possession of Saxony, and was able to hasten to the relief of Silesia.

The French under D'Estrées had marched to the Rhine, and were received with open arms in Cologne and the Palatinate, which they had purchased with their gold. This army was destined for the occupation of the Prussian part of Westphalia, and the conquest of Hanover. The generals and officers, who at that time were selected exclusively from the nobility, continued to enjoy all the pleasures of Parisian life in the camp, and as we learn from the memoirs of the liberal count Ségur, which have appeared in our own times, engaged in intrigues and cabals. No attention was given to subordination except in the very moment of service, and sometimes even not then; every one relied upon his nobility, his rank, and his influence; each sought to obstruct and rival the other and to diminish the glory of the commander-in-chief. This expedition to Germany was regarded by the whole of the distinguished youth and nobility of France as a mere party of pleasure.

In D'Estrées' army there were forty-one lieutenant-generals, all marquises or dukes, and fifty-five brigadier-generals, all in like manner members of the high nobility, besides the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé attended by an immense field equipage, the dukes of Fronsac and Mazarin, and the count de la Marche, a prince of the royal blood, who accompanied the army as volunteers. When we think of the baggage alone by which such a number of great and licentious nobles must have been followed, and remember besides that Maillebois, who was at the head of D'Estrées' staff, did all in his power to prevent any decisive movement from being made till Richelieu, who was making every possible exertion, should succeed in his cabals and obtain D'Estrées' command, we cannot wonder that the army advanced at so slow a pace towards the Weser. The second army destined for Germany had been foolishly placed under the sole and unlimited command of Pompadour's favourite, the dissolute and gallant prince de Rohan Soubise, who was accompanied by officers and a staff which were in all respects worthy of their commander. Richelieu assembled the third army in Alsace.

The Prussians retired from Westphalia and gave up East Friesland; the Hanoverian troops were encamped at Bielefeld, but

their commander-in-chief was desponding, slow, and hesitating. King George and the duke of Cumberland had at length realized their wishes; Pitt had retired from the ministry in April, Fox had assumed the helm of affairs, and the duke of Cumberland, relying upon his friendship, now accepted the command of the army, which he had previously declined. In this army there were no English troops: it consisted of 26,000 Hanoverians, 6000 Brunswickers, 10,000 Prussians, 12,000 Hessians, 2000 men who were hired from Gotha, and 1000 from Buckeburg. This force was encamped in a very strong position near Bielefeld and Herford. D'Estrées therefore did not attack the duke of Cumberland, but by the choice of an advantageous position, compelled him to give up Herford and to retire.

The month of June and even the whole of July elapsed without leading to anything decisive. The French took possession of Hesse and a part of Hanover, whilst the duke of Cumberland tried to maintain himself at Hameln. Complaints were as loudly uttered against him in London as against D'Estrées in Paris. In June Soubise, who up till this time had commanded the advanced guard of D'Estrées' army, and wished for a separate and independent command, received the fulfilment of his wish through the favour of the court. He united his army with the imperial forces, but never thought of any combined system of operations. When Richelieu advanced at the end of July with the third army over Mayence, D'Estrées easily guessed that the cabals were ripe and that Richelieu was destined for his successor, he therefore resolved to attack the duke of Cumberland in his position at Hameln.

The disorganization which at that time prevailed among the French, especially in the divisions commanded by Richelieu and Soubise, was unexampled. This may be best proved from the testimony of an impartial eye-witness who had some share in the expedition. The same Montmorency, whom we have already quoted, commanded a squadron of cuirassiers in Richelieu's army and visited all the courts of Germany on his march, for which he had indeed time enough, for he states in his manuscript letters, that the whole body of the cavalry had occupied fully seventeen days (from the 9th till the 26th of August) in marching from Mayence to Cassel. He adds, that they had learned in Schwetzingen that D'Estrées had been deprived of his command by a cabal, and that it had been conferred upon Richelieu.



He eulogises Richelieu, although he admits that they had surrendered themselves to chance on leaving Mayence, and had absolutely no knowledge of the direction in which they ought to proceed\*.

Before Richelieu's arrival however, D'Estrées had forced the duke of Cumberland to an engagement, and gained a victory on the 26th of July 1757 at Hastenbeck, an hour's distance from Hameln. The duke was compelled to surrender Hameln, but both generals were accused of having fallen into great mistakes†. D'Estrées accused Maillebois, the chief of his own staff, with having neglected his duties with a view to please Richelieu, in order that the enemy might not be completely beaten till Richelieu had assumed the command of the army. Maillebois himself, in a detailed report of the battle, admits that neither standards nor prisoners had been taken from the enemy, and that

\* We have already often referred to the letters of this officer in giving a description of the state of affairs at the court of the Palatinate, and we shall here quote his confidential report of the case now before us (Archives du Royaume, Carton K. 161.): "*Le rappel du maréchal d'Estrées, suite d'intrigues de cour bien plus que d'un démérite personnel, fut une preuve bien sensible de la vicissitude si commune dans les évènements où les intrigues de ce pays là ont part. Depuis ce tems nous scîmes moins que jamais le but de notre conduite et la fin de nos projets. L'état de l'Europe dans ce moment, les entreprises générales et particulières ne laissoient plus aux gens les mieux instruites aucun moyen d'entrevoir avec une sorte de vraisemblance nulle trace de l'avenir. Nous avions nos ordres jusqu'à Mayence et depuis jusqu'à Marbourg et Cassel, et nous fumes réduits à mener en marchant tous les jours une vie d'autant plus ennuyeuse, qu'incertains de tous les objets qui pouvoient nous guider, nous vivions surtout du jour au jour.*"

† Without going further into military details, and in order to enable our readers to compare the account here given with what has been printed, we shall insert what we have found on the subject in a *Précis de la guerre d'Hannovre aux Archives*, Carton K. 156. It is there stated, that the duke of Cumberland had lost the battle, before it was begun, by giving up good positions and taking up bad ones in their stead. The French, says this French officer himself, had shown in the moment of the attack that they were deficient in military organization and strict discipline: "*Quant à la conduite des troupes pendant l'action elle n'est pas également louable, et tout le monde assure qu'il y eut infiniment du désordre. La principale attaque qui se passa dans le bois, favorisa encore le désordre, qui fut au point, que nos colonnes tirèrent sur la brigade d'Eu croyant tirer sur une troupe ennemie; la brigade se retira et abandonna une batterie dont les ennemis s'emparèrent.*" It is added that D'Estrées had allowed himself to be deceived by the false report that a corps of the enemy had taken up a position in the neighbourhood of the camp, which had been deserted; that in consequence he had suspended the attack at an unfavourable moment, by which time was allowed to the enemy to withdraw. Cumberland should have attacked the French, and supported the hereditary prince of Brunswick; he however did neither, but retreated to Hameln. This report also agrees fully with what is related by Mauvillon in the '*History of Ferdinand Duke of Brunswick*,' Part I. p. 228, &c. Leipzig, 1794.

the conquered party had lost only 1500, whilst the conquerors had lost 3000 men. He drew up a long memoir in which he attempted to justify his conduct\*. D'Estrées himself had at first inserted some slight indications of his accusation in his official report, but he afterwards expunged the passage; the strongest suspicions however are justly attached to the conduct of Maillebois as well as to that of the king, because the former admits, that on the 7th of July he had received a letter written to him by the latter on the 2nd, in which he was secretly informed of Richelieu's nomination to the command, which was not communicated to the marshal till the 31st.

Immediately after the battle, Hameln was taken possession of by the French, whilst the duke of Cumberland, from whom Frederick had unwillingly withdrawn his troops, marched with unexampled haste from Hameln to Verden, from Verden to Stade, and from thence to Bremervörde. The duke of Cumberland was by no means deficient in personal courage, but he was under the influence of the nobles of the Hanoverian ministry and their wise jurists, who at that time, as well as in the beginning of the nineteenth century, in a most cowardly manner (as cunning pettifoggers usually do) recommended the sacrifice of honour, their country and their fellow-citizens, in order to save the estates of the nobility and their own official despotism. The governments of our small German states, and the miserable principles by which they have been guided, almost without exception, on great and decisive emergencies, have been described by no one better than by the pen of Frederick the Great†; and on this occasion,

\* Archives du Royaume, Carton K. 151. The memoir begins as follows: "Si je prouve que j'ai une part aux succès du maréchal d'Estrées, ce sera pour faire voir que je n'ai pas pu avoir l'intention de les atténuer. Si je me plains que M. le maréchal n'a pas fait tomber, comme je crois qu'il devoit, les bruits injurieux que l'on a fait courir sur mon compte, je protesterai en même tems que je ne pense pas, qu'au moins depuis son retour de l'armée, il les ait accrédités autrement que par son silence."

† Œuvres Posthumes, vol. iii. pp. 132, 133: "On avoit tout à craindre pour l'armée du duc de Cumberland, moins commandée par ce prince que par un tas de jurisconsultes, qui n'avoient jamais vu de camp, ni lu de livre qui traitoit de l'art militaire, mais se croyoient égaux aux Marlboroughs et aux Eugènes.....Le roi de Prusse envoya M. de Schmettau à Hannovre. Ce général fit à ces magistrats presomptueux et ignorans les représentations les plus énergiques.....mais le tout en vain, s'il leur avoit parlé Arabe ils l'auroient tout autant compris. Ces ministres, dont l'esprit étoit resserré dans une sphère étroite, ne savoient pas assez de dialectique pour suivre un raisonnement militaire, leur peu de lumière les rendoit méfians, et la crainte d'être trompé dans une matière qui leur étoit inconnue, augmentoit l'opiniâtreté naturelle avec laquelle ils soutenoient leurs opinions."

as well as in 1803, we are furnished with authentic and documentary proofs respecting the conduct of the rulers, as well as the nature of the advice which was given by the jurists and the members of their fraternity.

Marshal de Richelieu, under whose administration Hanover was afterwards so cruelly plundered, had scarcely joined the army, when, on the 8th of August, Herr von Hardenberg went to his camp at Münden, and by a capitulation surrendered the whole country into his hands. What could the duke of Cumberland now do, when the Hanoverian ministry had thrown themselves at the feet of his enemy,—when Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel, Lüneburg and Zelle were occupied by the French,—when all the smaller members of the allies protested that they were the best friends of France? As the war approached the frontiers of Oldenburg, the Danish governor of the province, the pietistic count Lynar, without being asked, thought it his duty under these circumstances to endeavour to mediate between the army of the duke of Cumberland and that of Richelieu. He persuaded the Danish minister Bernstorff to agree to a convention under Danish mediation; but when the convention of Kloster Zeven was concluded on the 8th of September, and the terms of agreement were made known, every one was astonished that the learned count Lynar, well known by his writings and versed in political negotiations, could have drawn up or concurred in such an absurd convention.

In his sketch of the convention count Lynar had forgotten the most essential points. The agreement referred to the case of Hanover only, because the army belonged to the English, who paid it; whereas nothing further was needed than a military convention, which the commanders-in-chief would have been competent to make; but questions of general politics were involved which required the agreement or confirmation of their respective courts, and yet nothing was concluded respecting the treatment of Hanover, whose inhabitants were spoiled by Richelieu and those who accompanied him. The chief conditions of the truce which was agreed upon were, that the Brunswickers, Hessians, and the troops of Gotha and Lippe-Bückeburg should be at liberty to return home, and not to be regarded as prisoners of war, whilst the Hanoverians were to remain under arms in and around Stade and on the farther side of the Elbe. King George, displeased with his son, recalled him from his command.

Pitt, who since July had been again at the head of affairs, was now for ever relieved from the duke ; he also disapproved of the convention, and with good reason maintained that the Hanoverian army, as English, notwithstanding the agreement, might at any moment recommence the war.

Pitt's plans in the East Indies and in North America demanded a close alliance with the king of Prussia, and this led to a complete agreement between him and the king, Fox and Newcastle ; long disputes however were carried on and multitudes of papers exchanged respecting the convention of Kloster Zeven, but long before the battle of Rossbach it had been disallowed both in Paris and London. In Paris great indignation was felt against the duke de Richelieu because he had not reduced the duke of Cumberland to extremities, or at least rendered it impossible for his army again to take the field, but especially because he suffered him to remain in the territory of Lauenburg, and to threaten the rear of his own army. Richelieu moreover was lampooned in France, because he neither marched to Magdeburg, nor in any way supported Soubise and the imperial army, but lived riotously in Hanover, scandalously oppressed the country, exhausted its resources, and suffered his dependents and followers to harass and spoil its inhabitants.

We will not deny, that such a dissolute spendthrift as Richelieu, who was a man devoid of all moral principles, without a sense of sin or shame before God or man, may have received money from the king of Prussia also, as it was generally alleged he did ; but he had other reasons besides for sparing Frederick. He was far from approving of the politics of Pompadour, and placed confidence in his influence with the king, for whom he as well as Pompadour procured many agreeable female acquaintances, and he therefore hoped to gain his political favour also. Frederick, who formed a perfectly correct estimate of the marshal, sent colonel Balby to the avaricious marshal in Hanover, and furnished him with the most flattering letters and a *carte blanche*, which he employed to very good purpose.

The French minister (Bernis), it is true, had confirmed the convention of Kloster Zeven, notwithstanding its absurdity ; but he had given orders to insist upon its punctual fulfilment ; the marshal however received English money, and not only allowed the troops to remain together on the Elbe, but even to be scattered about in widely extended quarters. Richelieu's example

during the winter, which he spent in Hanover, was faithfully followed by his generals, officers and privates ; all discipline was completely relaxed. Some idea may be formed of the course of conduct which was pursued in the winter of 1757 and 1758, by reading the opinion which was entertained by the chief of the general staff concerning the discipline of the army at the time of the battle of Hastenbeck\*. In October a hint was given from England to the Hanoverian ministry, which had signed the convention, that they on their part should relinquish the agreement as one violated by the French, because the king of England, who had never ratified the compact, was desirous of again employing the army on the Elbe as an English force. With this view the English ministry, in order to show their confidence, requested the king of Prussia to furnish a commander, and Herr von Schulenburg was sent to him from Hanover with the same intention : Frederick consequently named prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, then governor of Magdeburg.

Mauvillon states that Schulenburg came to Frederick on the 28th of October ; but we see from the manuscript reports now lying before us, written by a man who immediately put to paper what prince Ferdinand himself communicated to him, that this nomination had been decided on long before the battle of Rossbach†.

\* Maillebois himself, in the letter concerning the battle of Hastenbeck, which, as he says, he wrote at 9 o'clock in the morning and sent away at 6 in the evening, complains bitterly of the disorganization of the army (Arch. du Roy. de France, Carton K. 152.). It is to be observed that his letter was an official and secret report from the chief of the staff to the minister, which he concludes as follows :—1. "Que nos troupes commettent toutes les horreurs possibles, pillent les églises et vont mieux à maraude qu'aux coups de fusils. 2. Que c'est à l'artillerie qu'on doit principalement le succès de la bataille d'Hastenbeck."

† In the papers of the count de Boisgelin upon the seven years' war, and his own negotiations with prince Ferdinand, we found some loose sheets referring to this very point (Archives du Royaume de France, Carton K. 155.). It is there expressly stated, that it was a mistake to believe that the breach of the convention of Kloster Zeven was a result of the battle of Rossbach. Eight days before this battle the king sent for the prince and said to him, that he knew certainly that the duke of Cumberland had resigned his command, "et le roi d'Angleterre m'écrit de choisir un général qui puisse commander son armée et qu'il y enverra un corps considérable d'Anglois. J'ai jeté les yeux sur vous. Le duc Ferdinand, après lui avoir exprimé combien il étoit flatté du choix que le roi faisoit de lui, supplia de lui donner du tems avant de s'y décider. Le roi dit qu'il ne pourroit lui donner que jusqu'au lendemain." The prince declined ; but the king prevailed upon him to accept the office by the most earnest representations, and by the promise of every possible support. Immediately afterwards the battle of Rossbach was fought.

The tone in which the attorney-general of the empire insisted in writing upon the declaration of outlawry against Frederick is worthy of remark, as an evidence of the gross manners and bad education of the German jurists and publicists of that age. Frederick, it is true, defeated the design of this declaration of outlawry by means of a juristical plea (the so-called *itio in partes*\*); but notwithstanding an imperial army for the execution of the decree was set on foot, whose commander and soldiers however did little honour to the empire. The prince of Hildburghausen, on whom the command was conferred, was indeed an Austrian general, but one whose name was known in the army-list only. The infantry consisted of a motley crowd of ten men furnished by this prelate and ten by that, and of twelve sent by this imperial count and twelve by that. Maria Theresa was obliged to supply this army with some Austrian cavalry, because the empire, which had always shown itself the enemy of all rapid movements, had never made preparations or organized measures for the maintenance of cavalry of any description. The whole year was spent in writing and adjusting; and when the ill-appointed and ill-organized mass was at length in motion, the army was joined by Soubise at the head of a French corps, whose discipline was wholly relaxed; and marshal de Richelieu, on the 6th of October, sent the duke de Broglio with 7000 men from Halberstadt to Mülhausen, which he reached on the 16th of the same month.

Frederick would have prevented the junction of the duke de Broglio's division with those under Hildburghausen and Soubise, had he not been obliged at this time to deliver his own capital from the possession of his enemies. Haddick had advanced through Lusatia to Berlin, and was there raising contributions; wherefore Frederick sent Maurice of Dessau into the Mark and gave up Gotha, to be able in case of necessity to support him from Naumburg. Haddick was no sooner driven out of the Mark, than Frederick, with 25,000 men, sought out the combined Franco-German army on the Saale near Merseburg, which was double his own in number.

In the beginning of November Frederick was in the neighbourhood of the enemy, and designed to attack Broglio's camp,

\* [There were some peculiar cases which were not decided by the majority of votes in the general diet of the empire, or in the imperial courts, but by the several states individually; and the latter form was designated by the phrase "*itio in partes*."—TRANS.]

but retired when he found his position too strong. His enemies regarded this as a symptom of fear, became presumptuous, and in consequence suffered the defeat near the village of Rossbach on the 5th of November, which is so renowned on account of the panic that so suddenly pervaded the whole French army, and which has been most unjustly taken advantage of in Germany to boast at the expense of the French. The French and imperial army relinquished an admirable position in order to attack the king, and were so confident of the result that they neglected all ordinary measures of prudence, even to make a reconnaissance of the enemy, and according to their own testimony were most unexpectedly attacked whilst they themselves were preparing to attack\*. Frederick conquered at Rossbach without making an effort: the defeat and flight of the hostile army are without example, although one wing alone of the Prussians was engaged. The whole combined army was routed and their artillery and baggage taken. The prince of Hildburghausen first collected the fragments of his forces in Franconia, and Soubise of his, in Cassel: Frederick left Ferdinand of Brunswick at the head of the English army, again called into operation, to profit by the victory of Rossbach in Hanover, whilst he himself hastened with all possible speed into Silesia.

The duke of Brunswick-Bevern, whom Frederick had left in Silesia to oppose a superior Austrian force, had neither the abilities nor a sufficient number of troops to check the progress of the empress's army; especially since the fall of Winterfeld at Görlitz, who was a great favourite of the king, and whom he had expressly left behind in Silesia, because he placed greater confidence in him than in the duke. The affairs of Moys and Görlitz, both of which were unfavourable to the Prussians, might be rather called skirmishes than battles; but although Daun and prince Charles were at the head of a force which was triple that commanded by the duke, yet the latter maintained himself in an admirable position, and protected Breslau for nearly seven weeks.

\* Among the papers of the French archives, Carton K. 156, which contain most important materials for the history of the seven years' war, there is a full report of the circumstances connected with the battle of Rossbach. This report agrees so completely with Mauvillon, in his life of Ferdinand of Brunswick, that we shall quote one passage which is very characteristic: "*Les généraux furent battus pour n'avoir pas éclairé leur ennemi et pour avoir été surpris par son attaque imprévue, on aura de la peine à le croire au moment où ils alloient les combattre eux-mêmes.*"

By a rapid march from the battle-field of Rossbach to Silesia, Frederick hoped to relieve Schweidnitz and Breslau, and to be able to employ the army under Bevern for that purpose; but in these three expectations he found himself cruelly disappointed. Schweidnitz had ingloriously capitulated on the 12th of November,—on the very day therefore on which Frederick commenced his march from Leipzig to Silesia; and prince Charles resolved to attack Bevern in his camp between Lissa and Breslau. This attack was actually made on the 22nd of November; and when Frederick reached Görlitz, the duke had been driven from all his positions and obliged to cross the Oder.

The loss which the Prussians suffered was insignificant; but their star seemed to be set in Silesia. Breslau capitulated; the garrison was shamefully routed, as that of Schweidnitz had previously been, or wholly relinquishing the cause of Prussia, entered into the Austrian service: Bevern allowed himself to be taken prisoner, because he was afraid to meet the indignation of the king. Frederick did not however long cherish his anger against the duke; but when Maria Theresa in the following year set him at liberty as her relation, he named him governor of Stettin. The Austrians at that time thought themselves so sure of the possession of Silesia, that they caused homage to be rendered to the empress in all the towns; and Frederick perceived that this province, and along with it his own glory and the charm of his name, were only to be saved by a decisive victory. For this reason alone, he no sooner came into the neighbourhood of the enemy than he was compelled to venture an engagement, which, according to Daun's opinion, it would have been the policy of the Austrians to have avoided: prince Charles however entertained a different view, and his rank gave him a preponderance in the council.

The Austrian forces lay secure from all assault in Bevern's camp before Breslau; but they left the camp and crossed the water of Schweidnitz, where they fell in with Frederick's army. The king had sent general Ziethen to the remains of the army which had been commanded by Bevern, and he had been fortunate enough to lead them back across the Oder and to form a junction with the troops under Frederick. On the 5th of December the two armies came to a decisive engagement between Leuthen and Lissa, which received its name from the former village. The Austrians were completely beaten, and lost in the



following days an immense number of prisoners. According to custom, on the day of the battle they had placed the Wirtemberg and Bavarian mercenaries in the van; and these gave the first symptoms of flight, because they were indisposed to fight against Frederick. Daun and prince Charles retreated into Bohemia, and left 20,000 men in Breslau; Frederick therefore pushed the siege of this city with the greatest energy, because he foresaw the impression which the capture of so large a garrison would make throughout the whole of Europe. The siege was commenced on the 10th, and on the 20th the capitulation was signed, the city occupied, and the whole garrison made prisoners of war.

Frederick's calculations were well-founded, and the impression made on the whole of Europe by what he accomplished in the concluding months of the year 1757 was the greater in consequence of the immense rapidity of his movements and their surprising success. The Swedes and Mecklenburgers also had now reason to repent of their precipitate adherence to the alliance against Frederick, and the undertaking of Russia in this year against Prussia proper had only been dreadful to the poor country. Sibilsky, the commander of the Saxons, who were united with the Russian army, was so indignant at the cruelties and devastations committed by the Russians, that he appealed to the empress against Apraxin, the commander-in-chief, and unwillingly relinquished his command\*. The Russians had long delayed commencing operations from want of money, and it was only when Austria allowed some portion of the stream of French subsidies to flow in that channel, that their army under Apraxin and Fermor took the field against Prussia. This force was so numerous, that great blame was thrown upon the aged field-marshal Lehwald for having met them in the open field and offered them battle. Lehwald had only 30,000 men when he attacked the Russians in their camp near Grossjägerndorf, on the 30th of August, and was beaten as had been foreseen. The Russians might now have taken possession of Prussia and have crossed the Oder, whereas they not only withdrew, but Apraxin retired with such precipitation, and made such efforts to reach the Russian frontiers, that his retreat had all the appearance of a disgraceful flight.

The singular conduct of the Russian general on this occasion

\* See Helden, Staats und Lebensgeschichte Friedrichs II., Königs von Preussen. Tübingen, 1760, im 4ten Theil, Seite 409—425.

was connected with the state of affairs at the court, because in Russia, as well as in France, the whole of the national concerns was intimately bound up with the persons and circumstances of the rulers. At this time the empress Elizabeth no longer interested herself about public affairs, and her successor was so indignant at the commencement of the war, and so openly and foolishly devoted to the cause of Prussia, that Bestuscheff began to weave intrigues against him, in which even the wife of the grand-duke offered her aid. Catharine had previously offended the empress by her intimacy with the Pole, Stanislaus Poniatowsky, who had come with the English ambassador to Petersburg, and was afterwards obliged to leave the city. Bestuscheff no sooner perceived that his plans might be promoted by Catharine's assistance, than he induced Brühl to send the former favourite of the grand-duchess in the character of a *chargé d'affaires* back to Petersburg, and the grand-duke was to be the sacrifice of the cabals of the minister and his own wife. Moreover Peter by his conduct furnished his wife with some excuse for the course which she pursued, because he had forsaken her and lived with Woronzow as if she were his wife.

We leave it undetermined whether Catharine was fully informed of Bestuscheff's plans, or whether he only foresaw that her concurrence was necessarily certain; but so much is clear, that when the illness of the empress assumed a dangerous appearance, he intended on her death to exclude the grand-duke from the succession, to raise the eldest of the young princes to the dignity of emperor, and to place the administration of the empire in the hands of his mother. The army which had been sent to Prussia was necessary for the due execution of these plans, and Apraxin and major-general Weymarn had been gained over to the conspiracy; hence arose the long hesitation and delay about marching to Prussia; and detentions or expedition on the march, according to the varying favourable or unfavourable news of the empress's health. Shortly before the battle of Grossjägerndorf, Apraxin had received intelligence that the empress's life was in danger, and hence the rapidity of his movements on his return into Russia, as well as his alarm and terror when he learned that the empress was recovered, and that he would be called upon to justify his arbitrary conduct.

Bestuscheff was now caught in his own snare; France and Austria united to trace out and disclose to the empress what

they called the English cabals, and the use which had been made of Poniatowsky. The sickly Elizabeth lived so completely within her palace, that she was wholly unacquainted with what was passing without, or with the place in which her army was. Sibilsky's accusations or complaints had never reached her; and the grand-duke Peter was too ignorant and narrow-minded to know what course to pursue, till Wolkoff and Woronzoff aided him by their advice. Wolkoff was one of the ablest and most cunning men in the empire; he had been long in the confidence of Bestuscheff, but now betrayed him in consequence of mutual misunderstandings and disputes; and the vice-chancellor Woronzoff informed the grand-duke of the plans which were being forged against him.

At the commencement of the year 1758, the empress, as soon as she had recovered, was informed by the grand-duke of the scandalous combination of ambitious men which had been formed for his destruction, and for paralysing or defeating the operations of the Russian army. Bestuscheff was immediately arrested and banished; Apraxin called to account for his conduct; but he escaped the punishment which awaited him by his death, which took place in August 1758; Weymarn was dismissed; and Catharine was not suffered for months to appear in the presence of the empress. No doubt can be entertained with respect to Bestuscheff's guilt, because there was found among his papers a copy of the deed of renunciation which he wished to compel Peter to subscribe, and even of the order drawn up in the name of the empress, not only without but contrary to her will, in which Apraxin was commanded to retreat. As he was afterwards recalled from banishment by Catharine, and as much as possible indemnified for his sufferings, it is at least highly probable that she was privy to a plan, which if it had been carried into execution would have spared her the commission of some of those dreadful crimes of which she was afterwards guilty. Her connexion with Stanislaus Poniatowsky, whom she afterwards made king of Poland, and suffered to be treated in the most contemptible manner by her ill-mannered ambassador during the whole of his reign, led to a scene in the following year (1758) which necessarily caused a complete separation from her husband. Stanislaus, although he was now Saxon ambassador, was obliged immediately to leave the country; and the empress was so enraged, that she was about to send Catharine to a convent.

Before Bestuscheff was overthrown (for he was not arrested till February) the Russian army had again marched into Prussia, and under Fermor taken possession of Königsberg on the 22nd of January. The occupation of the whole kingdom from Memel to the Oder was rendered easy by the removal of the Prussian forces, which had been marched against the Swedes in Pomerania.

The oligarchs who governed Sweden, or the majority of the council of the kingdom, had now renounced all feelings of propriety or shame. They had still further diminished the very small degree of public distinction which the king had previously been suffered to enjoy; and in order to recommend their dominion to the citizens and peasants as the most christian and true Lutheran orthodox rule, they had prescribed and published ordinances respecting the prayers of the church, catechising and preaching, by which they were desirous of effecting the performance of these exercises in such a manner as to be unfavourable to kingly power, and to tend to the establishment and confirmation of their own. These ruling nobles, who were purchased by foreign money, had even the shamelessness publicly to say, that whatever opinion might be entertained of the war, the French subsidies were indispensable to the kingdom (that is, to the nobles and their families). Notwithstanding the formal protest of the king, war was therefore resolved upon, and commenced in the autumn of 1757. The soldiers and officers however entertained very different views from those of the nobles of the council and the generals; and although the army was numerous on paper, it proved very small in the field; and as the oligarchs absorbed the whole of the French subsidies for themselves and their families, the troops were neither provided with pay, provisions, nor materials of war: military discipline was wholly unthought of. The officers were composed of the nobility of the kingdom, and in this character were both necessary and dreadful to the government; and as neither general nor officers had any punishment to fear, their efforts were very small, and the whole share which the Swedes took in the war, with some very small exceptions, was confined to Pomerania. The chief command of the Swedish army was conferred upon the aged grand-marshal Ungern-Sternberg, who without circumlocution wrote to Richelieu in Hanover in November 1757, that all the French subsidies were consumed in Sweden, and that he and his army were suffering from all sorts of want. He adds, that his

government had directed him to rely upon such contributions as he could raise in Prussia alone, for the pay and maintenance of his troops. Sternberg was recalled as early as the end of the year and Rosen appointed to succeed him, but he would not retain the command. Hamilton, who commanded in the following year (1758), was brought before a court-martial to answer for his conduct. Hamilton easily justified himself: his successor, a Herr von Lantinghausen (1759–60), boasts of two victories, at Anklam and Pasewalk, both of which appear to us too insignificant to call for any notice.

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## § IV.

### WAR IN GERMANY TILL THE DEATH OF GEORGE II.

The year 1758 opened under very favourable auspices for Frederick II., whom both friends and foes now agreed in regarding as the hero of the age, and as one who would easily defeat the alliance which women, priests and parasites had formed against him. As to the French, Frederick, as well as his brother Henry and the duke of Brunswick, in education, tone and converse, belonged in reality more to them than to the Germans. Marmon-  
tel, speaking of the admiration which the duke of Brunswick felt and expressed for the Parisian tone, manners and mode of life, gives the same account as is given by the duke himself in his own manuscript. These distinguished men openly and plainly acknowledged, what must have been very flattering to the French, that their bodies only were supported in Germany at German cost, whilst their minds and their pleasures belonged to the good society of Paris.

In order to rouse and interest his church-going countrymen, Pitt at this time announced in parliament and through the newspapers, that *Frederick II. was the hero of Protestantism*; and confident of the support of parliament, he concluded the first subsidy-treaty with him (April 11, 1758) without first asking the consent of the two houses. This treaty was not only immediately confirmed by parliament, but in December renewed for the year 1759, in November 1759 for 1760, and in December 1760 for the year 1761\*. It was agreed that neither party

\* See Wenck, vol. iii. p. 163.

should conclude a peace without the concurrence of the other; that Frederick should receive 4,000,000 dollars yearly as a subsidy; that the allied army under prince Ferdinand, which Richelieu had driven out of Hanover, should receive pay from England, and be reinforced by a considerable number of English troops.

Frederick was no longer able to maintain himself against the superior forces of his numerous enemies, except by having recourse to desperate measures. The first of such means to which he resorted was debasing the currency, and issuing a strict command that this base money should be received in all the ordinary transactions of life, whilst it was refused by his own treasury. From the four millions of good coin which he received from England he minted ten millions of debased currency; and the Jew Ephraim, to whom he farmed out the Saxon mint, followed the same course in Saxony. Leipzig was treated with great severity: in 1756 the town had already paid 500,000 dollars; in May 1757 it was obliged to raise 900,000 more. The body of Saxon nobles paid 600,000, and the demands and contributions were endless: the sons of the peasantry and Saxon soldiers were compelled to serve in the ranks against their own country and their own princes; and when any of these unfortunate men saved themselves by flight, their parents or relatives were visited with the heaviest penalties, and were made responsible for the sins of others. The inhabitants of Mecklenburg were treated no better. They were obliged to furnish a thousand compulsory recruits yearly, and during the war Prussia drew above 17,000,000 of dollars from this small province. In extenuation or excuse it must be said, that Frederick's enemies behaved still worse in Germany: but what shall we say of the princes who received money which caused the ruin of their German subjects, nay, even of the children and grandchildren of their subjects, in property and life?

The Russians first plundered in Prussia, then in the Mark (where Haddick had preserved the strictest discipline), and conducted themselves like hordes of barbarians. The Thuringians and Saxons experienced no better treatment from the French under Soubise, who were their allies and came to lend them aid. The very relation of their misdeeds would be horrible and loathsome, for they practised cruelties which could only find their parallel in the outrages of the wildest predatory tribes. The

Saxons wished for the return of their enemies, the Prussians, who were held in some bounds at least by discipline. Richelieu had scattered about his troops far apart, and practised extortions and oppressions from the Rhine to the Elbe, which were the more horrible and detestable, as he and some of his creatures alone enriched themselves, whilst his soldiers were in want and in rags. More Frenchmen were brought into the hospitals from neglect than from disease, whilst the officers left the army without permission and went to Paris. The indignation and hatred of the German people knew no bounds. At the decisive moment in which Ferdinand of Brunswick arrived in Stade (Nov. 22, 1757), and in the name of the king of England declared the nullification of the convention of Kloster Zeven, Richelieu was neither able quickly to assemble his scattered troops, nor to prevent his officers from leaving him in crowds to spend their winter in Paris\*.

On the re-establishment of an English allied army, it contained a number of Brunswick troops under the command of the hereditary prince, whilst the duke and his territory were still in the power of the French; and the duke was obliged to aid himself by the miserable pretence, that his son and his troops were forced into the service by his brother. The landgrave of Hesse, on the contrary, who had taken up his abode in Hamburg, directly declared that he again took part in the war because the French had scandalously violated the conditions on which he had previously surrendered his territory.

Ferdinand commenced his operations with the siege of Haarbùrg and reduced the town, notwithstanding a small loss which he suffered before Zelle as he was crossing the Aller. The relief destined for Haarbùrg arrived too late; for the French troops were so difficult to collect, that Broglie, whom Richelieu had recalled, did not enter Bremen till the middle of January

\* Baron de Montmorency, Archives du Royaume, Carton K. 161. (who himself went upon permission), reports, that on the news of the victories gained by Frederick on the 5th of November and the 5th of December no measures were taken, and that the army of prince Ferdinand broke in upon them when the officers were absent upon furlough, and more and more of them were continually leaving for Paris, without paying any attention to the advance of the enemy. This proceeded to such a length, that when the army marched out of Hanover and was pressed on all sides, troops were obliged to be sent for from Hesse: "*de ce nombre étoit un détachement de 600 gens-d'armes, formant quatre escadrons, qu'on fit venir des quartiers qu'ils occupoient en Hesse avec le peu d'officiers qui étoient restés au corps.*"

(1758). After the check given to duke Ferdinand at Zelle, on the 25th of December 1757, Richelieu followed him across the Aller; but on the 30th returned to Hanover, as soon as he learned that Haarbürg had fallen before Broglie had arrived to its relief. The marshal now remained six weeks in Hanover without taking the slightest measures against the enemy; but he sent indeed a division of his troops to Halberstadt, in order to share in the plunder of that province before he left Hanover. The French court became ashamed of the marshal and his conduct, and on the 8th of February he was obliged to lay down his command, and forbidden to come to court. His banishment consisted in being sent to his governorship in Guyenne, where he appeared as a domineering lord, and became the plague of the province; for it was first obliged to contract a considerable debt in order to give him a suitable and splendid reception, and afterwards to exhaust its resources to maintain him according to his rank.

Moras and Paulmy, the ministers of finance and war, were persecuted with satires and pasquinades to such an extent, that at length they were no longer able to endure the general contempt; they resigned their respective offices, and the king sought to indemnify them by honours at court for the contempt of the people, to which they had exposed themselves by their insolence for his gratification. Boulogne took charge of the department of finance, and Belleisle that of war, whilst Richelieu's office was conferred upon the count de Clermont, who, like Rohan Soubise, was one of the king's companions in his licentious orgies. The count made a boast and honour of his ignorance, indulged in an effeminate and licentious life in the camp, as he had done at the court, and left others to attend to the public concerns. He arrived at the army in February 1758, at the very moment in which the allied army had commenced their operations.

At the very commencement of the campaign prince Ferdinand surprised two regiments of cavalry and conquered Münden, with a garrison of four thousand men. In consequence of this loss a panic immediately spread among the whole French army, which was suffering from every description of want, and whose officers were absent in Paris. They immediately evacuated Lower Saxony and Westphalia without further resistance. Soubise marched from Cassel to Hanau, and divided his army between



the Maine and the Lahn. Clermont's retreat resembled a precipitate flight; for baggage and cannon, thousands of men in health, as well as sick, weary and worn-out, were left to the enemy, and the troops found no resting-place till they reached the Rhine and took up their quarters around Wesel, from the middle of March till the end of May.

Clermont was effeminate, incapable and sickly, and his efforts during this time of repose to relieve the indescribable destitution of the army could not be followed by any very splendid results, because he left everything to the management of others; and the cloth which was to cover the naked bodies of the soldiers, together with recruits to complete the regiments, were all to be waited for till they were sent from Paris\*. Clermont endeavoured in some measure at least to repair Richelieu's political errors, and the detestable nature of his system of pillage; and in Germany, especially in Brunswick, better hopes of the French were awakened†. As we learn from his papers in the French archives, Clermont received in April, on the Rhine, reports from the various French ambassadors at foreign courts, by which he was enabled to form a judgement respecting the political state of affairs. On this occasion he received a very remarkable paper of instructions from the French foreign-office, in which Bernis states to him unequivocally that he is very desirous of peace; that on this point he entertains very different opinions from

\* The comte de Clermont sent a report to the minister of war, in which it is stated in his name that, "L'armée est depuis plusieurs jours établie dans ses quartiers. S. A. S. donne toujours les mêmes soins, et la même attention au prompt rétablissement des troupes. Beaucoup de ballots d'étoffes sont déjà arrivés et distribués aux différens régimens, qui travaillent avec la plus grande dilligence à les mettre en œuvre. Les recrues commencent aussi à arriver; on les exerce assidûment, ainsi que les régimens et on commence à s'apercevoir qu'ils reprennent la discipline," &c. (Carton K. 152.)

† In the Carton above quoted will be found the documents respecting the negotiations of M. de Feronce with the comte de Clermont on the subject of Richelieu's extortions and those of his officials, and of the liberation of Herr von Hoym and others, who had been carried off from Brunswick as hostages because the people were unable to pay a further demand of 325,000 dollars. It was proved that, in consequence of the mode of collection, the inhabitants had been obliged to pay 684,168 livres more than were demanded or set to their account. Then, as Herr von Hoym proves by a detail of facts, they had taken away with them, in the beginning of March, 1300 carriages and 5190 horses. To one of the representations is appended the following note: "On a promis de payer argent comptant tous les articles ci-dessus. Les dommages causés à l'arsenal de Wolfenbüttel, et la perte en chevaux et chariots, lors du départ des troupes monte à un million et demi de livres."

those of the king, that is, in other words, of Pompadour; and that he was seriously afraid of an invasion of France\*.

From the measures to which Clermont was obliged to resort with the intendants, commissioners, contractors and their creatures, we are able to form some opinion of the condition in which Richelieu had left the administration of affairs in the army; and the nature of the discipline which prevailed is obvious from the fact, that he was obliged to require the king to cashier fifty-two officers at one time. From a letter of Rohan Soubise which we found among Clermont's papers, we learn how little connexion or order really existed in the movements of the various divisions of the army, and how anxiously each of the princely or noble commanders longed to possess or to appear to possess an independent authority. When Ferdinand of Brunswick appeared to be threatening to make an attempt to pass the Rhine, Clermont required Soubise to join with the troops under his command; Soubise coolly replied, that he could not march to the Lower Rhine because he had received orders to proceed to Bohemia, where however he never went. Ferdinand facilitated his passage over the Rhine, in the sight of the enemy, by crossing on the Dutch territory and in Dutch boats at Tollhuys, where Louis XIV. had formerly made his celebrated passage of the same river; but afterwards, in order not to provoke the enemy to violate a neutral territory, he brought his bridge further up the river. We are furnished with a proof of Clermont's gross negligence, and of his total unacquaintance with what was really passing, by the fact, that this

\* Bernis writes on the 24th of April 1758 (Carton K. 152.), "Il est certain que le prince Ferdinand agira le plutôt qu'il lui sera possible. Il reçoit courrier sur courrier pour s'y disposer. M. le maréchal de Belleisle et M. de Cremilly sont incommodés, malgré cela ils travaillent comme à l'ordinaire. Le grand point et sur lequel nous insistons avec beaucoup de force auprès du contrôleur général, c'est qu'on envoie à V. A. S. promptement de l'argent. Il vaut mieux faire filer les sommes que de vous laisser, monseigneur, quelque tems sans moyen de faire vos réparations et d'approvisionner Wezel. Par le traité que les rois d'Angleterre et de Prusse viennent de conclure, on voit clairement, que leur intention, si la fortune les seconde, est de porter la guerre dans le royaume. Voilà pourquoi nous devons tenter tous les efforts imaginables pour garder le Rhin, en gagnant du tems nous serons en sûreté. C'est à nos alliés à nous donner des facilités pour la paix, à laquelle, vous pouvez être assuré, monseigneur, je ne suis nullement opposé. Mais le roi ne veut pas abandonner lâchement ses amis. D'ailleurs les rois d'Angleterre et de Prusse sont convenus nouvellement de ne faire aucun accord l'un sans l'autre, ni comme rois ni comme électeurs, ainsi il ne dépend pas de nous ni de nos alliés de les séparer dans le moment. Il n'y a de moyen d'arriver à la paix que d'être en état de pousser la guerre avec vigueur," &c.

step, which would have formed a complete excuse for the French commander for having allowed the enemy to cross the Rhine, wholly escaped his notice. Even the marquis de Fosseuse, in his manuscript letters, complains bitterly of the irresponsible negligence of his companions in arms\*. Clermont retreated, shut himself up in his camp at Crefeld, and there awaited the attack of the enemy; the French however relinquished their position precisely two days before Ferdinand's attack, which was made on the 22nd of June. This position they should necessarily have maintained; and their commander, count de Clermont, himself declares, in his report of the battle of the 22nd of June, that he could not at all comprehend† or explain the reason for leaving the position on the other side of the Landwehr. All this is quite consistent with what is said by the writer of this official report, which Clermont acknowledges as his own, that in the commencement of the battle they were not agreed as to which of the attacks of prince Ferdinand was to be regarded as the true one‡.

Under these circumstances the French were necessarily beaten and obliged to retire: they retreated to Cologne; but as their loss proved inconsiderable, they immediately again made a movement in advance. Clermont was recalled, and Contades for a time obtained the command§. Soubise had now advanced in

\* Carton K. 161: "Mais dès le commencement du mois de Juin le prince Ferdinand, après plusieurs marches qui cachoient son projet, trouva le moyen de passer lui-même le Rhin à Emmerich presque au milieu de nos quartiers, événement fait pour étonner l'univers, accoutumé à regarder ce fleuve comme une barrière insurmontable, même avec beaucoup moins de troupes, que nous n'avions pour la défendre. M. de Villemur commandoit dans cette partie, et M. de Randan en étoit près, ils furent ensuite rappelés tous les deux, et sans vouloir condamner personne toujours est-il singulier qu'ils aient laissé faire l'armée ennemie aussi tranquillement."

† Clermont in his letters gives a full account of what passed in the army from day to day in the beginning of June. He states that prince Ferdinand was desirous of attacking Neuss, where they had their magazines, but that he had hastened forward and got before the allies, and Ferdinand was obliged to march to Kämpen: "L'armée séjourna à Neuss et marcha le lendemain en avant sur l'ennemi à dessein de le combattre deux lieues de l'ennemi, *par des raisons que je ne dois pas approfondir*, l'armée au lieu de passer le Landwehr y resta et ne s'occupa qu'à reconnoître cette partie du pays."

‡ "La victoire," he continues, "commençoit à se déclarer pour nous, pour l'assurer S. A. S. envoya chercher sa réserve de la droite composée des grénadiers de France et royaux et de la brigade de Navarre, ce qui formoit 14 bataillons. *Le malheur voulut qu'elle fut conduite sur d'autres points et n'arriva pas à sa destination.* L'ennemi profita de cette circonstance," &c.

§ Comte de Ségur, de l'Académie Française et pair de France, one of those people who assume every colour and form, a friend of democracy in America,

favour, was reinforced, and Broglio's army placed under his command. Broglio's division was to form his advance-guard in his march through the Wetterau, from whence, according to his orders, he was to proceed to form a junction with Contades in Westphalia. Contades no sooner joined the army on the Lower Rhine, than Soubise commenced his march on the 8th of July 1758. Contades first watched the movements of the enemy for some time, then drove him continually but slowly farther back: Soubise was opposed by prince Isenburg, who however, with his 6000 to 7000 men, was by no means equal to the superior French force. Isenburg evacuated the Wetterau, and finally Cassel also; but he felt himself so deeply hurt by the reproaches of the duke of Brunswick, that instead of immediately marching from Cassel to Münden in Hanover, he advanced to meet Broglio, who commanded Soubise's advance, and came to an engagement with the French upon the heights of Sangerhausen, half an hour's distance from Cassel\*. Broglio was victorious; but his victory was of no use till Contades at length in September advanced through Westphalia to the Lippe, and required Soubise also to march thither.

Contades first compelled prince Ferdinand to recross the Rhine, on which occasion the prince gained great renown by his masterly retreat. The prince was now reinforced by 12,000 English troops which had been landed at Embden, whilst Contades increased his forces by 8000 Saxons, who had escaped from their compulsory service in Prussia and were taken into French pay. The months of August and September elapsed without witnessing anything decisive: the commanders showed

ambassador at the court of Catharine II., Buonapartist, historian, and other things besides, published his memoirs, as is well known, some ten years ago. He treats also of the seven years' war; and two anecdotes related by him will serve as a specimen of the comical regulations and usages of the French army. First as to Contades: "*Pendant la jeunesse de Louis XV. l'habillement des troupes n'étoit pas uniforme, plus tard même, nous vîmes des maréchaux tels que M. le maréchal de Contades, en habit de ville et portant une grande perruque.*" Next as to the officers: "*Mon père, un des moins favorisés, fut à dix-neuf ans colonel du régiment de Soissonnais, et fut blessé en le commandant à la bataille de Roucoux. Le duc de Richelieu, fils du maréchal de Richelieu, fut nommé à sept ans colonel du régiment de Septimanie. Son major n'avoit que cinq années de plus que lui.*"

\* The very intelligent and just author of the letters so often already quoted, who was an eye-witness of the French campaigns in the seven years' war, says, that the prince of Isenburg was very wrong in engaging in a battle at Sangerhausen, from which, even if gained, he could have derived no advantage, as the whole of Soubise's army was rapidly on the advance.

their skill in directing marches and countermarches, till at length Soubise advanced anew over Cassel towards Göttingen, which was then a fortified town. His light troops had pushed forward beyond Göttingen as far as Nordheim, when prince Ferdinand sent a division under count Oberg to oppose his further progress. Soubise recalled his advanced troops and took up a position at the junction of the rivers Werra and Fulda, and Oberg most imprudently and unwisely offered him battle near Landwehrhagen on the Lutterberge, not far from Münden. This engagement ended in the complete rout of the allies, who were thrown into confusion, and Oberg's division would have been wholly annihilated if Soubise had followed up his advantage; but he was too well pleased to have gained a victory at all to make any further efforts, and was created a marshal, as well as Contades, but immediately retreated to Cassel and still further\*. Oberg indeed received his dismissal.

Contades, it is true, took up his winter-quarters on the further side of the Rhine†; but Soubise paved a sure way for retreat to the French armies destined against Hanover and Hesse, by the treacherous occupation of Frankfort. During the winter all was quiet and without anxiety, for Soubise, as we learn from the letters of the marquis de Fosseuse, was as little able to detain the officers with the army as Richelieu had been; they went on leave to Paris. The court was in the meantime at length convinced that Soubise was incapable of conducting any great operations, and Contades was appointed commander-in-chief of both the armies on the Rhine. Contades left the smaller division of the forces in the Lower Rhine under the duke d'Armentières, and sent the larger division to the Maine, where Broglio held the chief command, till he himself could join the army.

The campaign of 1758 proved as indecisive in other parts of Germany as on the Rhine and in Westphalia, and as fruitful in misery, devastation and sorrow to the poor and unfortunate inhabitants of the country. The defeat of the Austrians at Leuthen, and the loss of their conquests in Silesia at the end of the

\* Report, Carton K. 156: "On ne tira aucun avantage de la bataille de Lutternberg, la saison étoit d'ailleurs trop avancée outre qu'il n'y avoit rien de préparé d'avance pour pouvoir hiverner dans ce pays. On se mit donc à consommer et à porter sur les derrières ce qu'on ne vouloit pas laisser à l'ennemi, et l'armée se retira d'abord sur Marbourg, abandonnant l'un après l'autre tous les postes, qu'elle venoit d'occuper dans les environs de Cassel."

† At Crefeld on the 8th of December.

year 1757, was followed by this advantage, that the general voice of public opinion in Vienna was for once listened to, and prince Charles, who was regarded as the author of all these misfortunes, was for a second time removed from the army. Prince Charles was undoubtedly the cause of the battle which was risked and lost at Leuthen: he had had a desperate strife with Nadasdi because the latter was a good general and he a bad one; and he was the person who had given full powers to Herr von Sprecher, an incapable officer of high rank, to conclude the capitulation of Breslau. Of the 80,000 men whom prince Charles took with him into Silesia, less than 20,000 returned to Bohemia. The empress either was or wished to be unacquainted with all this; but the police were unable to repress the popular voice, and the good emperor Francis attempted in vain to protect his brother on his return by covering him with the purple. Francis went out to meet his brother on his approach to Vienna, and a few days before his arrival had caused the singular notification to be made, that no one was to dare to speak disrespectfully of the prince on account of the late battles, because his royal highness, in all that he had done, had only strictly obeyed the imperial commands: but all was of no avail.

Placards upon the city gates, on the church of St. Stephen and the palace, and the complaints of the nobility, proved this time more powerful than the notices of the police: Maria Theresa indeed insisted upon treating public opinion with contempt, and the able Nadasdi resigned his place in order to please the prince, and took his leave because the court was offended with him; but prince Charles hesitated about resuming the command, and returned to Brussels.

Frederick had left Prussia completely at the mercy of the Russians, who advanced with incomprehensible slowness towards the Oder. They appeared to calculate on making Prussia a Russian province, for they received everywhere the homage of the people, and treated the country with great consideration and mildness; but they no sooner entered the Mark, than they plundered and wasted the country with the same cruelty and rage as had been done in the time of Apraxin. Frederick took Saxony as an indemnification for Prussia, raised recruits in Mecklenburg as if it had been his own territory, and imposed taxes upon the duchy to the amount of from 200,000 to 400,000 dollars. Dohna, who had received Lehwald's situation and

commanded the army in Pomerania, could not resist the Russians on the Oder; and it was an unfortunate circumstance for the king of Prussia, that it was obvious to all that Fermor was unwilling to push his warlike operations further than the Baltic.

Frederick had besieged Schweidnitz till April, and finally reduced it because Daun did not think it advisable to advance into Silesia, but rather to await an attack in Bohemia. Instead however of advancing into Bohemia, the Prussians invaded Moravia, and Daun in consequence obtained time to put his army in better condition, which was incomplete, ill-trained, and badly provided with the materials of war. The months of May and June were lost to Frederick in the useless siege of Olmütz; by this time Daun had completed his equipments, and on the 28th of June general Laudon laid the foundation of that high renown which he ever afterwards enjoyed among the Austrians, by the capture of the immense wagon-train which was conveying to Frederick's camp everything necessary for the besieging army before Olmütz. The loss of these valuable supplies and the movements of the Russians on the Oder compelled Frederick to raise the siege and to undertake a very dangerous retreat through Bohemia to Silesia. On this retreat (July 1758), which was masterly and universally admired, the loitering irresolution of the Austrians, which had now become proverbial, contributed as much to his success as his own skill. This holds good not only with respect to the march in Bohemia, but especially to the campaign in August, when he went to meet the Russians on the Oder.

Frederick reached Silesia in the beginning of August, by his admirably conducted march through Bohemia with thousands of wagons and with all his artillery: there he learned that the Swedes had again taken the field, and that the Russians were pressing Cüstrin. Daun was to have supported the operations of the Russians and Swedes by an inroad into Saxony, but he delayed so long, that Frederick had time to settle affairs with the Russians, and then at length he first threatened Dresden. From the 15th till the 17th of August the Russians continued wilfully to destroy the town of Cüstrin; the fortress however still held out, when Frederick arrived at Frankfort on the 20th, collected his forces and crossed the Oder. This step compelled the Russian general to withdraw the besieging army from Cüstrin, to concentrate his forces, and to await an attack from the

king. In the engagement which was fought at Zorndorf, both parties boasted a victory; the Russians unquestionably suffered the greater loss in men, but they maintained their position for several days after the battle. Frederick found it the less necessary to venture upon a new assault, as the Russians after a very short time broke up of their own accord, withdrew their troops from Pomerania and the Mark, which they had devastated after a Turkish fashion, and after having made one more attempt to conquer Colberg, remained quiet in Poland and Prussia.

The imperial army, which was now commanded by Frederick of Deux Ponts, was not more rapid in its movements than the Austrians; it had however at length crept forward into Saxony and taken up its position at Pirna. About this time the council of the empire had, by an official opinion, explained to the emperor that the decree of outlawry against Brandenburg could with difficulty be obtained, but that in the meantime the emperor might act as if the outlawry had been formally and legally pronounced. On the 28th of August the emperor even granted twenty römermonate, or two millions of florins. The miserable imperial army had neither previously been able to defend Franconia against the Prussian incursions, nor did it prove itself more efficient when prince Henry, in connexion with Ferdinand of Brunswick, drove the French to the Rhine. It did not even venture to oppose prince Henry when he separated from Ferdinand and turned towards Franconia, but fled before him to Saaz in Bohemia, and came to light for the first time when Daun at the end of July set out for Saxony.

Prince Henry endeavoured at that time to maintain one portion of Saxony; Schmettau, one of Frederick's best generals, lay in Dresden; and Daun, according to his custom, was afraid of being precipitate; Frederick himself thus gained time to march to Saxony after the withdrawal of the Russians. The king no sooner appeared than Daun took up a strong position at Stolpen, and when Frederick attempted to cut off his communication with Silesia, where he was carrying on the siege of Neisse, he retired into a camp at Kittlitz. Daun took up this position at Kittlitz, not far from Lobau in Lusatia, on the 5th of October, after he and the king had mutually watched each other for the whole month of September, and each had tried to outmanœuvre the other. Daun believed himself to be quite sure of supplies



in his camp at Kittlitz, and Frederick calculated too much upon the phlegm of the Austrians when he followed them beyond Bauzen, and, fearless of an attack on their part, encamped with an army of not quite 30,000 men in their immediate neighbourhood at Hochkirch, between Lobau and Bauzen; this time however he had deceived himself and committed a great act of imprudence. He was surprised in the night, and on this occasion, on the 14th of October, Laudon conducted the surprise with such consummate skill, that he nearly annihilated Frederick's army.

The whole of his baggage and camp, together with a hundred pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of his enemies; 9000 men, and among them marshal Keith, were slain; but it was alleged with justice in Prussia that Daun reaped no advantage from this victory, except the consecrated hat and sword which were presented to him by the pope, and which Frederick did not grudge him. Whilst Daun and the military council at Vienna were corresponding with one another, and considering what was the next move to be made, Frederick outstripped the Austrian army in his march to Silesia, reached Görlitz, and left his brother Henry behind in Saxony. The king fully attained his object in Silesia, and relieved Neisse and Cosel, although Daun had sent Laudon after him, whilst Daun himself thought of entering Dresden and occupying the whole of Saxony. He found himself however deceived in his expectations and compelled to a hasty retreat; whilst the imperial army was not more fortunate in its attempts upon Leipzig and Torgau than he had been against Dresden. On the approach of Daun, Schmettau had caused more than 280 houses of the Saxon capital to be set in flames, because, alas! Frederick maintained the dreadful principle and strictly followed it out, that the barbarity and violence committed by the Russians, or the injuries inflicted by the Austrians upon Prussian diplomatists or officials, were all to be avenged by the practice of similar acts of inhumanity upon the Saxon ministers or officials. In accordance with this principle, Brühl's goods and chattels were wilfully and maliciously destroyed. When Frederick returned from Silesia to Saxony, on the 20th of November, Daun had taken his departure five days before on his march back to Bohemia, and the imperial army had taken up its winter-quarters in Franconia.

In France the campaign of 1758 had caused a complete sepa-

ration between the court and the capital and country, for officers and soldiers, as well as the ladies and literati, adopted the king of Prussia as their hero; it became the fashion to exalt and admire Prussia\*, and to detest the alliance with Austria. Moreover Germany lost more than can be easily conceived by its admiration of its skipping, dancing and perfumed neighbours and their saloons. Its inhabitants had been more distinguished for their integrity and honour than for complaisance and gallant speeches, but now its heroes laid far too great value upon the well-turned eulogies and the easy manners of agreeable courtiers, and the complaisant noblesse readily accommodated themselves to the fashion. Documentary proofs in abundance exist of the manner in which Frederick, his brother Henry, and the young hereditary prince of Brunswick overwhelmed the French with compliments, and expressed their feeling of the want of the French modes of life in Germany. They might have created and introduced a new and a better German life, if they had not so tenaciously adhered to the *Er. (He)* and the *Ihr (Ye)* †.

Bernis, who about this time was elevated to the dignity of a cardinal, found the expenses of the department of foreign affairs

\* On this point we shall quote Duclos, vol. ii. p. 462 :—"Je voudrais pouvoir donner les mêmes éloges à la morale du roi de Prusse qu'à ses qualités brillantes. Celles-ci ont fait une telle impression sur l'imagination Française, que la plupart de nos officiers en marchant contre lui tenoient tous les propos qui pouvoient refroidir le courage de leurs soldats. Lorsque ce prince eut repris l'ascendant on rencontroit dans les sociétés, les cercles, les promenades, les spectacles de Paris plus de Prussiens que de François. Ceux qui s'intéressoient à la France étoient presque réduits à garder le silence. ....Peut-être le gouvernement doit-il s'imputer le changement qui est arrivé. Quand un peuple manifeste son estime pour un ennemi, quelque estimable qu'il soit, c'est toujours la preuve du mécontentement national."

† Abundant details with respect to Frederick and his opinions on this point will be found in Laveaux, 'Vie de Frédéric II.,' in Thiébault and Denina. He was entirely devoted to French tastes, as Voltaire characterises him, "comme le marbre de sa table—*dur et poli*," He was, like Buonaparte, sentimental too when circumstances demanded it, and rich in all those forms of speech by which the world is allured. With respect to the German princes and their love of French conversation and manners, we are furnished with curious details in Boisgelin's reports of his conversations with prince Ferdinand. When, for example, they were speaking of Luckner and his having passed from the Hanoverian into the French service, the prince observed that his promotion to the rank of a general had raised him quite out of his sphere, and that he was only fit to command 2000 to 3000 hussars, and then he adds :—"Mais Monsieur, me disoit le prince, il n'y a pas d'officier général en Allemagne, quelque grand seigneur qu'il soit, qui ne se regardât comme très-heureux de pouvoir passer au service de France. Quel bonheur de faire la guerre avec des François et de vivre avec eux à Paris pendant la paix ! Ce n'est pas pour vous faire un compliment, ce n'est point parceque vous êtes François, que je vous conjure qu'il n'y en pas un parmi nous qui ne fût enchanté de servir en

amount to a sum quite unheard of and unattainable, and his successor boasts, that the department having cost 75,500,000 livres in the year 1757, he had succeeded in reducing it in the year 1759 to 24,000,000\*. He forgets however that he did no more than take advantage of what his predecessor had already done when he declared to the king that the state of the finances was such as to render the prosecution of the war utterly impossible, unless the government ceased to pay certain subsidies, a reformation took place in the royal house, and he was permitted to conduct the negotiations. Bernis no sooner ventured at length in this way to address a word of truth to the court, than another person wholly devoted to Pompadour was ready to enter into her service, and Austria assisted in overthrowing Bernis. This was the marquis Stainville, after the death of his father, the duke de Choiseul, then ambassador in Vienna, an able and very skilful man. Cardinal Bernis was obliged for a time to retire to his abbey; Choiseul became minister of foreign affairs, and discovered the means of surmounting the difficulties which had so embarrassed his predecessor. He gained the favour of Pompadour, and at the same time that of the parliament; he was a favourite with the liberal poets and philosophers whom Frederick honoured without losing the attachment of the courtiers, and despised the bitter hatred of the dauphin and his wife. He systematically violated the secrets of the post-office, availed himself in the ablest way of the police and of spies, terrified the king and made himself indispensable, and withal contrived to shed a halo of popularity around himself.

France. Une seule chose pourroit ralentir ce désir, c'est votre changement continuel des généraux." Ferdinand's nephew, the hereditary prince of Brunswick, and even his wife, the proud Englishwoman, complimented the French and flattered Marmontel, as the old man informs us in his '*Mémoires d'un Père*,' etc. book viii. Paris edit., 1805, tom. iii. p. 48.

\* Choiseul, in the '*Mémoires de M. le Duc de Choiseul*,' written by himself, printed under his own superintendence in his cabinet at Chanteloup in 1778, and published at Paris in 1790, in the second part, pp. 108-113, furnishes, after his fashion, a complete account. In pp. 98-100 he boasts in a most absurd manner. He states that in 1757 the expenditure amounted to 57,500,734 livres; 1758, 57,000,000; 1759, only 24,303,862:—"Il y eut de l'augmentation en 1758, et si je n'avois pris un parti décisif, il y en auroit eu en 1759; car il y avoit avec le Danemark un traité de six millions, qui n'étoit pas compris dans les dépenses courantes et qui n'a jamais été soldé. Le roi payoit de plus des troupes Bavauroises, Palatines et Virtembourgeoises, qui ne lui étoient d'aucune utilité, mais qui à chaque campagne exigeoient de dépenses aux subsides courants, pour les réparations que ces campagnes occasionnoient à ces troupes, très-inutiles dans le fond, mais toujours très-coûteuses."

Whilst he was in Vienna Choiseul had been employed by Pompadour, without Bernis' knowledge, in negotiations on the subject of a new treaty with Austria, and this incomprehensible treaty, which has been kept secret till our own times, consisting of twenty-four articles, was signed a few days before he took possession of the ministry (30th of December 1758\*). In this treaty the chimerical advantages contemplated by the secret articles and preliminaries of the treaty which had been concluded by Bernis in May 1756 were relinquished, the burthensome conditions alone were retained; nay, the heaviest part of these conditions augmented and the amount of the payments increased. It was expressly agreed that Austria should receive monthly in two payments 288,000 florins, if she made no claim for the 24,000 auxiliary troops which had been promised. France took upon herself alone the burthen of paying the subsidy to Sweden which had previously been borne in common, and the obligation of maintaining her own army of 100,000 men in Germany, whose conquests however Austria was to administer. The possession of Silesia and Glatz was ensured to Austria, and even Naples, Parma and Sardinia; and the court of Madrid were offended by all sorts of eventual determinations respecting Italy. In return for all these conditions so favourable to Austria, France received, as far as we can see, absolutely nothing in return, and yet the minister who could in this way support himself upon Austria and lean upon Pompadour not only administered the department of foreign affairs for ten years, but he completely got possession of the war department and that of finance until he found opponents in the person of a woman of scandalously depraved character (Dübarry), and in that of a pitiless bloodsucker (Dü Terray), who had more influence with the king than he had himself.

It may be seen from Choiseul's own memoir with what presumption he pronounced his judgements upon everything, and what opinion he entertained of himself; and from Boisgelin's manuscript reports of his conversations with Choiseul, as quoted in the note, we learn how he treated matters of business, and how he regarded the persons to whom he committed the management of the war, finance and foreign departments of the government as mere scribes†.

\* See Wenck, vol. iii. p. 185, &c.

† In Carton K. we found a loose sheet, upon which Boisgelin had made

The commencement of the campaign in Germany in the year 1759 was favourable to the French, although prince Ferdinand's army had been strongly reinforced, and a new treaty concluded between England and Hesse, by which the English people were robbed of great sums in a most disgraceful manner. The landgrave obtained an agreement for four years, by virtue of which he was to keep on foot 12,000 men, whose English pay he himself drew, and gave his soldiers instead the barest subsistence. By virtue of another agreement (17th January 1759) he obtained payment for 6000 men, whom he kept as his own guards as landgrave at the cost of the poor Hessians, and put into his private treasury 60,000*l.* which was paid as an indemnification for the acts of oppression and injuries inflicted by the French, not upon him, but upon the poor inhabitants of Cassel.

We have above remarked that Soubise, before he returned again to take part for some time in the orgies of his king, had taken possession of Frankfort by treachery, and established his chief winter-quarters in that city: prince Ferdinand judged it advisable to attack this point before Contades joined the army on the Maine, in order to defeat the plan of the campaign which had been agreed upon in Paris. When Ferdinand with a part of his forces advanced into the Wetterau in March, he found, not Soubise but Broglio, who was a watchful and experienced leader, at the head of the French. As we see from the papers in the French archives, he would infallibly have been surprised if he had followed the commands and letters which at that very

his remarks after every conversation with Choiseul. We shall only quote a few of them: "J'ai entendu dire à M. de Choiseul qu'il signoit douze cents lettres par jour et qu'il en contoit par an en ports des lettres du bureau de la guerre envoyées ou reçues deux millions trois cent mille livres.....Que le ministre des affaires étrangères n'écrivoit pas plus de quatre lettres par jour, que le ministre de la marine n'étoit pas du grand détail, qu'il ne recevoit des lettres que de l'intendant des ports et des commandans." Then follow some remarks upon the abbé de Laville, who could not think but "il faisoit une lettre mot pour mot comme il le lui avoit expliqué. Qu'il n'étoit pas aussi grand travailleur que M. de Bussy, mais qu'il travailloit avec plus de facilité. Que M. de Bussy étoit le plus grand travailleur qu'il connoît, qu'il avoit ses systèmes, qu'il discutoit et disputoit avec lui." In another passage: "Que l'abbé de Laville avoit un style plus agréable que M. de Bussy, que toutes les lettres des bureaux de la guerre et de la marine étoient mal écrites, que les bureaux écrivoient sèchement et durement, que les bureaux de M. de St. Florentin avoient principalement ce défaut." Finally: "Je lui ai dit, qu'il seroit possible de diminuer le détail immense du ministère de la guerre, il m'a répondu, que les bureaux s'y opposoient et qu'ils provoquoient exprès les colonels et surtout les majors, afin de prouver par l'immensité de ce détail la nécessité des bureaux."

moment he received from Paris, when prince Ferdinand had already marched through Cassel with 30,000 men. Broglio, however, followed his own counsel, collected his troops upon the top of the mountains at about an hour and a half's distance from Frankfort, so that prince Ferdinand should either be obliged to attack him precipitately in this peculiarly advantageous position or to retire without attaining his object, for he had heard that St. Germain was on his march to the Maine with a considerable division. The allies were obliged to climb the steep heights, whilst Broglio's army remained secure in the neighbourhood of the watch-tower on the summit: the French gained the victory, but the allies received great commendation, both on account of the attack and the retreat. The result of the victory was not very important for the French, for they set themselves very slowly in motion.

Contades had joined the army on the 25th of April, gone in the beginning of May to the Lower Rhine and drawn together four divisions, and opened the campaign in person with great activity in the beginning of June. On the 3rd of June the main body of the French army was concentrated in and around Marburg, on the 18th Broglio entered Paderborn, and as early as the 9th or 10th of July he captured Prussian-Münden at the first assault. The unexpected and irresponsible surrender of the fortress of Münden placed the prince of Brunswick in great difficulties, because he had calculated upon the possession of this place as a *point d'appui* to support his operations for the defence of the Weser, when he left Westphalia to the marquis d'Armentières and hastened with his army to the Netherlands. Ferdinand, however, persisted in his previous design of offering battle on the banks of the Weser to the main body of the French army under Contades.

The commander-in-chief of the allied army was greatly commended, because, by the choice of his positions and the mode in which he manœuvred, he compelled Contades to begin the battle (on the 31st of July) which Ferdinand was endeavouring to bring on, and which the marshal, by the selection of his positions, had up till this time shown himself anxious to avoid. Both French and German writers again blame Contades, and accuse him of having made many blunders both before and during the engagement. We shall quote the manuscript letters of a Frenchman whom we have already often mentioned, as a testimony to

prove that it was very difficult for Contades or any other commander with noble officers who had not the slightest idea of subordination, to secure any sort of combined unity of movement or action in a privileged army. We are there informed that Broglio and Contades were disagreed, that the chevalier de Nicolai came too late, and that count de Guerchy attacked the enemy sooner than he had received orders so to do, because both regarded themselves as persons of too great distinction to be limited to unconditional obedience\*. It was said in a letter to the count de Clermont that the count de St. Germain had saved the army. St. Germain, in the early part of his career, had served in Denmark, and at a later period was celebrated together with Turgot as a reforming minister of the war department in France: we shall here quote a passage from a report written by him respecting the battle of Münden to Clermont, in order that it may be seen that this man, who was an enemy of Contades, was in correspondence with the companions of the licentious pleasures of his king†.

\* The opinions of German writers on this point will be found in the very commencement of the second part of Mauvillon's Life of Frederick II. In the very impartial letter of a French general (Carton K. 156), it is stated that the chevalier de Nicolai should have joined the right wing, where Broglio commanded, before eight o'clock, but was too late in arriving; and when Broglio commanded him immediately to attack, he said that they must still wait for the marquis de Beaupréau. This was too late for Contades; he sent an adjutant to Broglio, and whilst he was speaking with Broglio, count de Guerchy on his own mere motion attacked the village of Ahlen. We shall here quote the words of the reporter: "Comme le maréchal de Contades parloit pour aller voir ce que signifioit ce combat de cavallerie le duc de Broglio prit ses ordres, qui furent de retourner à sa réserve et y attendre de nouveaux ordres de sa part. *Le général en revenant dit à ses aides-de-camp, Vous avez déjà vu perdre une bataille, vous en allez voir perdre une seconde.*"

† This report may be seen among the papers of the count de Clermont (Carton K. 155): "La bataille de Minden a été perdue bien complètement et la déroute a été générale, jamais on n'entreprit une affaire plus mal à propos et jamais il n'en fut de plus mal conduite. Les dispositions données avant la bataille parurent très-belles à bien du monde, sans doute parcequ'elles étoient bien redigées, mais elles me parurent dès lors absurdes, je n'osai cependant en dire mon sentiment, V. A. S. scait, que c'est un crime de parler, c'en est même un d'oser penser, et pour vivre tranquille, il faut devenir automate. Nous voulions attaquer les ennemis, ce sont eux qui nous ont attaqué, ils étoient cachés par un bois et la nature du terrain. Ils ont sans doute dégarni leur aile gauche et leur centre sans qu'on pût apercevoir leurs mouvemens, et après avoir formé à notre vue un gros corps sur leur droite, ils sont venus fondre sur notre flanc gauche qui a été bien vite culbuté, notre cavallerie y a couru et a chargé par corps séparément, elle a été rompue et passée par les armes et s'est sauvée. Alors les ennemis ont poussé un corps vis-à-vis leur centre, qui nous a encore culbuté ce qui restoit de la première ligne, j'étois à la seconde, je me suis retiré derrière une espèce d'enclos avec huit bataillons que je com-

The battle was fought near Münden, and the obstinacy or cowardice of an English general, who belonged to the same caste from which the generals of the French army were chosen, saved the French army which was beaten from complete destruction, and enabled it to retire to Münden. The same individual (lord Germaine), who afterwards shone as an English minister of state, commanded in this battle the first division of the English cavalry; he received orders three times from the commander-in-chief to fall on the enemy, but as often excused himself. He was even unwilling at first to allow lord Granby, the leader of the second division, to yield obedience to Ferdinand's command; this, however, was done against his will, but the full effect of the movement was no longer to be attained. The English nation was filled with indignation at this conduct on the part of Germaine; he was dismissed with disgrace, called before a court-martial and found guilty: we shall nevertheless afterwards meet with him in the following period as one of the ministers of George III., conducting the affairs of the American war with the greatest negligence and ignorance, and after having brought disgrace and injury upon himself, his colleagues and the nation, and finally been driven out of the house of commons and the ministry, appearing under the title of earl of Sackville as a peer of Great Britain.

The victory gained by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick at Münden is reckoned among the most splendid deeds of the century, and Contades was placed in circumstances of great danger in his retreat. The hereditary prince of Brunswick, Ferdinand's nephew, drove the French beyond the Rhine, and gained some considerable advantages over the duke de Brissac at Crefeld. The French themselves admit that it would have been possible completely to have cut off the retreat of their conquered army to the Rhine and the Maine\*: their retreat resembled a quick and ruinous flight. The result of this battle

mandois, j'y ai été très-vivement canonné. J'ai laissé partir tout le monde et quand la plaine a été bien déblayée, je me suis retiré au petit pas. C'est ainsi que s'est passée la bataille de Minden, je ne puis en donner qu'un précis, on aperçoit dans le moment l'armée ennemie, qui campe à notre vue et l'on fusille à un quart de lieue de nous, cette situation donne de l'occupation," etc.

\* Carton K. 155: "Si l'ennemi s'étoit posté avec célérité en suivant la rive gauche du Weser, il nous auroit prévenu sur la Werra, en auroit empêché le passage, et nous auroit forcé de faire une cruelle retraite par la Thuringe sur la Franconie. Il auroit pu nous prévenir aussi sur le Nècre et mettre à contribution la nuée des prêtres nos alliés," etc. See also Mauvillon, ii. p. 73.



caused so much anxiety in Paris that D'Estrées was immediately sent to lend his advice to Contades, and the marshals met at Marburg on the 24th of August: in October the command was taken from Contades and given to Broglie. It was very favourable to the French, that at this very moment king Frederick found himself in a position of such difficulty, that Ferdinand was obliged to send his nephew the hereditary prince with 12,000 men to his aid. This so weakened the prince's forces for the time, that the French ventured to take up their winter-quarters in the same neighbourhood in which they had been on the previous year.

In the commencement of this year Frederick ordered predatory expeditions to be undertaken on all sides, to raise contributions and destroy magazines; and his enemies at first left him at leisure. Daun indeed made a movement with the main army in April, but he afterwards remained stationary for full seven weeks in the position which he had taken up on the 2nd of May between the Jaromirs and the Schurz; and when at length he began to move, he remained again three weeks longer in a new position at Mark Lissa in Lusatia. The imperial army did not leave Franconia for Saxony till the month of August. On this occasion confident expectations were entertained of the activity of the Russians, and Daun waited for their appearance.

General Tillier had brought a plan of the campaign from Vienna, and the empress Elizabeth had acceded to it. According to this plan, the Russians were to lend their aid in the reduction of Silesia, whilst the French took possession of Hanover, conquered Magdeburg, and marched into Saxony and the Mark. Fermor had at that time not unwillingly relinquished the command of the Russians to Soltikoff, and remained with the army as an adviser only, and Laudon had been sent with a considerable division to form a junction with the Russians, as soon as they reached the Oder. At this time unfortunate Germany, especially the citizens, peasants, and nobility who were land-owners, were suffering from unspeakable oppression. Franconia, the whole of Northern Germany, Saxony, Bohemia and Silesia had long suffered from friend and foe, as Mecklenburg and Pomerania had also done, and now the calamity fell chiefly upon the Marks.

Soltikoff advanced slowly and with hesitation, established ma-

gazines in Poland and took possession of Polish towns, whilst he was marching through Poland without permission. This caused the Prussians in like manner to advance into Poland, where they levied contributions, and burnt down magazines, and from whence they carried away prince Sulkowsky as a prisoner from his estates. Dohna commanded the Prussians, and if he did not succeed in bringing the Russians to an engagement, he destroyed many of their magazines, and harassed and obstructed their march so that they did not reach the Oder till July. Frederick was at this time in great perplexity, and this probably led him to be unjust towards Dohna, whom he censured in an order of the day, and to whom he wrote a short but severe note. Frederick dismissed his cautious general because he despised the Russians too much, and from a distance formed a false judgement with respect to Dohna's prudence.

Wedel, who was sent by the king to assume Dohna's command, and in all cases to bring the Russians to an engagement, blindly fulfilled the wishes of the king. The two armies lay between Züllichau and Crossen, when Wedel madly attacked the Russians on the 23rd of July near Züllichau, and was completely beaten at the villages of Palzig and Kay. If Fermor and Soltikoff had not at that time kept the grand-duke Peter in view, and had they not disapproved of the policy of their empress, it would have been very easy for them rapidly to have followed up their victory over Wedel; but they advanced very slowly towards Frankfort, and there awaited the Austrian auxiliary force which was to meet them on the Oder. Daun had then removed from his position, sent away Haddick with 30,000 men, a part of whom were to be employed in threatening a descent upon Brandenburg, whilst the remainder under Laudon was to reinforce the Russians; the imperial army was occupied with the conquest of Saxony.

The king committed to his brother Henry, at the head of an army far inferior to the Austrian forces under Daun, the difficult task of detaining and occupying the enemy, whilst he himself sought to come up with the force under Haddick. In this he succeeded; he however conquered one division of them only; the other, consisting of 18,000 men under Laudon, formed a junction with the Russians on the 7th of August. The king by far too much undervalued the discipline and cool perseverance of the Russian troops. On the 3rd of August he had united the remnants of Wedel's forces with the force under his own com-

mand, attacked the Russians on the 12th, and experienced such a defeat, that he was generally supposed to be irretrievably ruined. His army was completely routed, his heavy artillery taken, and Laudon, who had had a great share in the victory, was desirous of persuading Soltikoff to march with him to Berlin; but the latter was not disposed to assist Austria in obtaining dominion over the whole of Germany.

Soltikoff alleged, that his army had suffered such heavy losses in two battles that he could not for the moment undertake any further operations, and he therefore remained quietly in the neighbourhood of Frankfort till the end of the month (August). By the want of union which prevailed between the Russians and Austrians, or rather their commanders-in-chief, which was now obvious, Frederick gained time to collect his scattered army, to reform and reinforce it. His inexhaustible genius and its resources never appeared more remarkably than at this critical moment, in which every one, and at first he himself also, despaired of the possibility of re-establishing an army fit to take the field against the enemy. After long delays, Daun and Soltikoff appeared to have come to an understanding; they held a personal interview in Guben, and agreed upon a plan of operations for their combined forces; but prince Henry, by a march from Sagan to Bunzlau, frustrated the whole plan.

When prince Henry reached Bunzlau, Daun became anxious about his magazines, perceived that contributions would be extorted in Bohemia, and relinquished the plan of a junction with the Russians. Frederick on his part, by means of his brother's masterly march, was enabled to form a junction with him at Bunzlau. In the meantime Soltikoff had at length set out for Silesia about the middle of September, whereupon Frederick again separated from his brother, by an unexpected march through Cotbus, Sagan and Neustadt, arrived in that province before the Russians, and his brother allured the Austrian army into Saxony. The Russians committed enormous devastations and cruelties in Silesia, but they either could or would not attempt the siege of Glogau. Daun, who at that time was encamped in Teichnitz, held a meeting with Romanzow, and on the 15th of September sent him another considerable detachment, which however the Russians only employed for the purpose of plunder and spoiling, and desolating the country with fire and sword, they returned to Poland at the end of October;

Laudon accompanied them, but returned through Poland and Teschen, full of feelings of the strongest indignation against the Russians.

Whilst Frederick was watching his enemies in Silesia, his brother Henry gave some splendid proofs of his great talents and of his knowledge of military tactics. At that time the imperial army had overrun the whole of Saxony; on the 22nd of September therefore prince Henry deceived the Austrian commander, who had been in position near him since the 12th, by marching from Görlitz completely round Daun, who was encamped at Bauzen, reaching Hoyerswerda, and forming a junction with Fink, who had proved too weak to protect Saxony, whilst Daun believed that he had marched to Silesia in order to form a junction with his brother the king. Almost the whole of Saxony was at that time lost to the Prussians. At the beginning of August, Dresden, Leipzig, Torgau and Wittenberg, therefore all the fortified points, were still in the power of the Prussians; but after the battle of Cunersdorf, when the imperial army was encouraged to some bolder efforts, at the end of the month Leipzig, Torgau and Wittenberg had fallen, and on the 4th of September, Schmettau surrendered Dresden. In this indeed he was precipitate, because at the very moment in which he evacuated the city, general Wunsch, who had been sent by Frederick, was advancing to his relief.

The equiponderance of the armies in Saxony was first restored by a successful engagement fought by general Wunsch at Torgau on the 8th of September, and secondly by the junction of prince Henry with Fink in the beginning of October: Leipzig, Torgau and Wittenberg were again occupied, and a more severe struggle began for the possession of Dresden. Daun came to Saxony in order to save the capital, and Frederick used all possible means after his arrival from Silesia to compel Daun to leave his camp at Plauen and to withdraw to Bohemia. This struggle for the possession of Dresden caused the king almost as great a loss as that which he had suffered at Cunersdorf. The king had despatched general Fink to take possession of the narrow passes of Ottendorf and Maxen, which led into Bohemia, and thus to cut off Daun's retreat. In order effectually to accomplish this object, it was indispensable for Fink to have kept possession of the communication by Dippoldiswalde. Fink unhappily relinquished this pass to the enemy, and was then so

closely shut up by 40,000 Austrians that no escape remained, and there was no other course to pursue than for himself and his whole division to surrender as prisoners of war. On this occasion nine generals and 12,000 soldiers were made prisoners, and the whole of the artillery fell into the hands of the enemy.

Notwithstanding the capitulation at Maxen and a victory gained over general Dierke on the 3rd of December, Daun undertook no farther operations during the winter; Frederick on his part kept the hereditary prince of Brunswick, together with 12,000 men which prince Ferdinand had lent him, till he had fully completed his own army and raised contributions over the whole of Saxony, which was now subject to his dominion\*. Daun was satisfied with being master of Dresden, of its neighbourhood and of the Bohemian passes, and allowed his people repose till June (1761).

The French who were on the Rhine, Maine and Lahn, first seriously began the campaign about the end of May. Broglie had now received the chief command and advanced from Marburg, St. Germain pushed forward through Westphalia, whilst the allies seemed disposed to maintain their position on the

\* We shall borrow a few further particulars from one of Frederick's eulogists. Those who wish for further information may consult and compare what is said with the accounts of Archenholz, another of his eulogists, and afterwards read Tempelhof and Weisse's 'History of Electoral Saxony,' vol. vi. pp. 224, 225. Fischer, part ii. p. 115, writes as follows:—"Leipzig was especially suspected of entertaining too strong feelings in favour of Austria, and of a secret hatred against Prussia. The sum of eight tons of gold was imposed upon the town as a contribution; some members of the corporation and merchants were (after Turkish fashion) placed upon the pillory and left there without beds, fire or light, till the half of the sum was discharged. The officer received the sum of a thousand dollars for his mildness..... Immense treasures and contributions were now collected from Thuringia and Saxony. Erfurt was obliged to furnish 100,000 dollars, 500 horses, and 400 recruits. Naumburg 200,000 dollars. The towns in Thuringia 930,000, and the whole circle 1,377,000 dollars, 420 horses, or 50 dollars for each horse. Merseburg 190,000 dollars, 377 recruits, 254 servants, or 150 dollars per head. Chemnitz 215,000 dollars; Marienburg 9000; Annaberg 15,000. The circle of Leipzig 2,000,000, and the town of Leipzig 1,100,000. We shall only add, that the whole of the magistracy was taken to the Pleissenburg, where the first merchants in the city were kept for weeks without straw, without lights or chairs. More than seventy persons had fled, their estates were confiscated, their vaults sealed up, and others brought back by hussars from Altenburg. Letters were opened, the church plate taken away, and the deputies were even refused admission who came to beg that they would accept merchandise instead of money. They were harassed by one of the king's adjutants, till at length, on the 4th of February, 400,000 dollars were paid." Frederick, in his Works, vol. v. p. 129, complains that he lost 3,400,000 dollars yearly, because his Westphalian territory was in the hands of his enemies and Prussia was in possession of the Russians. What was he to do?

small river Ohm. It would almost appear as if prince Ferdinand felt himself too secure in his position at Wabern, and was not so watchful as he should have been. On the 21st of June Broglio passed the Ohm, formed a junction with St. Germain, and defeated the hereditary prince of Brunswick, whom Frederick had again sent back to his uncle. This engagement took place at Corbach, where the prince endeavoured to stop the further advance of the French.

After the battle of Corbach Broglio himself went to Cassel, Münden and Göttingen, whilst he sent the chevalier de Muy with a considerable division to the Dimel. Prince Ferdinand gave up Hesse in order to be able to save Westphalia, and sent his nephew to oppose the chevalier de Muy, over whom the latter gained a victory on the very day (31st of July) on which Broglio entered Cassel. We learn from the manuscript reports in the French archives, that the French regarded Ferdinand's position on the Dimel as so strong as not to deem it advisable to attack him; Broglio therefore extended his army over Göttingen, Mülhausen, Gotha, Langensalza and Eisenach, whilst prince Ferdinand remained master of the country from the Dimel to the Rhine, and finally despatched the hereditary prince towards Wesel. The latter passed the Rhine in the middle of October to relieve Wesel as the French army was advancing, and would have fallen upon the enemy by surprise if the chevalier d'Assas had not voluntarily sacrificed his life to deliver his countrymen, and thus gained for himself a species of Roman immortality.

The eulogies which were heaped upon the hereditary prince, and especially by the French, because he had surprised the duke of Wirtemberg in the previous year at Fulda, gained a battle at Marburg, and conducted his retreat over the Rhine without loss, although he had been previously defeated in the battle of Kloster Kampen, proved destructive to him in his advanced age. The incessant flattery which he received, and which was repeated even to loathing, inspired him with an exaggerated opinion of his capacities and deceived him as to the nature of his talents, for which he was obliged to pay a heavy penalty in his old age: glory he unquestionably deserved. He had been unfortunately defeated at Kloster Kampen, and yet he retired from the battle without more than the loss of a single cannon; when he reached the Rhine he found himself without the means of transport across the river, for his bridge had been driven

further downwards; and yet he not only maintained himself for three days on the left bank, but he succeeded on the 18th and 19th of October in crossing the river without loss.

The French followed close upon his footsteps, and he was entrusted with the duty of detaining them in Westphalia, whilst his uncle harassed Broglio in the neighbourhood of Göttingen, and finally resolved to surprise the enemy in their widely extended winter-quarters at a time when many of the French officers were usually in Paris. This surprise at first appeared as if it would prove successful, but it was soon perceived that the French had now better leaders than in previous years; for although he at first succeeded in getting possession of some places and in gaining some victories, he was finally obliged in March to relinquish the siege of Cassel and the blockade of Göttingen\*. In the spring (1761) both armies again took up their former positions; the French however gained some points which were favourable to the prosecution of their undertakings.

In the year 1760 Frederick had shown more than ever what a great mind at the head of a considerable military force can do, in opposition to the wisdom of the schools, tactics and strategy, to cold calculating prudence and whole masses of people, who are not animated by an enlivening spirit. His army, nay, even his generals, were no longer the old ones; his treasury was exhausted, Prussia occupied by the Russians, Saxony, Silesia and even the Mark wasted, Westphalia in the hands of his enemies; he himself sometimes feared and looked into the future with apprehension, but he never despaired. In the very beginning of this campaign the king suffered a similar loss in Silesia to that which had befallen him the previous winter in Saxony, for he lost this time a considerable army and an important fortress. Major-general Fouquet, who commanded this army, may perhaps have been guiltless of its melancholy fate, but certain it is that the king would not have lost the fortress if Fouquet had

\* We must leave our readers to study the military details in Mauvillon; we shall only quote one short passage from the *Précis* in the Parisian Archives, Carton K. 155. The French general writes as follows:—"Nous étions affaiblis par la longueur de la communication jusqu'au Main, c'est ce que déterminait l'ennemi à attaquer nos quartiers d'hiver à Goettingue, Mülhausen, Langensalza, Gotha et Eisenach, nous nous retirâmes avec précipitation sur Francfort, abandonnant Goettingue et Cassel à leurs propres forces. L'ennemi eut pu se porter avant nous à Bergen, s'il avoit marché droit à Hirschfeld, avant la réunion de nos quartiers de Mülhausen, Gotha, Eisenach; mais sa lenteur nous a donné le tems de nous rassembler, de le repousser, de lui faire lever le siège de Cassel et le blocus de Goettingue."

not enjoyed his confidence to an extent which no others possessed.

Fouquet, with whom Frederick kept up an uninterrupted correspondence in French, had successfully defended Silesia in the previous years, and this year he was to protect it against Laudon, who was levying contributions in the mountains and threatening the fortress of Glatz. Frederick gave him express orders to encamp in the mountains in order to cover Glatz, but he took up his position in a very dangerous place in the neighbourhood of Landshut, where Laudon first shut him in and then attacked him with 30,000 men. Fouquet had not been cautious enough, he found himself surrounded on all sides, and was obliged to surrender on the 23rd of June, together with two other generals and 6000 men. The remainder, of 14,000 to 15,000 men, whom he commanded, were destroyed in the battle, whilst a very small portion only, whose brave leader was honoured by the king, succeeded in cutting their way through the enemy. As Frederick was in the field in Saxony against Daun, and there was no other Prussian army in Silesia, it was very fortunate for him that Laudon did not appear before Glatz till the 28th of July, and that Soltikoff did not begin his operations till the same month, and then very slowly. The miserable commandant of Glatz, whom Fouquet had recommended and promoted, surrendered the fortress after only eight days' siege, to the great vexation of the king\*.

About this time the Austrian army under Daun had put itself in motion, in order to march from Saxony to Silesia; it had already arrived beyond Bautzen and Görlitz, and Laudon had taken up such a position as might enable him easily to form a junction with it. The king of Prussia had likewise set out for Silesia, and Daun wished to arrive in that province before him, when he suddenly learned that the king had turned round, and now perceived that he must hasten to defend Dresden, the imperial army and general Lasoy, whom he had left with the imperialists, against an attack from the united Prussian forces. Daun accomplished this object, but he was accused this time also of having left his allies too long in danger, and of not being expeditious

\* We do not venture to give any opinion as to whether La Motte Fouquet was a good or a bad general; certain it is that he should not have recommended a miserable man like d'O— to be the commandant of an important fortress. The man was an Italian and an adventurer, who understood French well, which, as is well known, was itself a great recommendation to Frederick and Fouquet.



enough in his march to deliver the capital of Saxony from the plundering with which Frederick intended to visit it, and the royal family from their suspense. Frederick had terrified the city and the royal family who were there by throwing bombs, and after having burned down the suburbs, set fire in various places to the city itself.

The chief scene of the war, however, was changed from the Elbe to the Oder. The Russians had at length reached the latter river, and were threatening to pass it at Auras; Frederick therefore sent his brother Henry, in order to prevent their junction with the Austrians, to keep off Laudon from Breslau, and to save that city, of which Laudon, after the taking of Glatz, had burned a considerable part. Prince Henry took up a very skilful position between Laudon and the Russians, and compelled the former to raise the siege of Breslau; Frederick tried to get the foreway of Daun, marched in five days from Dresden to Bunzlau, and arrived as early as the 14th of August in the neighbourhood of Liegnitz. The Austrians, however, this time had forsaken their usual wisdom, had followed him with equal haste, and wished to thwart him on his way to Breslau: they compelled the king to resolve on a battle on the 15th of August in the neighbourhood of Liegnitz. The victory which Frederick gained on this occasion was much more important than the number of troops killed or taken prisoners on either side would lead us to imagine, in consequence of its influence upon the hesitating movements of the Russians, and the cautious and anxiously prudent character of Daun. Soltikoff, who was desirous of a pretence for retiring altogether from Silesia, pretended to be afraid that Frederick, who had now effected the desired junction with his brother by the victory at Liegnitz, would pass over the Oder and defeat him before Daun could come to his aid.

After the departure of the Russians, the king allowed his army some time for repose in the camp at Hermannsdorf, and prevented Daun from undertaking the siege of Schweidnitz; but he returned to the Elbe as early as September, because the Russian army of the Oder, on their retiring from Silesia, had sent a detachment of their troops to reinforce Lascy in Saxony, and these Russians and the Austrians under Lascy had marched towards Berlin. It was only after having received express orders to that effect that Soltikoff marched to support Lascy in this

predatory expedition, because he himself, as well as Romanzow, was greatly prejudiced against Laudon and against Daun. For that reason neither of them had done anything in July and August; when they took their departure in September, they attempted indeed to besiege Colberg, but von Heyden, who had already repulsed the Russians once before in 1758, now defended this fortress for two years, till the brave Paul Werner, so renowned as a sectarian, relieved it.

Lascy's expedition proved less destructive to Berlin and the Marks than had been feared; contributions were extorted it is true; but the Russians, of whom the strongest fears were entertained, were precisely the party which was kept in the best order and under the strictest discipline by its leaders, Tottleben and Tschernitscheff. All the acts of violence and plunder which were committed in Berlin and in the royal palaces in the neighbourhood must be placed to the account of the Austrians. On the 9th of October Lascy took possession of Berlin, and the Prussians under Hülsen and Frederick of Wirtemberg were driven to Spandau. He however found it advisable to leave the city again as early as the 13th, and Tottleben and Tschernitscheff, with their Russians, returned to Frankfort, where they had appointed Soltikoff to meet them. The latter however, near as he was to the theatre of war, which was now changed to Saxony, left his allies alone to settle their affairs with the Prussians.

Before Hülsen was recalled, in consequence of Lascy's expedition to Berlin, he had long carried on a vigorous struggle for the possession of Torgau, Leipzig and Wittenberg with the imperial army, which was more than double his own in number. Hülsen had no sooner taken his departure than the imperialists not only occupied Leipzig but also the fortresses of Wittenberg and Torgau, and Frederick late in the year hastened from Silesia, again to take up a position on the Elbe. As soon as Frederick appeared before Wittenberg on the 28th of October, the imperial army surrendered that fortress; he then left it to others to drive the enemy out of Leipzig and farther, and turned his own attention to Torgau. This fortress, which was of singular importance to Frederick, was not only covered by Lascy's army, but Daun himself, who had left Laudon in Silesia and followed Frederick to Saxony, endeavoured to save the town. In his advantageous position in Torgau, he thought he might safely await the king of Prussia's attack; but Frederick had resolved to venture a de-

cisive engagement, and this led to the battle of the 3rd of November, which was the most bloody affair of the whole war.

The issue of this very hazardous engagement proved favourable to the king, for he gained a very splendid victory at Torgau. He made 8000 prisoners and compelled the town to surrender, and yet remained in a very precarious condition. He found himself unable to reduce Dresden, and was therefore obliged to take up his winter-quarters in Leipzig, and was in possession of no greater part of Saxony than he had been in the previous year; on the other hand, the Mark and a great part of Silesia were wasted, and the remainder in the hands of the Austrians. These difficulties were augmented by the death of king Ferdinand II. of Spain which took place in August 1759, which increased the number of the allies and his enemies, and by the anticipated loss of influence which would befall his faithful ally, the leader of the English cabinet, on the death of George II. in October 1760.

We must now for a time break off the history of the war in Germany and return to European affairs, and especially to Russia, because the death of the empress Elizabeth, at the close of the year 1761, proved decisive for the issue of the seven years' war.

In Germany the citizens and peasants were ruined, whilst the princes and their officials became rich, because they profited by the universal misery for the promotion of their own egotistical objects. Among the innumerable petty tyrants,—their court mob, their parasites and menials,—there was only one single prince who had any idea of what is true greatness, or whence it is derived,—only one who maintained the dignity of his office, and, wherever he had it in his power, protected the people against the tyranny and oppression of avaricious castes and narrow-minded priests. Frederick also, unhappily, exercised violence and was guilty of oppression; but he stood alone against all Europe; he carried on a bloody war, but he shared all the dangers, anxieties, labours and want of his soldiers, whom he *alone* knew how to animate and fill with a spirit which in Prussia was called patriotism, and which at that time perhaps might be justly so regarded. Maria Theresa and her high nobility perseveringly followed that course to which Austria owes its greatness; they delayed and hesitated, and allowed all the miseries of war to increase and accumulate, being well persuaded that the

last draught of the net would prove the more productive the more the waters had previously been troubled. The good emperor practised usury and played a secondary character in Vienna, as his imperial army did in Germany; and the French, as the auxiliaries of imperial execution, in the spring of 1761, still lay scattered about in their quarters from Frankfort to Gotha. The towns and villages of the empire were waste; corn, cattle or horses were scarcely to be met with in central Germany; misery had reached its highest pitch, and the continually increasing debts of almost all the townships in Westphalia, Hesse and Gotha deprived them even of the hope of a brighter future. Whilst the people were thus perishing from want, copious French or English subsidies flowed into the caskets of the princes, for they received a definite sum of money from England for every maimed soldier; and these unfortunate people themselves afterwards begged as invalids, and lived upon the charity of their impoverished countrymen.

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### § V.

#### ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN.—WAR IN GERMANY, TILL PITT'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ENGLISH MINISTRY.

When Pitt was expending large sums upon the war in Germany, he calculated with great justice that these would produce usurious gains in the East Indies and America; we must therefore turn our attention very briefly in passing to the state of affairs in these countries, without however dwelling upon or even mentioning the single incidents of the naval war, or the different undertakings in India, Canada and the Antilles, or the fruitless landings and predatory descents of the English upon the sea-coasts of France. Even those who are not disposed to bestow unconditional praises upon wealth and the comforts which it procures, the fruits of industry and the civilization connected with them, as political economists, statista, and the admirers of wealth in general do, must however willingly admit, that during the reign of George II., France was driven by England from that position which she had long assumed as the head of European civilization. The admiration of the continually growing prosperity, wealth and comfort of life, as well as of the constitution enjoyed by the English people, which since the time of

Montesquieu had become the fashion, had at least great moral advantages in Europe. The world was at length convinced that freedom, light, popular movement, and even external advantages have a value for the people, even a money value, which our times acknowledge as the only measure of success or happiness.

The commencement of the war had not been propitious for England: Minorca was conquered by the French; Byng with an equal number of ships had avoided an engagement with the French fleet, and was in consequence condemned and executed; and the advantages which had been gained in America, in the province of Nova Scotia and at sea, were overbalanced by Braddock's defeat, and the loss of Fort Oswego on the lake of Ontario. The loss of the then wholly insignificant factory at Calcutta in Bengal furnished the occasion for laying the first foundation of that immense empire in the East, which at present comprises a population of almost 70,000,000 of inhabitants. The English had made preparations to repel an attack with which they were threatened by the French, and this furnished the nabob with a pretence for destroying their fort; and on this occasion he conducted himself with a degree of cruelty which was described in the strongest colours in the English newspapers and speeches, and of which the ministry admirably availed themselves for the promotion of their designs. The English civil officers and merchants were treated with enormous cruelty, and their lives fell a sacrifice to the heat, thirst and privations to which they were exposed (June 1756). The inhabitants were driven to take refuge in their ships, or expelled from the settlement. The torments inflicted in the black hole of Calcutta filled the English nation with a thirst for vengeance\*; and Clive, who

\* The English, as is well known, had suffered something similar about a hundred years before this time from the Dutch at Amboyna, and we shall therefore subjoin some of the particulars of the cruelties practised on this occasion by the nabob. On the taking of Calcutta some portion of the buildings was consumed by fire, and therefore the officers of the nabob shut up 146 prisoners, merchants, soldiers, sailors, and one woman, in a narrow hole 11 feet long and 18 wide,—a prison which hitherto had been only used for a single man. On the outside there was a verandah or passage into which two small grated windows opened. In this narrow den all these persons were obliged to spend a whole night, in a warm country and at the warmest season, because they were afraid to awaken the nabob. The majority gave up the ghost from thirst, heat and the pestilential air, after a tedious exhaustion. The small portion of water which could with difficulty be handed through the windows revived only a few. Holwell, who survived the horrors, can find no words to describe the torments of the thirst and heat, and the desire to find an end of their sufferings by death. After a long struggle with death, the

was sent with 2400 men from Madras to Bengal, performed deeds of heroism which recalled the memory of the times of a Cortez and Pizarro, of an Albuquerque and other Portuguese heroes. Clive took and fortified Calcutta, and from March 1757 carried on war at the same time with the nabob and the French. In this war Clive gained the reputation of being a great general, but at the same time he was accused of deeds of violence and plunder like those which had been committed by his Spanish predecessors, and of acting in the same manner as has been in our own days attributed to Massena, Soult, and other French marshals. Clive gained an empire for the English East India Company; innumerable English found the means and opportunity of amassing enormous wealth, and of providing for their relatives, friends and acquaintances; and unbounded views of success and ambition were opened up to English industry and zeal. No one then suspected, that what the nation might thereby gain in outward prosperity could never prove a sufficient compensation for the loss which the national character would suffer in its internal substance.

In the first year of the war (1757) Clive fully avenged his nation on the cruel nabob, rebuilt the fortress of Calcutta, drove the French out of the province\*, and then immediately lent his friendly and powerful aid to an ambitious rival who wished to dethrone the nabob. The usurper, with the assistance of the English whom the nabob had injured, proved victorious, bestowed large sums in return for the aid which had been lent him, and ceded to his auxiliaries three considerable districts in Bengal. The payments of the new nabob to the company amounted to two millions sterling, and to Clive's army to 6,000,000 rupees, of which Clive received a million and a half. In the following years the disputes among the native princes

weakest were trodden under foot, smothered, or perished in raving despair. Twenty-three only saw the light of another day, when the nabob, being informed that most of the prisoners had perished, ordered the remainder to be released, that the survivors might inform him where the treasures of the factory were buried.

\* The English are accustomed to boast of the answer given by their admiral on this occasion, when the nabob assured him that it was a thing unheard of and not to be permitted, that the French and English who had been received as traders into his land should make war upon one another without asking his permission. What other answer could Turks, Tartars and cannibals have given, than that which was given by admiral Watson? "That if he (the nabob) protected the king's enemies, he would light up a flame in his country that all the waters of the Ganges would not be able to extinguish."

were taken advantage of with great skill and unvarying success, in order to gain a footing for the English, and to lay a foundation for their intermeddling in all the internal affairs of the country. The year 1758 in particular, in consequence of the advantages gained in all parts of the world, was the more glorious for Pitt's new administration, the more costly and fruitless former efforts had proved.

In this year an English army was landed in Germany; the predatory and devastating attempts of the English upon the French coasts, which had hitherto been universally unsuccessful, were crowned with splendid success at St. Malo and Cherbourg; the French, however, revenged the attempt at a second landing at St. Malo, by a defeat which they inflicted on the English who had been disembarked. In America the English reduced Fort du Quesne, the first cause of the war, and captured Louisbourg, the only harbour which the French possessed for their privateers and their boats engaged in the cod-fisheries. The English, indeed, received a check at Ticonderago; but as Louisbourg, St. John, Frontenac and du Quesne were now in their power, they did not suffer this partial defeat to prevent them from adopting measures for the conquest of Canada, and by its conquest making themselves complete masters of the whole of the trade in wood and peltry, which was at that time very considerable. In the following year (1759) the defeat at Ticonderago was first avenged, the fort itself conquered, and possession taken of that of Niagara also, and then the expedition against Canada commenced.

The English general Wolfe who attacked Quebec, and the French general Montcalm who defended it, have both gained immortality among their respective fellow-countrymen, on account of the bravery and skill which they exhibited. About the time at which Canada was attacked, England equipped a great expedition against the French Antilles, and especially against Martinique and Guadaloupe. The English fleet, which had a considerable land-force on board, appeared on the 6th of January 1759 before Port Royal in Martinique; it was soon found, however, that no successful results were to be expected either at this point or at St. Pierre; the fleet therefore steered for Guadaloupe, where the expedition was favoured by fortune. In three months Guadaloupe was conquered, Maria Galante also capitulated, and the whole of the Leeward islands were lost to

France. The system of devastation carried on by the English on the French coasts was in the meantime vigorously continued; ships of war, fleets and merchantmen were captured or destroyed in every sea, even in sight of and under the cannon of the Portuguese forts, which were neutral.

In Canada Wolfe had to contend at the same time with nature and with a force far superior to his own, and commanded by an able general; the triumphing of the English on his victory was therefore the greater. Wolfe's small army, consisting of only 7000 men, supported by a naval force far superior to that of the French, appeared before Quebec at the end of June 1759. It was only possible to attack this city either from below, at the point where the rivers St. Charles and Montmorenci flow into the St. Lawrence, or by climbing up inaccessible rocks which lay behind the city, in order to threaten the upper town. Wolfe first tried an attack upon the lower city, because he could here avail himself of the aid of the ships; but the marquis de Montcalm, with his superior force, who acted merely on the defensive, had constructed a well-fortified camp on the banks of the two rivers, and determined not to attack the enemy, whom the Canadian winter must infallibly destroy.

The English knew well that they must not venture to await the approach of winter, which would be destructive to them, whether they wished to retire or to continue the siege; they therefore, on the 30th of July, attempted to take Montcalm's fortified camp by storm, but were repulsed with loss. From that moment this small army began to be in great perplexity as the autumn was approaching, so that in the beginning of September Wolfe resolved upon a desperate undertaking. He left one portion of his army below to engage the attention of Montcalm, and resolved with the other to scale the almost inaccessible height on which the upper town was situated, which was not fortified except by the nature of its position. The attempt was successful, and Montcalm, alarmed by the unexpected news that the upper town was in danger, did what Wolfe had never imagined he would do, left his admirable position and offered the English battle (13th September).

In this engagement the commanders on both sides fell: Montcalm as well as Wolfe was killed in the battle; but the latter was cheered even in the moment of departure by the news of victory. Five days afterwards (18th September), Quebec sur-



rendered by capitulation. Wolfe's death was regarded in England as a heroic sacrifice for the honour of his country, and as the most splendid deed of the whole war: it was immortalized by monuments, paintings, drawings and engravings, for the conquest of Quebec was supposed to be the key to an easy reduction of Upper Canada. Murray remained in Quebec with 7000 men, in order to march against Upper Canada in the spring, whilst the English left the river for fear of being shut in by the ice. The French resolved to profit by the absence of the English, and during the severity of the season to make an attempt from Upper Canada to reconquer Quebec.

With this view the French general Levis collected an army of about 10,000 men. With this army he set out against Lower Canada in April (1760), and defeated the English general who attempted to arrest his progress near Montreal, the capital of Upper Canada. After their victory, the French hoped to take Quebec at the first assault; they found themselves, however, deceived in their expectation, and the siege proceeded very slowly. The besiegers were wholly destitute of heavy artillery, and when at length they had succeeded, about the 11th of May, in erecting a battery of 12-pounders, an English fleet made its appearance, destroyed the whole of the French squadron in the river in the sight of the besieging army, and compelled the army itself to retire with the loss of its artillery. The French maintained themselves in Upper Canada till the end of September (1760). About this time the French governor-general was obliged to shut himself up in Montreal, and general Amherst marched from the northern part of the then English provinces of North America to besiege the city. His forces were joined by those under Murray in Quebec, and after the junction of the two armies Baudreuil was forced to capitulate. In October 1760 the whole of Canada was in the power of the English. The French possessions in Africa had been previously conquered by the English, whereas their undertakings against the English settlements on the coast of Coromandel had altogether failed, partly from the effects of the climate, partly from want of a good understanding between the commanders of the fleet and the army, and partly from the bad selection of the men who had the conduct of the whole.

This expedition to the East Indies in 1757 was entrusted by the French government to count Lally, who was a man of the

most singular character: he was placed at the head of some thousand troops on board a fleet commanded by admiral d'Aché. On the voyage Lally and d'Aché fell into violent disputes, and the passage was so tedious, that they did not reach Pondicherry till the spring of 1758. The English, who were both quicker and richer than the French, had not only sent a fleet, which reached its destination before the arrival of the French, but had also made preparations on land to frustrate Lally's undertaking. In spite however of these preparations and his constant disputes with the admiral, who threw every obstacle in his way, Lally succeeded in taking the fort of St. David, which was one of two fortresses possessed by the English on the Coromandel coast. This rapid conquest spread a great alarm in Madras, of which Lally should have availed himself, as well as of the still unbroken strength of his army, in order immediately to seize upon that city; instead of which he directed his attacks against the most faithful Indian allies of the English, in the hope of extorting immense sums of money from them, as Clive had done from the nabob of Bengal. The rajah of Tanjore, whom Lally assailed in consequence of his friendship for the English, refused to satisfy the avarice of the French general, and was so well supported by the advice of English officers, that Lally was obliged to raise the siege of the capital of Tanjore, but on his retreat he took the town of Arcot.

Lally was a vehement, domineering, passionate, severe and despotic man, and had been in a state of continual strife with all the civil officers, with the military and citizens in Pondicherry, with the town council and the whole body of traders. All the authorities and private persons were opposed to him in everything which he undertook; d'Aché never gave him any support; and it was therefore highly imprudent in him, after the failure of the expedition against Tanjore at the close of the same year, to make an attempt upon Madras. He was obliged to raise the siege as early as February in the following spring, yet he afterwards continued to prosecute the war under very unfavourable circumstances through the whole of 1759 and a part of the following year. The English had at this time conquered the northern Circars, taken Vizagapatam and Masulipatam, and twice received reinforcements from Bengal. In the year 1760, the English, under the command of colonel Coote, first obtained the same advantages for their nation on the coast of Coromandel

which Wolfe and Amherst had gained in America, and Clive succeeded in forcing in Bengal.

Lally was accustomed to boast that in the course of two years he had gained ten battles and taken ten fortresses; if that were so, how much more glorious was it for Coote to deprive him of all these advantages by one single engagement, which, with the exception of the battle of Plassey, whereby the dominion of Bengal was won, was the most important which the English gained in those times! Coote had conquered the town of Wandawash, but no sooner departed, than Lally hastened thither in order to retake the place; at the very moment however in which all the preparations for the storm were ready, the English army under Coote appeared and offered battle to the French, in which the former afterwards gained a signal victory. The camp of the enemy, their artillery and instruments for besieging were taken by the English; the flying French were driven to Pondicherry, and after having been again deprived of Arcot, were closely shut up within the city. The French defended their Indian capital for nine months, and were only compelled to an unconditional surrender in January 1761, when hunger, want and suffering had reached an extent no longer to be endured. Not only the chief commanders and the garrison, but all the civil officers of subordinate rank were taken away from the city by the English, and the fortifications razed. Immediately afterwards, Mahé, the only place which belonged to the French on the Malabar coast, was also taken, and of all the possessions of the French in and upon the Indian Ocean, nothing now remained but the islands of Bourbon and France.

If we compare the condition of England and France at the death of George II. (he died in his seventy-seventh year), we shall readily comprehend the reason why this king was the most highly honoured at the close of his reign, when the people often become weary of the best rulers; and why Louis XV., whom in 1744 the people almost idolized, was despised and lampooned in Paris and detested in the whole of Europe. Pitt was at that time universally commended as a pattern of an admirable minister, whilst Pompadour, Bernis and Choiseul were accused of faults and crimes which they had certainly not committed. France had lost her colonies and trade, her fleets were defeated, her ships taken away, and her army disgraced. Silhouette, the comptroller of finance, robbed the churches and private indi-

viduals of their plate; taxation was screwed up to the highest point, and the credit of the nation completely exhausted; and because the pleasures of the court were not to be interrupted, the country was given up a prey to such scandalous usurers as De la Borde, Beaujeu, Le Maitre and Gooffens, in order to obtain a few millions for the king and his companions. England had at that time nearly 20,000 national troops in Germany under prince Ferdinand, and not only supported the cost of the war in every sea and in all parts of the world, but drew the treasures of all people and lands to herself, by her continually increasing activity and her exclusive possession of foreign trade. Even women and novel-readers spoke with enthusiasm of the qualities of a free-born Englishman, and of the advantages of the English constitution; Rousseau having sought and found the hero of his universally-read novel, and Montesquieu the *idéal* of his political constitution in England.

Choiseul had no sooner taken possession of the ministry, than he took the earliest opportunity of involving Spain in an unfortunate war with England: he did not indeed succeed in his object till Charles III. ascended the throne. In the reign of Ferdinand VI. both France and England had attempted in vain to induce Spain to enter into a closer alliance. France at that time offered to restore Minorca and to lend her aid in the reconquest of Gibraltar, and Pitt even proposed to restore and cede this important English possession\*; Spain however maintained her neutrality till the death of queen Barbara (Aug. 1758), and after that time the transaction of any business in Spain was completely at an end. The queen, as long as she lived, contrived in some measure to sustain the mind of the unfortunate king; she was unwilling to allow his weakness of mind to be

\* This indeed occurred at a moment when affairs in Europe and America were in a very bad condition. We shall quote a passage from the secret despatch, as published by Coxe, vol. ii. pp. 204, &c., which Pitt, in the name of the whole ministry, sent to Keene, then ambassador in Madrid, and which refers to this point. They were disposed "to treat with the crown of Spain concerning an exchange of Gibraltar for the island of Minorca with the port and fortresses. Their lordships are most humbly of a unanimous opinion, that the court of Spain should without loss of time be sounded with respect to their dispositions; and if the same shall be found favourable, that the said negotiation should be carried forward and ripened for execution with all possible despatch and secrecy. Their lordships are further of opinion, that satisfaction should be given to Spain on the complaints touching the establishments made by the subjects of England on the Mosquito shore and on the bay of Honduras since the treaty concluded at Aix la Chapelle in October 1748, that all establishments so made be evacuated."

made known, although she herself suffered from melancholy, and was neither possessed of talents nor information; after her death the king fell into a state of complete stupor, and no one ventured to submit to him any business. The king remained continually secluded in his palace, refused to speak or to take nourishment, and became at length completely insane, although his ministers were unwilling to acknowledge the fact. In this condition of melancholy madness, Ferdinand continued to live eight months longer, before death released him from his sufferings (Aug. 1759).

Charles III., who had been hitherto king of Naples, and as such had distinguished himself by his endeavours to abolish old abuses, no sooner came to the throne than he exhibited his desire to take an active part in public affairs; unhappily, when yet king of Naples he had been won over to the French interests by Choiseul. Choiseul foresaw that Charles must soon become king of Spain, and in the last treaty with Austria had taken care to provide that Don Philipp should retain possession of Parma and Placentia, and that Naples should be given to the third son of king Charles. Before Charles took his departure for Spain, he caused his eldest son to be pronounced incapable of ruling, named his second Prince of the Asturias, and transferred the government of Naples to the third (Ferdinand IV.) by investing him with the sword, which the latter afterwards presented to lord Nelson.

Charles III.'s inclination to France was well known, he was proud of the name of a Bourbon, and cherished the idea of an intimate family alliance among the Bourbon courts; a year and a half however still elapsed before the unfortunate family alliance (*pacte de famille*), which involved the Spaniards in foreign affairs, could be brought about. The people of Spain were as averse to the plans of Choiseul, Pompadour, and of the new king, as those of France had previously been respecting the alliance with Austria negotiated by Kaunitz and Pompadour. The negotiations therefore relating to the family alliance were conducted precisely in the same way as those with respect to the treaty with Austria had been.

The Spanish minister of foreign affairs and the French minister in Madrid knew nothing whatever of the subject of the pending negotiations, or indeed that negotiations were pending at all; but Grimaldi the Spanish ambassador in Paris, who pos-

sessed the complete confidence of his king, conducted the whole immediately with Choiseul. The latter had obtained the direction of the ministry of war also, after the death of Belleisle (January 1761), and wished to set on foot two armies in Germany consisting of 160,000 men, each of which was independently to carry on the war on the Lower and Upper Rhine, and in the circle of Upper Saxony. That very little good was to be expected from these preparations is immediately obvious from the fact, that Choiseul, to gratify the king and Pompadour, had consented to confer the chief command of one of them on the prince de Rohan Soubise. Choiseul and his king hoped at the same time to be able to avail themselves of the change of circumstances in England to obtain a separate treaty of peace with Great Britain.

Frederick prince of Wales had died before his father, and his son became king under the name of George III. The young king was in the twenty-third year of his age, possessed of small natural abilities, and had neither been instructed in the principles of a constitutional government by his mother, who was a princess of Saxe Gotha, nor by lord Bute, who had had the superintendence of his education; on the contrary, he was imbued with absolute monarchical ideas. He was a careful reader of the Bible and well acquainted with the duties of a christian and of an honourable private man, which he correctly fulfilled, but it was too much to expect to learn the duties of a constitutional monarch of modern times from Oriental writers. Pitt appeared to him to be a usurper of the royal privilege of governing, and the English people complained loudly of lord Bute for having strengthened the young and obstinate man in his monarchical prejudices.

Lord Bute was an entertaining courtier, and well acquainted with the whole circle of belles lettres and of the fine arts; accident had thrown him in the way of the prince of Wales, and he had educated George III. according to the wishes of his mother, who indeed meant well, but as tender and well-meaning mothers usually do, adopted a very foolish method. George III. was shy, indocile, obstinate, and indescribably narrow-minded, and yet, according to the English constitution, he was to occupy a dignified position, and if he was to have any power and influence as king, to keep the one party of the aristocracy in check by the influence of the other. George II. was scarcely dead, when

Bute, who was a man without family connexions and influence in the country, and therefore without political importance in England, obtained a seat in the cabinet and a sinecure, which the preceding king had bestowed on his favourite daughter Amelia; this gave great offence to the princess, and a similar course had been pursued with her brother the duke of Cumberland. This was of far less consequence to the ministry than the offence which was taken by the young king at Pitt's decisive and overbearing manner of delivering his opinions in the cabinet, and who therefore sought for a man who might support his own views in consultation. Legge and Holderness having left the cabinet in March 1761, George III. gave a seat in the council to his friend Bute; Pitt however continued as before to direct the whole management of foreign affairs.

About this time Choiseul caused proposals of peace to be made with great ceremony and noise, with a view to deceive the English respecting his negotiations with Spain, and perhaps in compliance with the demands of his king, but in which he was not serious. Russia, Prussia and Sweden showed themselves ready for accommodation, England was cautious, and Austria, on the reception of the proposals, left no one to doubt that she was not honestly desirous of peace. A formal congress was opened in Augsburg, but the disputes which arose regarding the admission of the emperor, and the manner in which they were carried on, afforded little hope of coming to any, or at least any early results in this way, and England therefore opened a separate negotiation with France. Lord Stanley was sent to Paris and count Bussy to London, and an interchange of diplomatic notes immediately began. After long disputes and much writing, Bussy submitted a proposal in June which was generally approved, but immediately afterwards he subjoined a second, containing two points, from which Pitt, who by liberal payment had got information of the secret negotiations with Spain, thought he perceived that the whole plan was devised merely for the purpose of embittering Spain against England by a diplomatic trick, and of proving to the king how generously France undertook the protection of the interests of Spain.

Choiseul demanded satisfaction on the part of Spain on account of various real or supposed injuries which she had suffered from England, and gave it to be understood that he did so with the approbation of Spain, and he wished also to have the king

of Prussia wholly excluded from the negotiations. Pitt gave such a decisive and warm answer to these two notes, that Choiseul was afraid of an instantaneous declaration of war against Spain, and in order to avoid this result he recalled his second proposal; this however had been effectual in making that impression upon the mind of the king of Spain which Choiseul expected. Charles III. immediately afterwards agreed to (15th August 1761) the treaty called the "family alliance," which France had been so long anxious to obtain\*. This treaty however was long kept secret, even after it was signed. An *ultimatum* was received from England respecting the preliminaries of a peace, a very moderate and conciliatory answer returned, almost everything acceded to, only it was insisted upon that England should forsake her ally the king of Prussia and leave him to himself. Pitt, who alone of all the members of the cabinet had certain intelligence of the signing of the "family alliance," returned no answer to this note, which was handed in by the French ambassador in September; but he required unconditionally from the king, that a declaration of war should be immediately made against Spain, before the latter kingdom had completed her preparations. When lord Bute, with whom the king concurred in opinion, opposed this measure, Pitt retired from the cabinet (5th Oct. 1761). About the same time the ministry of marine was entrusted to Choiseul, in addition to the two other departments which had formerly been placed in his hands.

These negotiations contributed still more to the otherwise slow progress of the war in Germany. Broglie's army was in need of repose, and Soubise, who, with an army which was superior to that of the allies by 30,000 men, might have well

\* A copy of this treaty, of which Choiseul was so proud, because all his predecessors had in vain attempted to effect it, will be found in Wenck, vol. iii. p. 268, &c. No. cxciv. His real object was to make Spain answerable for the sins of France. It consists of twenty-eight articles, which were also to apply to Naples and Parma. The whole family pledge themselves to maintain and uphold the various possessions in all parts of the world in the conditions in which they shall exist whenever peace is concluded by the three powers, and Don Philipp with the other powers. The enemy of the one power to be regarded as the enemy of the others, and they to make war and conclude peace as a whole, and none separately. The *droits d'aubaine* are to cease, and the subjects of the three powers are mutually to enjoy in each other's states the same rights and privileges as natives of the respective countries, both in trade and navigation, and such as were to be allowed to none of the other European powers.



commenced the campaign in Westphalia alone, deemed it advisable to wait till Broglie also put himself in motion. He may have been right, for prince Ferdinand showed the superiority of his talents in this very campaign more than in any which had preceded. Before Broglie commenced his march in the end of June, he had already taken all his measures in Westphalia to embarrass the progress of the French army; and it was easy to obstruct an army on its march, which was accompanied with an incredible quantity of followers, and attempted with heavy baggage to pass through a country at that time almost impassable for travellers on foot. In this knightly army, the nobles alone of the four companies of royal and noble guards were attended by as many horses and grooms as might have sufficed in themselves to compose a small army. Each company consisted of 130 men, who were accompanied by 1200 horses. The commander of the allies however had caused all the corn and fodder to be mowed down even as far as the Rhine, and the cattle to be conveyed to places of security. Soubise therefore excused his inactivity till Broglie approached by this prevailing want. On the 20th of June Broglie commenced his march, and on the 3rd of July hastened to form a junction with him, having been alarmed by the news that prince Ferdinand was in his rear, and had encamped at Dortmund. The junction of the two marshals, who were now more jealous and envious of each other than ever, retarded Broglie's operations and prevented the French from deriving any advantage from his talents and experience. The two commanders had no sooner united their forces at Soest, than they felt themselves obliged to offer a battle, although they delayed till the 15th of July. Broglie wished on this occasion to secure for himself alone the glory of a victory; he therefore did not wait, according to agreement, till Soubise's troops were in position, which could not be the case till the following day; Soubise therefore was not displeased to see his rival's want of success, and rendered him very inefficient support. The advantages which had been gained by Broglie on the 15th at Villinghausen, not far from Hamm, were in consequence lost, and the victory was again wrested from the French on the 16th. The fruits of this victory to the allies were, that the French were compelled to retreat, and did not again advance till the end of the month, after having completely changed their plan of operations.

Soubise remained on the Rhine and transferred 20,000 of his army to Broglio, who was to march through Hesse against Hanover and Brunswick. Prince Ferdinand embarrassed and retarded Broglio's advance by feigned marches and movements, hovered round and threatened him on all sides, and contrived to frustrate all the designs of the enemy; Soubise attempted in vain to come in the rear of the allies by proceeding to Bremen. Soubise had advanced into Westphalia, caused East Friesland to be occupied, and made the French name as much hated and as contemptible there as he had done in Saxony and Thuringia in 1757. His army observed no rules of discipline, and its leaders behaved themselves like the most uncivilized robbers\*; his attempt upon Bremen was also defeated, and he returned with haste to the Rhine. Ferdinand sent his nephew against Soubise, whilst he himself continued to watch the movements of the French army in Lower Saxony.

From the beginning of September Broglio lay in his camp at Cimbeck; in October he took possession of Wolfenbüttel also, but failed in his attempt to seize upon Brunswick; the whole country from the Elbe to the Rhine was covered with soldiers. Prince Ferdinand pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Hameln, Broglio occupied the country from Hanau to beyond Cimbeck, and Soubise was lying in winter-quarters on the Rhine, when prince Ferdinand resolved in the beginning of November to attack the enemy, and was fortunate enough to drive them back to Göttingen. The winter-quarters of the French in West Germany were almost the same as they had been in the previous year. Prince Ferdinand took up his in Hildesheim, and the hereditary prince of Brunswick in Münster.

The embarrassments with respect to money, and the singular measures adopted by the Austrians in the east of Germany, were as advantageous to Frederick, as the delays, disputes and bad discipline of the French army in the west were to the allied army. The Austrians wished the Russians to shed their blood instead of themselves, and they therefore had the supreme command of the Russian army transferred to Butturlin, one of the old generals of Peter I., and by their hesitation, delay and prolongation of the war, increased to an enormous extent the sufferings of un-

\* It is said in the criticism on the campaigns in Germany (Archives du Roy., Carton K. 155), that "M. de Soubise a envoyé en Ostrise des détachemens dont les officiers se sont déshonorés par leurs pilleries."

fortunate Germany. Austria made all payments in copper and paper; Prussia in dollars, eight of which were valued at a ducat and fifteen at a louis d'or. The empire was given up to plunder and wasting by all parties. Austria as well as Prussia reckoned confidently on Russia; the former upon the reigning empress, and the latter, in the sure expectation of her death, upon her successor.

The imperial army also in this year was in miserable circumstances; it was unable to protect Franconia against devastation and plunder, and when it at length took courage and advanced into Saxony, prince Henry contrived easily to hold it in check by detachments sent out for the purpose. The duke of Deux Ponts, filled with disgust, had laid down the command of such a miserable army; duke Charles of Wirtemberg had gone home deeply offended; and Serbelloni, to whom the supreme command was transferred, was far from being indemnified for the disgrace of the real service by the distinguished honour of being a general of the holy Roman empire. During the year the Swedes ventured from time to time to make incursions into the Mark; they even appeared once to threaten Berlin, but were repulsed, and were only able to get a firm footing in Pomerania at the end of the year, when Colberg surrendered to the Russians. Daun, who still exercised the chief command over the whole of the Austrian forces, placed the greater part under Laudon to prosecute the war in Silesia, whilst he himself, with the smaller part, remained the whole year opposed to prince Henry in Saxony. Daun did not put his troops in motion till the end of the year, and in November and December he succeeded in compelling the Prussians to evacuate the Erzgebirge, Voigtland, and the district of Neustadt. The earnest attention of the whole of Europe was now fixed upon Laudon, and Frederick who opposed him, upon Silesia and the Russian main army which was expected in that province.

Frederick had left his brother behind in Saxony, whilst he himself took the field against Laudon; his army however was exceedingly reduced, in every succeeding year he found the difficulties of recruiting it progressively increased, and therefore endeavoured as much as possible to spare it. Laudon was awaiting the Russian army, and for two months and a half nothing was heard of except a few partial skirmishes and an occasional surprise. Towards the end of June the Russian army

first commenced its march, and advanced slowly through Posen to Silesia. Ziethen frustrated the Russians in their attempt to take possession of Breslau. He watched their movements with such alacrity, that he was always by their side whenever they had reduced a suburb and were preparing to assail a town; he would however have proved as incapable as his king of preventing the Russians from forming an earlier junction with the Austrians than really took place, if Butturlin had been serious in his purpose.

The Russians crossed the Oder at Oppeln as early as July, but they delayed forming a junction with the Austrians till they could no longer avoid it; and Laudon, to deprive them of every pretence for delay, encamped at Jauer. Frederick believed, or perhaps had been positively informed by the grand-duke himself or Tottleben, that the Russians would not allow themselves to be employed for attacking him in any strong position, and therefore converted his camp at Buntzelwitz, about a mile from Breslau, into a species of regular fortress\*, and in that way completely gained his object. Butturlin again separated from the Austrians on the 9th of September, and descended the Oder to Pomerania, where at this very time Romanzow was engaged in besieging Colberg. Tschernitscheff, with only 20,000 out of the whole body of the Russian forces, remained with Laudon and shared with the Austrians in the glory of one of the boldest enterprises of the war, the storming of the fortress of Schweidnitz.

The king of Prussia, according to his own account, had removed his camp nearer to Neisse, because he was in want of magazines and means for the support of his army, and left only four battalions of troops and one battalion of invalids, together with a hundred hussars, in Schweidnitz; it was quite impossible to defend the very extensive works of this fortress with so small a number of troops; this was well known to Laudon and formed the foundation of his plan. On the 1st of October the Austrians, together with Tschernitscheff's Russians, captured the fortress of Schweidnitz. No small portion of the blame of its fall must be attributed to Frederick. Schweidnitz was at that time the most important fortress in the whole of the Prussian states, with the exception of Magdeburg. The fortress was instantaneously taken by storm, and the Prussians declare, with a

\* See 'Œuvres de Frédéric,' vol. iv. p. 223: "Ce camp devint une espèce de place d'armes dont la montagne de Wurben étoit comme la citadelle."

view to explain the daring exploit and to excuse the imprudence of leaving such an inefficient garrison in the town, that the conquest was effected by treachery and the aid of the prisoners of war; Frederick himself in his works gives a long story of a major Rocha who had been won over and bribed by the Austrians. But in fact the Austrians had no need of the aid of treachery, because they were as thoroughly acquainted with the fortress as the Prussians, and had complete plans of it in their possession. Frederick's account of the capture of Schweidnitz has been very ably refuted by the author of the 'Confessions of an Austrian Veteran,' who, in other respects, is highly favourable to the king.

A separate division of the Russian army under Romanzow had reduced the Prussian army in Pomerania and the fortress of Colberg to great straits as early as September, and when Butturlin came into the New Mark and encamped at last also in Eastern Pomerania, it appeared as if the small fortress could hold out no longer; it however maintained its defence longer than the main body of the Russians could remain in Eastern Pomerania. As early as October Colberg was reduced to extremities for want of provisions; and yet it held out till the Russian army, from want of supplies, was obliged to withdraw in November without having conquered the city, and the brave von Heyden defended it even after that time against Romanzow, till every hope of relief had altogether disappeared. On the 16th of December Colberg surrendered to the Russians by capitulation.

The Swedish estates, who assembled in this year, strongly disapproved of the ruinous war which their government was carrying on; but the Swedish oligarchs continued to prosecute it against the will of the diet, as they had commenced it without asking their concurrence; their troops however neither gained greater advantages nor more honour than they had done in the preceding year. They made their appearance indeed in the Uker Mark in the month of July, but were driven back beyond the Peene as soon as prince Henry could despatch some troops against them. In September they again ventured forth, when the Russian army was encamped in Pomerania; but Butturlin no sooner departed than they were hunted out of the province anew. At the end of the year they were closely shut up in part of Pomerania, whilst the Prussians fixed their winter-quarters in Mecklenburg.

The king of Prussia, at the end of the 14th chapter of his works, has himself given a short but admirable description of the state of desperation to which he was reduced at the end of this year. This will be evident from the statement which we have already given, and especially when we add, that he admits that his whole army was reduced to 60,000 men, of whom the one-half was with him in Silesia, and the other half in the field against Daun under his brother Henry in Saxony. In this state of affairs, Pitt's secession from the English ministry appeared likely to be more injurious to the king than the loss of Schweidnitz, Colberg, and a great part of Saxony.

The new English ministry, which was formed on the 10th of October 1761, had no fixed principles, because the voice of the people and public opinion, which, however false and deceitful they may be, yet hold dominion over minds and states, were decidedly opposed to the men in whom the king exclusively placed his confidence, and of that Bute himself was conscious; he therefore tried at first to retain persons along with himself in the cabinet, whose creatures, friends and relatives constituted the parliament. Fox continued to be paymaster of the forces, Legge was for a short time chancellor of the exchequer, Granville (formerly lord Carteret) president of the council, Newcastle was appointed first lord of the treasury, and Bute shared the department of foreign affairs with lord Egremont. Egremont undertook the southern half of Europe and Bute the northern, but in reality the whole policy of the government was entrusted to him, although an attempt was made to conceal the fact by the constitution of the ministry. Bute's want of experience and skill in the public business which he had undertaken soon became generally obvious by the coolness with which he treated Prussia, by the proposals which he caused to be made to Peter III., whose character and modes of thinking must have been sufficiently known to him, as soon as he succeeded his aunt Elizabeth on the throne in January 1762, and finally by his imprudent overtures to Austria. Lord Bute had refused (in December 1758) to renew the subsidy-treaty with Prussia, which was prolonged from year to year, and to pay the subsidies in 1762, because Prussia neither had done nor was able to do anything for England or Hanover; England however was now compelled to make new efforts in consequence of the war with Spain, and especially for the support of Portugal. England moreover at

that time found herself in the singular condition in which immensely rich private persons often find themselves; in the midst of good fortune and everywhere victorious she believed herself in a desperate condition, and sought to obtain peace at all hazards, even by tortuous ways.

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## § VI.

## SPAIN, FRANCE, ENGLAND, RUSSIA.—LAST CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY, PEACE OF PARIS AND HUBERTSBURG.

Pitt and his brother-in-law Temple, who was the only man that shared his opinions in the cabinet on this occasion, had retired from the ministry because their colleagues were unwilling instantly to declare war against Spain on account of a treaty whose contents were yet unknown; Pitt indeed was acquainted with those contents, and indications of the near approaching breach between England and Spain appeared as early as November. Lord Bristol made vigorous remonstrances in Spain, and the warlike preparations in that kingdom showed clearly that a war was unavoidable, and that Spain was only endeavouring to gain time; England was therefore obliged to demand a specific declaration. This declaration and the appearance of the treaty of the “family alliance” itself, which was printed in Paris, no longer allowed doubts to be entertained, that Spain had resolved to take part with France in the war against England. It was not deemed advisable to wait till Spain had completed all her preparations, and therefore a declaration of war was made on the part of England on the second day of the year 1762.

In the same month in which England declared war against Spain, Pondicherry had been wrested from the French, and a large expedition fitted out against such of the West India islands as were still in possession of France. Lord Rodney took 12,000 men on board in Barbadoes under the command of general Monkton, who had gained great reputation in Canada. These troops were disembarked in Martinique on the 7th of January, and by the 12th of February the whole island was reduced. In this way the East and West India trade of France was annihilated and her colonies taken possession of, for Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Lucia, Tobago and St. Vincent were also taken; her trade in timber and peltry was lost by the conquest

of Canada, and her cod-fishery on the banks of Newfoundland was utterly destroyed by the capture of the islands. At this most unfortunate moment Spain was drawn into the war!!

Spain had neither a fleet nor army with which she could venture to come into collision with those of England; an agreement was therefore entered into with France to treat Portugal, which was an ally or rather a dependent of England, somewhat in the same way in which Frederick II. had treated Saxony; the same success indeed did not attend the attempts of the Spaniards as that which accompanied those of the Prussians. Portugal was authoritatively required to renounce her old alliance with England and to attach herself to the interests of Spain and France, and a refusal was no sooner given, as had been anticipated, than preparations were made to occupy the country. In this war with Portugal, to which we must occasionally return in the following period, Spain met with a much more determined resistance than she had expected; her hopes were frustrated; and the crews of the English ships, but especially the admirals, captains and commanders of the land forces, enriched themselves in the meantime at the cost of Spain, which was only once successful in seizing upon the property of the English merchants. Immediately after the declaration of war, the English fitted out an expedition against Spain, consisting of sea and land forces, in order to conquer the island of Cuba, or more properly speaking, to plunder the Havannah, the rich depôt of the whole Spanish trade. The English army was landed in Cuba in June, and in August the Havannah was taken. The Spanish ships in the harbour were for the most part destroyed during the siege, and yet on the capture of the city nine ships of the line and three frigates fell into the hands of the English and constituted prizes of immense value. On this occasion also the English government derived an advantage from the great booty which fell to the army and the fleet; more than 45,000,000 florins of public property and considerable stores and materials of war were taken. Another expedition had likewise been fitted out at the same time against the Philippine islands, and the wealth which was carried from thence to the coasts of Peru and Chili, and the valuable commodities which were sent in return. In the beginning of October Manilla was conquered and plundered and heavy contributions imposed, whilst great stores and a number of ships became the rewards of the conquerors. The riches also on which



the French had particularly reckoned, the precious metals which were conveyed in the so-called register ships or galleons from India to the Spanish harbours, all became the booty of the English. The immense ship the *Hermione* had set sail not long after the declaration of the war. This vessel had precious metals on board to the amount of 11,000,000 florins, which she was to convey to Spain, but fell into the hands of the enemy with all her treasure on the 21st of May, just when about to run into a Spanish harbour. In August the Acapulco ship, the *Santa Trinidad*, was also captured with all the wealth which she was conveying from the Philippines to the eastern shores of America. The cargo of this ship was valued at 3,000,000 of Spanish dollars; but the *Hermione* and her freight were regarded as the richest booty which the English had ever gained at sea.

The conquest of Buenos Ayres, in which English and Portuguese speculators were very active, was frustrated by the Spaniards by the conquest of the Portuguese colony of San Sacramento, at that time still occupied by English and Portuguese. On this occasion the Spaniards in some measure indemnified themselves for the wealth which had been taken from them, because the English merchants had made San Sacramento the depôt of the English smuggling trade with South America. Twenty-six heavily-laden English ships and great quantities of goods of all descriptions became the prey of the Spaniards, and the English reckoned that on this occasion their nation lost nearly 50,000,000 florins.

In France and Spain the utmost efforts were made to raise patriotic contributions to carry on the war against the hated English, and to irritate and incense the minds of the people. The spirit of patriotism and enmity proceeded to such a length in France, that the estates of several provinces of the *pays d'états* provided and equipped ships of war at their own expense, and the magistrates of many towns as well as private individuals followed the example. But the inutility of all this patriotism and zeal, and of all these sacrifices, which Choiseul trumpeted forth in the newspapers, will be obvious from the fact that France had already lost thirty-seven ships of the line and fifty-six frigates, and Spain, in this single year, twelve ships of the line.

The English people were so full of their victories and conquests, and those who had the popular voice so much disinclined to re-

linquish even the smallest acquisition which they had made, that the new ministry, whose love of peace gave offence to the public, was obliged to have recourse to every species of ingenuity in order to avoid the necessity of giving back their conquests on the conclusion of peace. King George and his mentor, on account of their circumstances and characters, thought themselves obliged to seek for peace with their foreign enemies, in order to be able to withstand with effect their opponents at home. In May lord Bute had assumed the whole guidance of public affairs, and he was universally accused of attempting to give and to procure a greater personal influence in the cabinet to the young and obstinate king than that to which he could have any claim on constitutional grounds. Bute and the king, who were both narrow-minded and devoted to the church, could not bear the king of Prussia, who examined and regarded the relations of men and things with the eye of a philosopher, and paid no respect to ecclesiastical faith; and when, therefore, the duke of Newcastle would not consent to relinquish the cause of Prussia, disputes arose in the cabinet, and the inexperienced king was bold enough to dismiss Newcastle from the ministry (26th May), in which the duke would willingly have remained.

From this time forward there were indications of internal movements in England, for the king and the parliament were accused of attempting to defy public opinion by a close alliance among themselves. The whole of the Whigs at once left the government; all the ablest men of business, even Lord Granville, also resigned, and were badly replaced by Grenville, Halifax and others. Lord Bute, as first lord of the treasury, was to lead the ministry and the parliament, at which every one was disposed to smile, as an absurd idea of the young king. Halifax succeeded lord Bute as secretary of state for the northern department of foreign affairs, and king George imagined that he himself was now about to govern.

The new government was hated by the Whigs, less on account of its measures or its ability, of which there had been yet no trial, than on account of the principle on which it was founded; they therefore assailed it with all the rude violence of demagogues. Wilkes became the head of the artificially-awakened democratic movement, in the very same manner as the duke of Orleans did in France twenty-five years afterwards, and they resembled one another also in their low and licentious habits

and modes of life. The new government laid itself open to assault and clamour by seeking too anxiously for peace, by allowing it to be perceived that they were not indisposed to give back some of the conquests which had been made in Asia and America, if the course of the war in Germany and the advantages gained by the French should furnish them with any pretence for so doing, and to receive an equivalent from the French in Germany. An apparent exchange must be used as a pretext before a peace could be possibly brought about; but the French selected such incapable generals in this year also, that very little hopes of any conquests in Germany could be entertained.

Broglio, however near both himself and his brother, Louis' private minister, stood in connexion with the king, was nevertheless obliged to yield to Soubise, with whom he differed respecting the campaign of 1761; he was ordered to retire to his estates, and prince Rohan Soubise, so well known by his companionship with the king and Pompadour, and still more by the disgraceful battle of Rossbach, was appointed commander of the German army. In this campaign the French were not much superior to the Germans in number, for the lists given in Mauvillon prove that prince Ferdinand was able to bring 110,000 men into the field against his enemies. The marquis d'Estrées had been prudently sent to the army as an adviser to the prince, but this proved of little use; and the fact of the English minister having secretly commenced negotiations before the beginning of the campaign, also exercised an influence upon its conduct and progress. Lord Bute at first, in a most unskilful and absurd manner, made overtures to the emperor of Russia, and afterwards to the court of Vienna, which the king of Prussia loaded with bitter but well-deserved ridicule and scorn; a better channel for negotiations was however afterwards found.

The Sardinian minister in London, a count Vitry, whom (singular enough!) we afterwards find on the Irish pension list, in the name of his master, but really commissioned by lord Bute and king George, carried on a direct correspondence with Choiseul, who, after having induced Spain to become a participator in the misfortunes of France, now longed for the conclusion of peace. These negotiations presupposed that the French were making new conquests in Germany, and the English minister was therefore reduced to despair, when the army of his own

king obtained some advantages in consequence of the ignorance and incapacity of the French commanders, and made communications thereupon to the French ministry, which would appear altogether incredible if they were merely seen in a newspaper or published in a pamphlet by Wilkes, and not to be found among records unquestionably authentic. This English minister complains of Soubise, that, instead of advancing, he had retreated over the Fulda, and insists that express orders should be given him again to advance. Soubise had suffered himself to be surprised in his camp at Wilhelmsthal on the 24th of June and driven over the Fulda, and a month afterwards the Saxons in the French service were almost annihilated at Lutterberge. The French court, thus admonished by the English minister, sent indeed express orders to Soubise to recross the Fulda; but what was to be expected from a general who, being encamped near Frankfort, was obliged to receive instructions and commands from London by way of Paris\*? The English cabinet had previously endeavoured to influence the operations of the French army in an opposite direction, to induce them to spare Hanover†.

\* We would attach no credit to this strange and monstrous history, which is still more disgraceful to the English ministry than to the French, if the form of Boisgelin's reports did not prove to us that he had written down the notices as soon as he received them from the mouth of the minister, and so preserved them; and we have always found his notices thoroughly correct. These papers are to be found in the Archiv. du Royaume, Carton K. 155, and run as follows:—"Après l'affaire du 24 Juin 1762, les ministres anglois écrivirent à M. de Choiseul: Vous vous laissez battre et nous ne pouvons plus faire la paix, nous n'oserions la proposer au parlement. M. de Choiseul désolé de voir rompue la négociation, engage le roi à écrire à M. de Soubise: 'Mon cousin, je vous écris la présente, qu'aussitôt que vous l'aurez reçue vous passiez la rivière de Fulde, et que vous attaquiez les ennemis, sans compter sur les dispositions qui vous conviendront et quelque soit le succès, vous n'en serez pas responsable. Sur ce je prie Dieu,' &c. M. de Choiseul écrivit: La lettre du roi, M. le maréchal, est trop formelle pour que j'aie rien à y ajouter. Mais je puis vous dire que quand l'armée du roi seroit détruite jusqu'au dernier homme et qu'il fût obligé d'en lever une nouvelle, S. M. n'en seroit point effrayée."

† In another parcel of papers in Carton K. 155, we meet with the following notice, also from Boisgelin:—"En 1762 M. d'Estrées et de Soubise ont commandé l'armée du Haut Rhin de 150,000 hommes, établie en Hesse, à Goettinguen, Mulhausen et Eisenach, M. le prince de Condé a commandé celle du Bas Rhin de 30,000 hommes. La cour ne leur demandoit que de conserver Cassel et Goettinguen jusqu'à la fin du Novembre, d'évacuer ces deux places à cette époque pour se retirer sur l'Ohm en mettant Ziegenhayn en avant de leur première ligne. Ce plan de guerre entre puissance égale, avec 190,000 contre 80,000, seroit extraordinaire, s'il n'avoit pas été fondé sur la promesse, que le ministère anglois nous faisoit de conclure la paix avant le mois de Juillet, si nous ne ferions point d'incursions dans le Hanovre."

Notwithstanding the royal command, and the more than urgent letter of Choiseul which was subjoined, Soubise did not risk an engagement; he however crossed the Fulda, and endeavoured to maintain himself in his position as long as the negotiations respecting the preliminaries to a peace were pending between lord Bute and Choiseul, but he was not able even to do this. The conclusion of the preliminaries was anxiously looked for, whilst prince Ferdinand was vehemently indignant with the English cabinet, and the latter was displeased with him as with king Frederick, because they favoured the opposition of the duke of Newcastle. As early as the month of August Soubise had completely given up Göttingen and Münden, prince Ferdinand laid siege to Ziegenhayn, Cassel and Marburg, whilst both parties sought for glory in skirmishes on the Ohm, the Lahn and the Nidda. Cassel surrendered to the allies on the 1st of November, probably in consequence of the receipt of intelligence respecting the arrangement of the preliminaries, the conclusion of which was announced on the 7th of November. Prince Ferdinand was as much enraged as the English people at these preliminaries concluded between England and France without reference to Germany or the king of Prussia, and immediately laid down his command. By these preliminaries the king of Prussia was indeed relieved from the attacks of the French, but in other respects left wholly to his own resources, and at the same time circumstances in Russia changed to his disadvantage.

The death of the empress Elizabeth and the accession of Peter III. to the throne of Russia (5th January 1762) were the circumstances which opened up to the great king a prospect of deliverance from the dreadful labyrinth in which, by his own confession, he found himself involved at the close of the year 1761. Peter III. was a man who followed his inclinations or his humour alone, forgot all political considerations, and sacrificed every advantage which had been obtained: there were no negotiations with respect to restitution of costs or the relinquishment of conquests, and by the estimation in which he was held by Peter, Frederick was delivered from the impending danger of being obliged to sacrifice Prussia proper and Colberg, which he had expected to lose even under the most favourable circumstances. On the death of the empress Elizabeth, Russia fell into the power of a prince who neither knew how to govern in his

own person nor to select those who did, but who wished merely to retain for himself the pleasure of dominion. This Elizabeth had also done, of whose private history, as well as of the pleasures and orgies of the regent of France and Louis XV., serious history may not venture to speak. Her neglect of the forms of outward propriety, her foolish and childish extravagance in dress, might be pardoned and overlooked, if, with the exception of kindness of disposition, she had possessed any one quality of a ruler or any one female virtue\*; and yet in her conduct she approached far nearer to the observance of the ordinary social virtues than the clever Catharine II., who was idolized by the French and eulogized by the whole world. Elizabeth at least did not live on terms of intimacy, and place the empire under the unrestrained and unconditional dominion of men polluted by the crime of the brutal murder of her husband and their emperor, or of despots who treated all divine and human laws with scorn and contempt.

We learn how nearly poverty and unlimited extravagance approached each other at that time at the Russian court, by comparing the pressing want of money which was experienced by the new emperor with the neglect which was shown respecting all the dresses and materials of great value left by Elizabeth: these were neither given away nor sold, but allowed to remain undisturbed till they became completely useless. There were fifteen thousand and several hundred dresses, some of which had been once and many never worn, two large chests full of silk stockings, two others of ribands, some thousand pairs of shoes, and several hundred pieces of French and other rich stuffs.

On his elevation to the throne, Peter III., as he had formerly done, showed such imprudence and precipitation, that notwithstanding all his good dispositions and good-will, he must be regarded as having been wholly unfit to govern a great empire and a nation which he seemed to despise, because he attached more value to a small German duchy than to the whole of this

\* She withdrew for whole weeks and months from all attention to business; her passion for drinking was unbounded; it was with great difficulty she could be prevailed upon even to sign orders that were written in her name, which she never read. She not only never wrote with her own hand letters of ceremony to great princes, but she could seldom if ever be induced even to sign them; and three years were allowed to elapse before she sent an answer to the letter in which Louis XV. congratulated her on the birth of her grandson.

immense empire. Frederick himself, at the very beginning, suspected that Peter would probably meet with the same fate which had already befallen so many of his predecessors upon this dreadful throne; he availed himself however of the short duration of Peter's government to place himself in a better position of defence against Austria, and to dispense with the assistance of England. Peter immediately set all the Prussian prisoners of war at liberty, and on the very evening of his aunt's decease announced his accession to the king of Prussia before he communicated the news to any other power. By the new emperor's command, money was distributed to all the inhabitants of Pomerania who had suffered from the Russians, and even seed-corn was promised to the peasants; and in Prussia, every order of the Russian administration which could be disagreeable to the king was immediately recalled. Peter pushed his imprudent enthusiasm in favour of Prussia to such a length, that even at his own court he wore the Prussian uniform, appeared with Prussian orders, and decorated his rooms with pictures of the Prussian king.

The first effect of the accession of Peter, who was a cousin-german to the oppressed king of Sweden, showed itself in a change in the composition of the Swedish council, and in the request preferred to king Adolphus Frederick to undertake negotiations with a view to a treaty of peace with Prussia. The diet summoned at the close of the year 1760 had prolonged its sittings to an unusual extent, and finally its discussions became very stormy; it continued till the 17th of June 1762. In this diet, the ruling party for a time lost its preponderance, and even its majority in the council was fluctuating, its members having been partially driven out, but they recovered themselves and acquired the ascendancy anew. The chief reproach to which the ruling oligarchical party had exposed themselves since 1738, was respecting the cruelty and severity which they exhibited in the persecution of all those who were friends to the king and to a true monarchical constitution, and it could also be shown by times, dates and sums, that they had enriched themselves at the cost of the nation. The oligarchs and their creatures divided the subsidies and bribes among themselves, France still owed large sums to the kingdom, and the Swedish people shed their blood in a war which could neither result in advantage nor honour. This foolish war, which had been forced upon the king

and commenced without summoning the diet of the nation, had cost one of the poorest countries in Europe, from 1758 to 1761, as much as 8,000,000 silver dollars, and at this moment it would have been easy for the king to have overthrown the oligarchy, because Peter also was indignant with the party favourable to war.

Adolphus Frederick, honourable and good as he was, paid respect to his oath, and was satisfied with availing himself of the general alarm to mediate a peace, and the council of the kingdom thankfully accepted the interposition of the queen, the sister of Frederick II., whom they so often offended and calumniated. The queen opened the way for negotiation, and the council afterwards returned her thanks for her assistance and labours. A truce was proclaimed on the 7th of April 1762, and a peace signed with Sweden in Hamburg, precisely on the conditions of the peace of Stettin, on the 22nd of May, at the very moment therefore in which the peace with Russia was solemnly announced in Berlin.

Peter had urged on the reconciliation with Prussia, like everything else which he undertook, with morbid impatience, although his able ministers, Woronzoff and Wolkoff, had at first declared to the other powers of the Austrian alliance that Russia would fulfil her obligations towards them. He was loud in the expression of his enmity to Denmark, and made preparations in Russia, as well as took measures in Prussia and Pomerania, to take revenge on Denmark on account of the wrongs and insults which he and his father had suffered. He felt such repugnance to France, as never to allow the French language, but only Russian and German, to be spoken at his court, and pushed his admiration of Frederick to the highest degree of absurdity. He did not moreover leave his allies long in uncertainty as to his allowing himself to be bound by the declaration of his ministers, but informed them, by a formal announcement on the 23rd of February, that he intended to restore all his conquests to Prussia, and at the same time expressly required that they should do the same\*.

\* All the documents connected with this point will be found appended to the 'Biography of Peter the Third,' Tübingen, 1809. We shall here quote the conclusion of the circular: "C'est dans cette vue que S. M. I. est prête à faire le sacrifice des conquêtes faites dans cette guerre par les armes russiennes, dans l'espérance, que de leur côté les cours préféreront également le retour du repos et de la tranquillité aux avantages qu'elles pourroient attendre de la



A truce was agreed to between Russia and Prussia on the 16th of March at Stargard; Tschernitscheff, separated from the Austrians in Silesia, was provided by the Prussians with all necessaries for his army, marched through the midst of the Prussian troops into Poland, and daily expected orders to unite with the Prussians, which orders he received in May. On the 20th of April prince Galitzin intimated to the court of Vienna that a peace between his own court and that of Prussia was about to be concluded, on the 5th of May the treaty was signed in Petersburg, and on the 24th of the same month proclaimed in Berlin\*. Peter was too impatient to wait till this offensive and defensive treaty of alliance should be formally drawn up and signed, but as soon as an agreement had been come to respecting its conditions, Tschernitscheff received orders immediately to join the Prussians in Silesia. The terms of the peace had not yet been carried into execution, nor the fortresses evacuated in Prussia, when lieutenant-general Wojeikoff, who commanded them, received intelligence of the dethronement of Peter III. and the accession of Catharine his wife; and at the same time hostile orders against Prussia, which however were afterwards recalled.

By a proclamation of the 8th of July, Wojeikoff had released the inhabitants of Prussia from the obligation of the oath which they had taken to the emperor of Russia, and given a formal promise that he would evacuate the fortresses and give them up to the Prussian troops; on the 15th, by a new proclamation, he recalled both of these declarations, and only six hours after he received a countermand from the new empress. In this last document he was commanded to fulfil everything which he had promised on the 8th of July, and on the 8th of August he published a third proclamation, couched in the most peaceful and friendly terms. The empress Catharine herself, having recovered from her first error, as if Frederick had given advice which might have been disadvantageous to her, announced her accession to the king in the most friendly expressions, and caused Colberg

guerre, et qu'elles ne peuvent obtenir qu'en répandant encore plus long-tems le sang humain; et pour cet effet S. M. I. leur conseille," &c.

\* The treaty will be found in Part 3. of Wenck's Codex J. G. p. 299, in the 'Recueil de Traités par Martens,' vol. iii. p. 208. In the 'Biographie,' &c., and in some other places, the date of the 8th of June has been erroneously assigned as that of this treaty.

and the other Prussian fortresses to be restored to the Prussian troops on the 13th of August.

The Austrian army in Silesia had been most foolishly and precipitately reduced in the autumn, and it was attempted when too late to rectify the error and to reinforce the troops anew. The separation of the forces and the character of the commanders, Daun and Laudon excepted, who were to remain with the main army in Silesia, furnished no grounds for the expectation of any splendid results. The imperial army, which was first commanded by the count palatine, then by Charles of Wirtemberg, and lastly by Serbelloni, was now placed under the guidance of Macquire and prince Stollberg, but they gained even as little glory as their predecessors. Serbelloni was to obtain the chief command of the Austrian army destined for the protection of Dresden, instead of Daun.

The armies in Lower Silesia took the field as early as March, but nothing was undertaken on either side worth relating: in Upper Silesia the Prussians possessed the superiority, sent out detachments into Moravia, and Frederick made admirable use of the short time, three weeks, which Tschernitscheff was with him, for the promotion of his plans. Tschernitscheff and his Russians had no sooner joined him in July, than he immediately marched against Daun, compelled him to retire behind Schweidnitz, sent detachments into Bohemia, and finally cut off Daun's army wholly from any communication with the fortress, in order that he might undertake its siege. This took place on the 21st of July, after Tschernitscheff had received orders to leave the Prussian army, which he partially disobeyed, and remained three days for the pleasure of the king. In these decisive days, in which Frederick assailed the Austrians, the Russian general awed them merely by the position which he took, because they were unacquainted with the fact that he was not allowed any longer to act against them.

The possession of the fortress of Schweidnitz was of the greatest importance to Frederick, as affecting the negotiations for peace; by its possession he secured for himself the command of Upper Silesia, and was in a position to find in that country, as well as in Thuringia and Saxony, indemnification for the strong places on the Rhine which were still in the hands of the French; he therefore commenced the siege of Schweidnitz and prose-

cuted it with the greatest vigour. The garrison consisted of 11,000 Austrians, who made a glorious defence; but Daun's caution did not suffer him to venture upon a bold attempt at relief, however much the siege was prolonged. The trenches were opened on the 8th of August, and negotiations for a surrender did not commence till the 9th of October, and only then in consequence of the springing of a mine which committed immense devastation and blew up a powder-magazine. Glatz still remained in the hands of the Austrians when both king Frederick and Daun set out for Saxony.

The imperial army in Saxony under its new leaders had drawn upon itself almost more scorn and contempt than under their predecessors; they had twice precipitately retired from Saxony, and had left Franconia, whose imperial cities and clergy furnished the highest contributions to the war, to the mercies of the Prussian hussars. Serbelloni, with his Austrians who were encamped at Dresden, should have protected Bohemia; but he always considered duty and service as mere secondary affairs, and left Bohemia to its fate. He was a distinguished, phlegmatic, double-faced Italian, who often listened to the most important reports in his bed, with a book in one hand and a cup of chocolate in the other, and scarcely deigned to give any reply; and besides, he lived in continual disputes with the imperial council of war, which devised still worse plans than he himself. He pretended that the detachments which he had sent to Silesia had so weakened his forces that he was unable to undertake anything. From all this it happened, that the imperial army no sooner ventured to show itself a second time at Chemnitz, than a second time it was chased back behind Bayreuth. Whilst Stollberg took refuge behind Bayreuth and afterwards in Bohemia, Serbelloni lay quietly at Dresden, and the Prussians levied contributions in Bohemia till prince Stollberg was called thither. Stollberg marched very slowly through Bohemia, and for the third time and finally this year advanced into Saxony, where his colleague Macquire already was with one portion of the imperial troops along with the Austrian army in the neighbourhood of Dippoldiswalde.

In any other service Serbelloni would have been long previously recalled or dismissed, but in Austria it has been the universal custom to have great patience with people of his rank; happily, however, the imperial council of war had worn out

his. Serbelloni voluntarily laid down his command and went to Vienna, whilst Haddick took the office of commander of the Austrian army at Dresden on the 7th of September, with which the whole of the imperial forces were now united. This united army by its first attack drove prince Henry to Freiburg, and by a second (on the 15th Oct.), the Prussians were compelled to leave that city. At this moment Dresden was threatened by general Hülsen, and at the same time the Prussian army was on its march from Silesia to Saxony. Haddick was obliged to hasten to Dresden in order to oppose Hülsen, and at the same time to watch the movements of the Prussians advancing from Silesia; he therefore left prince Stollberg and the imperial troops to maintain the position at Freiburg. Stollberg was by no means equal to the undertaking, or to cope with a general like prince Henry. Haddick had no sooner departed than prince Henry called to his aid the reinforcements which were brought him by Schmettau, and by their aid gained a splendid victory in the last battle fought in this war. This engagement at Freiburg took place on the 29th of October, in which the imperialists lost above 7000 men. Immediately after this victory Kleist made a new and considerable incursion into Bohemia, marched into Franconia, laid Nuremberg, Bamberg and Windesheim under contribution, as well as the whole country which was without troops or protection even as far as Ratisbon.

A truce had already been concluded between the Prussians and Austrians in Saxony, and Kleist's predatory expedition into Franconia had reduced one part of those who still adhered to the emperor and the empire to despair, whilst the others were seized by fear, and hastily withdrew their troops from the imperial army. In this manner the imperial forces were disarmed by a truce. As on all other occasions, so was it on this, the weak and the innocent paid the penalty for the sins of the strong and the guilty; for nothing could be imagined more melancholy and oppressive than the condition of the good-natured and patient citizens and peasants pending the negotiations between Prussia and Austria with respect to the terms of the peace of Hubertsburg. It was a fortunate circumstance that these negotiations, which were commenced in the winter of 1762, were brought to a close in the commencement of the following year, 1763.

Westphalia, Hesse, the Mark, Silesia and Bohemia were more or less laid waste; Saxony was ruined and exhausted, and

Hanover completely impoverished. Notwithstanding, the French still remained on both sides of the Rhine in the possession of Prussian cities and provinces, and Saxony continued to be occupied by Austrians and Prussians, by whom its whole resources were exhausted. Kleist, after having plundered Franconia, and insulted and mocked at both the empire and its head, by whom the weak should have been protected, took up his winter-quarters in the duchy of Weimar, after he had first favoured Schleusingen and Gotha with a passing visit.

Those to whom any property still remained after such unspeakable extortions and plunder were obliged to receive payment for their sterling money in Austrian copper and paper, or in Prussian Jew-money, which immediately after the peace fell to one-fourth of its previous nominal value. The Austrians, with their usual phlegmatic prudence, had fished in troubled waters, and suffered others both to fight and pay for them, and their good Francis had not failed, as a banker, to profit by the conjuncture, whilst as emperor of Germany he was neither able nor willing to protect the imperial city of Hamburg against the weakness of the Danes. When Peter III. threatened the king of Denmark with war, the latter sent a division of his army to levy contributions on Hamburg. He raised about a million of dollars, but concealed the detestable nature of the transaction under the mild denomination of a *loan*.

The negotiations between Prussia and Austria, and which the noble elector of Saxony used all possible endeavours to hasten, in order to redeem his ruined country, were so far dependent upon the course of the negotiations between England and France, that we must first turn our attention to the latter before we proceed to notice the former. The Sardinian ambassador, who had undertaken to bring about an accommodation, could have found no great difficulty in the business, because lord Bute and king George, for general as well as for special reasons, were as anxious for the conclusion of peace as Choiseul and Louis XV. Had there not been other reasons which exposed lord Bute and the king to suspicion, it would have been impossible that such vehement and ill-mannered complaints could have been made against them on account of the peace, and their indifference about the king of Prussia, as actually were made in England. No English ministry had, even in times past, mixed up ideas of philanthropy and the principles of a cosmopolite with their poli-

tical interests, and as everything besides was obtained for England which she had any pretensions to demand, the end of the war, which had increased her national debt about 80,000,000*l.* sterling, was the greatest blessing for the nation.

The negotiations between England on the one part, and France and Spain on the other, were indeed unusually soon brought to a close; for in September the duke de Nivernois went to London as minister plenipotentiary and the duke of Bedford to Paris; and as early as the 3rd of November the preliminaries of the peace of Paris were signed by the Spanish ambassador Grimaldi, the French minister Choiseul and the duke of Bedford. The discontent in England was at that time so great, that the opponents of the king had recourse to the most miserable expedients in order to rouse the public hatred against lord Bute, and the most ridiculous calumnies found ready credence. His connexion with the princess of Wales, the king's mother, was represented in a detestable light, and reports were put into circulation, that he and the duke of Bedford had received large sums from France, that lord Bute had divided his share with the princess of Wales, and had built his new palace in Berkeley-square with the money obtained on this occasion.

The personal dislike of George III. and of his minister to the king of Prussia, was obvious from the deceitful and somewhat malicious manner in which those articles of the preliminaries were drawn up which respected the evacuation of the Prussian towns and fortresses still in the hands of the French. The king of Prussia, indeed, returned like for like, by means of violent articles in the newspapers, and by public protests he poured oil upon the fire of the burning popular commotion, which in England at that time raged with no ordinary fury. The articles of this defensive treaty, which were signed in Paris on the 10th of February 1763, were drawn up in a spirit almost hostile to Prussia, although England was anxious to hasten the conclusion of the peace in Germany by agreeing to give up the king of Prussia, and that France should completely renounce Austria, in case those two powers continued to prosecute the war beyond the 15th of March 1763. Lord Bute's hostility to Prussia further appears from its being expressly determined that the French should immediately evacuate all places in their possession which were within the territories of Hanover, Hesse and Lippe-Bück-

burg; but that on the other hand, Clèves, Gueldres and Wesel were to be left in their hands\*. Frederick was vehemently enraged, and collected all his troops in order to drive out the French by force, as soon as the treaty with Austria had put an end to his contest with that power.

By the peace of Paris, the French only retained the city of New Orleans and the island upon which it stands; all the rest of Louisiana was ceded to the English; Nova Scotia and Canada were wholly given up; the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland was indeed reserved, and to be regarded in future as common to the two nations; the French were to retain Cape Breton, and the English to receive the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon as a compensation. In the West Indies the French lost only Dominica, Tobago, St. Vincent, Grenada and the Grenadines, and received back Martinique and the other islands, whilst on their part they agreed to evacuate Minorca. In Africa they ceded Senegal; and on the coasts of Coromandel and Orissa, all that they had taken possession of since 1749; and they promised moreover to keep no troops in Bengal. Dunkirk was again placed in the same situation in which it had been before the peace of Aix la Chapelle; Spain received back the Havannah and other places from the English, whilst in their

\* The preliminaries and the treaty may be seen at full length in Wenck, vol. iii. pp. 313—368. In the 12th article of the preliminaries, the manner of the restoration of all the other places in Germany is fixed, and in the 13th it runs as follows: “Après la ratification des préliminaires la France évacuera, aussitôt que faire se pourra, les places de Wesel, Clèves et Gueldres, et généralement tous les pays appartenant au roi de Prusse, et au même tems les armées françoises et britanniques évacueront tous les pays qu’elles occupent ou pourroient occuper pour lors en Westphalie, Basse-Saxe, le Haut-Rhin et dans tout l’empire, et se retireront chacune dans les états de leurs souverains respectifs; et leurs M. T. C. et B. s’engagent de plus et promettent, de ne fournir aucun secours, dans aucun genre à leurs alliés respectifs, qui resteront engagés dans la guerre actuelle en Allemagne.” In the 14th article of the definitive treaty it runs thus:—“En cas que les stipulations contenues dans l’article 13. des préliminaires ne fussent pas accomplies lors de la signature du présent traité tant par rapport aux évacuations à faire par les armées de la France des places de Clèves, Wesel, Gueldres et de tout le pays appartenant au roi de Prusse, que par rapport aux évacuations à faire par les armées françoise et britannique des pays qu’elles occupent en Westphalie, Basse-Saxe, sur le Bas-Rhin, le Haut-Rhin, et dans tout l’empire et à la retraite des troupes dans les états de leurs souverains respectifs, leurs M. T. C. et B. promettent de procéder de bonne foi avec toute la promptitude que le cas pourra permettre aux dites évacuations, dont elles stipulent l’accomplissement parfait avant le 15 Mars présent ou plutôt si faire se peut, et leurs M. T. C. et B. s’engagent de plus et se promettent de ne fournir aucun secours dans aucun genre à leurs alliés respectifs, qui resteront engagés dans la guerre d’Allemagne.”

turn they ceded the Floridas and their part of Louisiana to England, that is, that portion of the state lying east and south of the Mississippi, and renounced all claims to any share in the fisheries in Newfoundland. Permission was granted to the English to cut mahogany on the coasts of Honduras Bay, but they were to raze the fortifications which they had there thrown up. The French and Spanish troops evacuated the Portuguese territory, and San Sacramento was restored.

The English parliament indeed confirmed and approved the treaty of Paris, notwithstanding the popular commotion which was prevailing on all sides, but the parliament was at that time as unpopular with the nation, as the king and the ministry. In consequence of this peace lord Bute was at length obliged to resign his office; but we cannot more fully touch upon the riots and public commotions which took place in England till a subsequent period, because the democratic movements which were thereby occasioned are closely connected with the American war.

It would be difficult to justify Frederick's complaints against lord Bute and king George, since the troops which were sent by the king of Prussia in the last two years to prince Ferdinand were very inconsiderable indeed\*, and because Russia and Austria took no warmer interest in the claims for compensation which were preferred by Saxony against Russia, than England took in similar claims of Prussia against France and Austria. Austria would have been placed in great perplexity had she been obliged to fulfil the obligations which she had undertaken to the empire, "*not to cease from the war till the empire had received full satisfaction, and the estates of the empire which had sent contingents to the imperial army should have received full indemnification for their costs;*" but some cunning means were devised to deliver Austria from this perplexity. The empire was induced to declare itself neutral in the autumn, and the troops of the Palatinate suddenly left their quarters in winter (1763), and through the darkness of the night and fog hastened home; the empress was therefore in like manner discharged from the performance of her obligations towards the empire.

\* According to Mauvillon, the only Prussian troops with the allies in 1762 consisted of 750 infantry and 2000 cavalry. According to the official list, these were composed of three squadrons of Nunsch's regiment of hussars, two squadrons of Malachowsky's regiment, Bauer's regiment of hussars, and the volunteer corps of Herr von Trümbach.



The first steps towards the conclusion of a peace between Prussia and Austria were taken by a deputy from the elector of Saxony, who waited upon the king of Prussia at Meissen; the king afterwards went to Leipzig, and negotiations were commenced in the castle of Hubertsburg, not far from that city. These negotiations, which were commenced in December, involved only three points of difficulty: these points were, the restoration of the fortress and county of Glatz to Prussia; the lapse of Anspach and Bayreuth to Brandenburg; and the election of the archduke Joseph as king of the Romans. Frederick conceded the last point because he had no longer any reason to resist the election, and Austria did the same respecting the two others; and in this manner the peace of Hubertsburg was concluded on the 15th of February 1763, precisely on the same grounds as its predecessor the peace of Dresden and Breslau had been. Everything was to remain as it had been before the war, and the unspeakable misery, immense debts contracted by towns, provinces and villages, which continued to be oppressive to the great-grandchildren of their inhabitants, and the annihilation of the prosperity and wealth of the industrious classes, were the only fruits of the long cabals and obstinate perseverance of the most pious, virtuous and beloved princess in Europe.

The new empress of Russia could not boast of possessing the virtues of the empress Maria Theresa; but her talents, capacities and knowledge, her genius for extravagance and daring prodigality, found more numerous eulogists and a greater body of poetical, philosophical and rhetorical admirers in Europe, and especially in Germany, than the piety and virtues of Maria Theresa. Nothing puts more to shame the narrow-minded and prosaic writer, who does homage to social morality and ventures to judge persons of high rank strictly according to its principles, nothing furnishes a better proof that Machiavelli's politics and Diderot's philosophy were drawn from life, and that the ordinary rules of morality as well as criminal law are applicable only to the vulgar, than the history of Catharine II., her friend the princess Daschkoff, and their numerous favourites. Peter III., with all his morality and good dispositions, was despised, betrayed, dethroned and murdered, because he was deficient in a knowledge of the world, in capacities and prudence; whilst Catharine was universally celebrated and admired, though she dethroned her husband, and destroyed the khan of Tartary and the king of Poland;

moreover she excluded her son from the government as long as she lived, and yet died at an advanced age universally lamented.

Peter III., as it appears, had inherited from his father an organization peculiar to their family, and which had proved unfortunate to many of its members who possessed the best dispositions. As a German prince he would have governed the much-enduring Germans in the same way in which the author of this history has seen Catharine's brother Frederick Augustus govern in Zerbst and Jever; but an empire like Russia will not suffer itself to be ruled like Holstein-Gottorp and Jever, and the Russian nobles are not as enduring as the learned, loyal and prudent Germans. Even the empress Elizabeth and the king of Prussia, who were both his hearty well-wishers, publicly and early acknowledged that Peter would find it impossible to maintain himself upon the throne, and for that reason Frederick conducted himself with great caution and foresight in reference to Peter's friendship and admiration. King Frederick had brought about the marriage of the grand-duke with Catharine, and laboured anxiously to preserve a good understanding between them; he recommended the grand-duke to be forbearing with the distinguished and loose life of his wife, because he had given way to his own tastes and had preferred to her a young lady named Woronzoff, who had nothing to recommend her to his favour. Woronzoff was neither beautiful nor witty, neither agreeable, nor fit for any other society but that of a rough officer. The grand-duke had early made himself ridiculous by his childish play with his Holstein guards at Oranienbaum, by his Prussian drills, spatterdashes and uniforms, and contemptible by his ignorance, debts, and the miserable means to which he was obliged to have recourse to release himself from his difficulties. He was at that time generally regarded as a man whose mental faculties were unsound, and it cannot therefore be a matter of surprise that he inspired no confidence when he mounted the throne.

The first acts and ordinances of Peter III. were proofs of a noble heart and of the best dispositions, but the noblest actions and the most admirable measures of his government only drew contempt and scorn upon their author; for everything, even the best which he devised and ordered, wanted the true Russian stamp. In the proper business of government Peter possessed admirable advisers in Wolkoff and Woronzoff, but they were

unable to restrain him from following up even that which was good with a morbid zeal. He no sooner ascended the throne than he recalled all those unfortunate and numerous persons who had been sent into banishment during the preceding reign, with the exception of those criminals who had been condemned by the ordinary legal tribunals, and caused the estates which had not been alienated to be restored. Some idea may be formed of the vast number of those who had been exiled since the time of Peter II., when we learn that under the mild government of the renowned empress Elizabeth, who was unwilling to sign a sentence of death, more than 80,000 persons were sent to Siberia. Bestuscheff indeed was not recalled, but he lived in the midst of abundance on his country estate. Among the banished persons who were recalled, were Biron, Münnich and Lestocque.

Immediately after the extension of pardon to all political offenders, Peter forbade the use of torture and abolished that hateful police, which, under the name of the secret chancery, was appointed to watch over the existence and permanence of the Russian government, and for that purpose entrusted with the privileges of a court of justice\*. The history of this secret chancery sheds a light upon the nature of absolute governments and the measures they adopt. Catharine II. in appearance confirmed the abolition of this tribunal, but, in fact, she merely modified its form and allowed the thing itself to continue. Paul restored this chancery, now called police, and made it more dreadful, severe and arbitrary than it had been under Elizabeth; Alexander abolished it, but after his death it was again revived and became more terrible than before. The institution itself be-

\* The rights and privileges of this tribunal have been very indefinitely stated : its duties seemed to be, to judge of all offences committed against the state and the monarch, and the tribunal therefore always held its sittings at the place where the monarch was. In the language of this bloody tribunal, every complaint was called *the word*. Whoever therefore had spoken *the word*, that is, whoever had made the slightest or most insufficient denunciation, was placed under the immediate protection of the monarch. The person against whom the complaint was made, even although he lived in the most remote part of the empire, was sent off with his whole house, perhaps the whole of the society who were accidentally present, to Petersburg. Such unfortunate persons were often a whole year upon the journey, and were obliged to remain years in prison before their case could even in appearance be investigated. During the investigation the accused was not allowed to plead in his own defence, and if a powerful friend succeeded in saving him, he was still sent to Siberia. No rank, no merit served to protect a man before this tribunal against the malice of the commonest and most wicked informer.

longed to the times of old Russian barbarism, for it was founded by Iwan Wasiljewitsch, well known as one of the most cruel of tyrants, and completed by Alexis Michailowitsch. We are obliged to conclude that some such institution as the secret chancery is absolutely essential to the existence of such a form of government as the Russian, inasmuch as it has always been revived and restored down to our own times under the most various names and forms. Peter III. therefore indisputably committed a folly by abolishing one of the chief institutions of the Russian government at the very moment in which he provoked the Russian clergy and offended the guards, and when his own wife was conspiring for his dethronement.

Peter III. dismissed the scandalous, brutal and costly body-guard of the empress Elizabeth, which was afterwards reorganized under a more becoming form by Catharine II., and called the chevalier guard; he caused its members to be distributed amongst the regiments of the line: this was wise and just, but the thought was in the highest degree unfortunate of naming his Holstein cuirassiers his horse-guards. The whole Russian army was to be clothed and disciplined after the Prussian model, and for this purpose the emperor appointed his cousin duke George of Holstein, who had been in the Prussian service, his generalissimo. At the very moment however of his appointment, he was imprudent enough to say to his face, that he must have been a very bad general, otherwise Frederick would not have allowed him to leave his service. Peter himself played such a character in his Prussian uniform, and particularly with his most ridiculous hat and spatterdashes, which compelled him to walk and sit as if he had stiff knees, that it gave some plausibility and foundation to the general report, that he was of unsound mind.

By a noble sacrifice he wished to give the Russian nobility a proper existence, by making them wholly independent of the caprices of the regent; he renounced all the monopoly-privileges of autocrats, and even ventured to make an attempt which has ever proved foolish in all ends and corners of the world,—an attempt to reform the clergy and the ceremonies of worship. His attempt to change the form, or to abolish the custom among the Russian clergy of wearing long beards and a peculiar dress, as well as different things connected with the ceremonials of worship, met with a degree of resistance from Sertschin, the

intelligent, well-meaning, and in all respects honourable archbishop of Novogorod, which prevented a rebellion among the people. Besides, Peter had previously excited universal discontent by the erection of a college or commission for the administration of all the estates and incomes of the clergy. Catharine II. afterwards established this college without resistance.

The clergy were enabled the more easily to rouse the passions of the people against the emperor, as he had just received and acted upon the dangerous counsel at this unlucky moment, of imposing a poll-tax upon the peasants. He himself was cried down as a bad Greek christian and as a secret favourer of Lutheranism, and had fallen into the imprudence of formally abolishing all the fast-days at his court, and publicly neglecting many of the ceremonies of the Greek church. Under the existing circumstances, the friendship of the king of Prussia was rather disadvantageous and burthensome to Peter than politically useful, for he offended all the other courts. All the foreign ministers, but especially the French minister (Breteuil), were accessory to the conspiracy which was formed against Peter long before the death of the empress Elizabeth, because all the European powers and even Frederick were afraid, that the foolish plan which he had projected, and the campaign he had determined upon as an act of revenge upon Denmark, would disturb the balance of power in Europe.

This idea of vengeance, and of the reconquest of that portion of Sleswick and Holstein which had been seized upon by Denmark in the Northern war, had been cherished by Peter from his youth up; and unhappily all the attempts proved failures which were made during the time in which he was grand-duke, to relieve him from the pecuniary embarrassments in which he was involved. As soon however as he had ascended the throne, his most faithful friends and advisers were unable to restrain him from undertaking this foolish expedition against Denmark and placing himself at its head. The Danes knew well that a revolution would break out in Petersburg as soon as Peter departed; although therefore they equipped an army, they reckoned far less upon the service of their troops than upon the issue of the cabals in Petersburg; whilst the Russians, who, by the permission of Frederick, had remained behind in Prussia and Pomerania expressly for this purpose, began their march.

The Danish forces were at that time under the command of

the French-Prussian St. Germain, who afterwards, in an unfortunate hour, was appointed French minister of war, and was desirous of recommending or enforcing the use of the German cane, or of the German sword-scabard, upon the French. He had served with reputation in the army on the Rhine, and in these melancholy times was regarded as the best of the French generals, but through dissatisfaction he took leave of their army. With the aid of French officers he was now engaged in training the Danish troops after the Prussian model; and with these Danish forces he extorted, after French fashion, a million of dollars from the citizens of Hamburg to meet the first costs of the war. Count St. Germain's army took up its position in the territory of Mecklenburg, with a view to throw the burthen of its support on their neighbouring state, according to the traditional usage of these times. The Russian troops on their advance from Pomerania had, in like manner, just passed the frontiers of Mecklenburg; but no actual hostilities took place, because Peter III. had been deprived of throne and life before the Danes and the Russians came into collision with one another.

Whilst Peter busied himself day and night with reforms, and inconsiderately disturbed and altered, and threw into confusion all existing relations,—while at the same time he indulged in a German student's or guard-room life with his officers and his mistress Woronzoff, was sunk in these rude dissipations, and never suspected what was going on around him,—his wife was following the true bent of a diplomatic and Russian life. Beautiful, sensual and luxurious, she was mistress of all the splendid qualities of her age and sex, and belonged to that class of ladies and gentlemen so much praised by the world, among whom the Genlis, De Staëls and Talleyrands may be ranked. She had long reached that exalted height of genius at which all social virtues may be boldly despised: she never hesitated for a moment about overreaching her husband, to whom her conduct was offensive, and who had threatened to remove her. She selected for her companion and assistant in this bold undertaking, which was not to be accomplished without murder, the sister of her husband's mistress, the younger Woronzoff, who called herself princess Daschkoff, because for a short time she had concluded a diplomatic and political marriage. Catharine's friend resembled her, as her sister did the emperor, in her life and morals: she enjoyed life as much, and after the same fashion as the empress,

and like her was idolized by the world and by cheaply-bought men of learning and sophists. In the time of the empress Elizabeth, Catharine had already conspired with Bestuscheff against her husband, of which Peter thought he possessed such decisive proofs that he excepted Bestuscheff from the operation of the general amnesty for political offences which he proclaimed on his accession, and expressly declared this as his reason for the exception.

Peter's conduct towards his wife is perhaps the clearest proof of his unsoundness of mind, which was sometimes more and sometimes less perceptible; it sometimes impelled him to the adoption of extravagant and senseless measures, and sometimes caused him to fall into a state of the greatest timidity, cowardice and irresolution. Sometimes he appeared wholly unconcerned about her private life, and allowed himself to be deceived respecting her pregnancy, paid her debts, made her presents of estates, and increased her yearly income; sometimes again he threatened her with a cloister, and spoke publicly of her conduct in the strongest and coarsest terms. Her brother Frederick Augustus of Zerbst was a man of quite a similar stamp to his brother-in-law. He repaid the emperor in like foolish coin for his want of civility towards his wife, and his wonderful return to politeness towards her. When Peter, out of attention to his wife, made him the most splendid offers, he returned him an answer which no one could repeat in decent society, but which Göthe, in his '*Götz von Berlichingen*,' has put into the mouth of his hero in reply to the chief of the empire.

Under the circumstances of the senseless and precipitate conduct of the emperor, the general discontent of the offended Russian soldiers and nobles, and the coolness of the clergy towards him, it could present no great difficulties to the incessant activity of his wife and her splendid friend Daschkoff, to organize a conspiracy of bold and brutal partisans. The five brothers Orloff formed the centre of this conspiracy, among whom Gregory played the chief character. He afterwards became the favoured lover of Catharine, and long before the death of the empress Elizabeth she visited him regularly by night, in the small house in which he resided in the neighbourhood of the winter palace. The emperor exhibited a degree of carelessness which astonished every one: he listened to the warning of no true friend. Even Münnich, to whom Peter was attached, and who

would undoubtedly have saved him if the emperor had placed confidence in him, was unable to render him any service. He himself even supplied the money which the conspirators needed for the prosecution of their designs; for at the very time in which Gregory Orloff stood in need of large sums for bribing the soldiers, and neither he nor Catharine possessed either money or credit, Peter suffered the military chest of the artillery, which contained considerable sums, to be placed in the hands of this dissolute lieutenant.

The corruption of the regiment of Ismailoff, whose services were afterwards used against the emperor, was the more easily effected, as its commander Kyrilla Rasumoffsky took part with the conspirators. He was brother of that Rasumoffsky, whom alone, of all her innumerable favourites, the empress Elizabeth made her husband; the son of a peasant, sent for some short time to Euler at Berlin, and then as a young man appointed president of the academy of sciences, with the same justice and propriety as he was afterwards made hetman of the Cossacks. He was afterwards obliged under Catharine to exchange this last-mentioned place for one of inferior rank, that of a field-marshal, though in reality he had never been in service. Daschkoff was moreover the soul of the whole conspiracy: she first gained over count Panin, who was the chief tutor of the grand-duke Paul, and a most distinguished man; then the attorney-general Gleboff, although the latter possessed the complete confidence of the emperor, and together with Wolkoff and Woronzoff drew up and approved of all those ordinances which were published in his name.

The conspirators had at first no fixed plan. They were so imprudent as not only to postpone the execution of their purpose from one period till another, but they made so little secret of the whole affair, that Wolkoff, the Prussian ambassador Golz, colonel von Budberg, whom they sought to gain over to their cause as the commander of a regiment, Gudowitsch, and even the king of Prussia himself, warned the unfortunate emperor of what was about to be attempted. Peter had passed at that time from the morbid and restless activity displayed during the first weeks of his government, and was sunk into a degree of inconceivable indifference and inactivity; he therefore despised every warning; whilst the conspirators carefully spread the report, that he was determined to send his wife and his son, the grand-



duke Paul, into a cloister, and to marry Woronzoff, who was living with him in his palace and now pregnant.

According to the most trustworthy printed reports\*, the conspirators at first wished to wait till the emperor had departed from Petersburg, put himself at the head of the army, and commenced the expedition against Denmark. If this were really the case their calculations were very foolish, and chance led them to adopt a much wiser course. If the former plan had been pursued, Catharine would have had the advantage of not requiring to take upon herself the crime of murdering her husband, and been spared the necessity of appearing publicly at the head of a band of bloody and reckless conspirators: all that however she regarded but little, as she was far exalted above those feelings of disgrace or shame which influence ordinary minds. In this case Catharine could have remained behind the scenes, as the chief actors in such political tragedies are accustomed to do, until the piece had been played out, and then, as was lately the case in France, washing her hands in innocence, she might have reaped the benefit of the enormities which were perpetrated, and have entitled herself to the gratitude and thanks of the world for the restoration of order. This however could not be done, and she was obliged to come forward openly in the public day in the capital as an exciter of sedition and promoter of treason, as the tool of the five dissolute, brutal and uncivilized brothers Orloff, and as the companion of such cruel, shameless and audacious murderers as Passek and Bibikoff, and of robbers and bandits, such as the Piedmontese Odart.

Peter was passing his time in his country-house, eight hours from Petersburg; and at the very moment in which the plot was ripe for execution, was conducting himself with all the obstinacy of an insane man. When he received secret but certain intelligence of all that his wife and the Orloffs were preparing to execute, he showed no energy. He did not command the Orloffs to be immediately arrested, and his wife at least to be summoned to his presence, but remained quietly in Oranienbaum, and ordered a watch to be kept upon the movements of the conspirators by a miserable gambler and spendthrift named

\* We must here observe that we place more confidence in the *Russian favourites* and the Biography of Peter III. (with continual reference however to Wichmann), than in Rulhiere's 'History of the Russian Revolution,' although Rulhiere was an eye-witness, and Breteuil contributed money.

Persilioff, who was very easily gained, and was indeed actually gained over to the cause of his enemies. Fortune did everything possible for his deliverance ; but he himself perversely frustrated every means of escape or triumph which the course of events presented to him. He finally received a formal judicial notice, and still treated the affair as if it were one requiring no expedition, or which had reference to events of inferior moment alone.

The rude Russian Passek had boasted of the conspiracy in a fit of drunkenness : an accusation was brought against him before the court of his regiment on the 8th (19th new style) of July, and an incautious question put by one of his companions immediately proved to Ismailoff, the captain of the guards, that they were endeavouring to gain over the troops. Both these facts were immediately communicated to Peter. Notwithstanding all this, the emperor allowed the conspirators time to anticipate the impending discovery. He had indeed caused Passek to be arrested in the same evening ; but instead of proceeding direct to Petersburg he remained quietly in Oranienbaum, and postponed a more minute investigation of the affair till after the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. The conspirators however did not wait for the expiration of the time.

The Orloffs and Daschkoff, whose lives were staked upon the cast, in some measure compelled Catharine to give the signal for the rising. Catharine was at that time in Petershof ; Bibikoff and Alexis Orloff were sent thither at midnight by Daschkoff and Gregory Orloff to conduct her into the city, whither in the meantime those companies of the guards which had been gained over had been brought. Catharine reached the city about seven o'clock in the morning of the 9th (20th N. S.) of July, and immediately called upon the guards to take the oath of fidelity to herself, without its ever having occurred to any one to ask what right the princess of Anhalt Zerbst had to the throne of Russia ? For the purposes of the conspiracy, the services of two old favourites of the empress Elizabeth, who were in other respects insignificant persons, were employed,—these were Rasumowsky and Schuwaloff. Under the preceding reign these men had appeared so long and in such a splendid position near the throne, that by doing homage to Catharine on this occasion, they stamped some degree of propriety upon the cause of the usurpation in the eyes of a people like the Russians, among whom arbitrary assumption is really and seriously regarded as

right. Before the emperor was informed of what was passing in Petersburg, as early as between nine and ten o'clock this atrocious crime and rebellion was sanctified by religion, and the new empress consecrated. The archbishop of Novogorod, who performed the ceremony, was careful, after the priestly fashion, to preserve some appearance of justice in the transaction, and he proclaimed Catharine in the cathedral merely as the regent and guardian of her son. In the same moment, indeed, as this was taking place in the church, the Orloffs and Daschkoff caused her to be proclaimed empress in her own right before the church, and the archbishop's voice was reckoned as nothing. It must be stated, however, as some consolation to the minds of those who, by these transactions, as well as by those of the French revolution which took place forty years afterwards, are oppressed with the thought that truth and fidelity no where exist, and that they are regarded as ridiculous in the intercourse of the great world, that even on this occasion, and in Petersburg, all did not prove to be venal. Budberg and others offered a noble resistance, which indeed proved vain, and Bressan would have saved the emperor if the latter had been capable of forming any determinate resolution in this decisive moment, or been accessible to the admonitions of prudence and wisdom.

At the very moment when the troops which were then in Petersburg, and the senate also, pronounced the deposition of Peter III., who of all others knew least of what was passing in the capital, and acknowledged Catharine II. as regent, nothing was really lost. Münnich, Woronzoff, Trubezkoi, and the younger Schuwaloff, were all with him in Oranienbaum, and could and would have given him advice, the whole empire was yet open to him, and would have acknowledged him as its emperor, the fleet and the whole of the army destined against Denmark were yet uncorrupted, and therefore his enemies took so much pains to cut him off so carefully from all communications with the capital. Catharine, who already suffered Gregory Orloff, as her favourite, to exercise his brutal pride, celebrated her accession by salvos of artillery, and caused all the roads leading from Petersburg to Oranienbaum and Petershof to be immediately occupied, especially the Kalinka bridge; but Peter's faithful servant had anticipated her. Bressan of Monaco had come to Petersburg as a hair-dresser, Peter III. had favoured him, and conferred upon him rank and office, and he now remained true to his protector and

patron in his misfortune, and sent him a careful messenger, who succeeded in passing over the Kalinka bridge at the very moment in which it was taken possession of by the troops. This messenger met Peter at Petershof, whither he had come to seek for his wife and had not found her, and gave him Bressan's note. From this moment the unfortunate emperor, who had previously shown some distraction of mind, lost the little courage and limited understanding which up till this time he had possessed. Such courtiers as Woronzoff, Trubezkoi and Schuwaloff did not delay to seek pretences for going to Petersburg, where they assumed the air of neutrality, and apparently in arrest awaited the issue. Münnich remained, and even then would have saved the emperor, if the latter had placed implicit confidence in him, or had even given him unconditional powers.

Peter afterwards delayed in Petershof without coming to any resolution, or issuing any definite orders, till his enemies had taken all their measures in Petersburg, issued commands to cut off his flight in all directions and to deprive him of every place of refuge. The gang of conspirators did not fail to have recourse to official lies and sophistry also, and a lying manifesto was published respecting the revolution, in which religion was used as a cloak. With all the recklessness of crime, the peace which Peter had concluded with Frederick of Prussia, and which nevertheless the new empress immediately afterwards confirmed, was assigned as a reason for the deposition of the emperor\*. Whilst Peter was filled with alarm and hesitated as to his course, the conspirators had issued commands to the army, and cut off all communication with Narva; they sent to Cronstadt to secure the fleet, and stimulated the soldiers, especially the

\* Inasmuch as this manifesto has the advantage of most similar documents in being short, we shall here insert the commencement :—"All true sons of Russia have clearly perceived the dangers with which the empire is threatened. In the first place, the foundations of our orthodox Greek church have been shaken, and its principles have been exposed to imminent destruction, so that there was great reason to fear that that system which has from old reigned in Russia should be abolished, and a new religion introduced. In the second place, the honour of the Russian empire, which has been gained and founded by the loss of so much blood and by so many glorious victories, has been really trodden underfoot *by the peace lately concluded with her bitterest enemy*, and at the same time the internal constitution upon which the well-being and solidity of our country rest, completely destroyed." And then follows what is usually appended in every case of atrocious crime, because no one willingly names the devil as his ally : "CATHARINE HAS HAD RECOURSE TO GOD AND HIS JUSTICE."

guards, to the highest degree of rage. Even the foreign ministers assisted in giving glory to this triumph over the unfortunate Peter: they celebrated this horrible revolution in a way which was quite worthy of the event, and of the rude and brutal people who could rejoice in such events,—they caused brandy to be distributed to the people at their doors. At the close of this day of eager and incessant activity (the 9th (20th N. S.) of July) Catharine set out about nine o'clock in the evening, at the head of 15,000 men, to Petershof, in order to subdue by force her good-natured and weak husband, if he ventured resistance with the 3000 Holstein troops and the few Russians by whom he was surrounded in Oranienbaum. She passed the night half-way between Petershof and Petersburg.

Neither Münnich nor Gudowitsch had in the meantime been able to induce the emperor to come to any definite reasonable conclusion. Had he immediately gone in person to Cronstadt, the fleet would have been in his power, but he delayed and hesitated, and the adjutant whom he at length sent either behaved with great want of prudence or even proved treacherous. The adjutant delayed till the admiral sent from Petersburg had arrived and taken possession of the fleet in the name and under the orders of the new empress. Peter went indeed in person to Cronstadt, but it was too late; and even in this decisive moment he had not the resolution or courage to follow Münnich's advice. Münnich advised him to despise the threats of the sentinels who would not suffer him to land, told him they would not venture to fire upon him, and that he ought to land and conduct himself like an emperor. Even when Peter refused to act in this manner, Münnich advised him, with the aid of those by whom he was surrounded, to steer for Revel, where he would meet with no genuine Russians; but the unfortunate emperor had totally lost all vigour of mind and almost all understanding. Refused admittance to Cronstadt, Peter returned full of terror to Oranienbaum, which he reached at four o'clock in the morning (10th July), gave up every idea of resistance, and wrote two cowardly and supplicatory letters to his wife, to neither of which she sent any answer.

From what has been already stated and from what follows, it will be evident that Peter was neither worthy nor capable of conducting the government of a great empire, and that sooner or later he must have been removed from his office; but the

manner in which his deposition was effected was not therefore the less detestable and cruel. It is maddening to read, that his wife and her Orloffs behaved to this poor prince with more barbarity and cruelty than the Sans-culottes in Paris,—upon whom the whole world and Catharine herself called down the vengeance of heaven, and whose names are still spoken of with detestation,—behaved towards Louis XVI., whom they at least reproached with having broken his oath, which no one alleged against Peter. The new empress received her husband's first letter just as she was attending service in the convent of St. Sergius, without thinking of the words of the prophet Isaiah to the Jews, "When ye make many prayers I will not hear; your hands are full of blood." To this first letter she gave no reply. When she arrived at Petershof she received a second, which she handed over to Orloff, whom she commissioned to treat with its bearer respecting the honour and life of her husband. The bearer of the letter was Ismailoff, who enjoyed the complete confidence of the unfortunate Peter: he now accepted the empress's silverlings and betrayed him.

The agreement entered into between Catharine and Orloff on the one part, and Ismailoff on the other, was as follows:—"If he was able to prevail upon Peter to sign a document in which he should declare himself unworthy and incapable to rule, he should receive a fixed sum of money; but if he delivered up the person of the unfortunate emperor himself, then he was to receive the rank of a general, the order of Alexander Newsky, several thousand peasants, and a pension of 20,000 rubles." He did both, and received the stipulated price. The completion of the treachery was as scandalous as the treating respecting it. Ismailoff, who was fully acquainted with all the weakness of his victim, induced him, by deception and terror, to sign the shameful document, to which he subscribed his name as duke of Holstein; and then the man who on the day before had been his friend and confidential adviser, brought him under his own protection to Petershof. The treatment which this unfortunate man met with on his arrival in Petershof and his residence there, the account of which must be left to special histories of these events, furnish the best proofs of the nature of the high and refined education, the amiable benevolence, the subtlety and dignity of that world of high life to which Catharine and Daschkoff belonged. These two commanded and regulated all those

things which may console us Germans for some of the evils which we endure, by the reflection that we do not live in a country which is unconditionally subject to distinguished and brutal rudeness, and to persons who, like the Orloffs, are capable of the most atrocious crimes. The measure of their crimes and their cruelty was yet far from being full.

After the mean and detestable treatment of her husband in Petershof, to whom alone she owed the appearance of a claim to the government, the victorious Catharine was not ashamed to return in triumph to Petersburg. Her entry into the city was splendid, and the most atrocious criminals shared in her imperial honours. She was preceded by Daschkoff and Strongonoff on horseback, and accompanied by Orloff: hypocrisy also was not forgotten, and the manifestation of religious zeal was intended to deceive the populace. The criminals were afraid of the awakening of the holy and eternal feelings of duty among those classes in whose hearts the genius of sin, a dissolute life, idleness and splendid dissipation have not extinguished all consciousness of the true dignity of man; they were afraid of awakening some feelings of compassion for the captive, and they therefore crowned their atrocity by the shedding of his blood. The circumstances of this case also appear again to confirm the principle of Machiavelli and his disciples, that the result of all historical studies is, that Providence is accustomed to favour only the prudent and the strong,—those who shrink from the commission of no crime when its perpetration is necessary to their success.

For the honour of humanity we may still be permitted to believe that Catharine was unacquainted with the cruelties which were inflicted upon her husband in the execution of his murder; but when she refused to fulfil the conditions, viz. that he should be allowed to retire to Holstein, upon which he signed the act of renunciation, she could not be ignorant that his death must be the consequence. Catharine, as well as the actual murderers of her husband, were also able at a later period to boast of the same good fortune which all those have enjoyed who were participators in the crimes and violence of the times of the emperor, and who proved themselves traitors to Buonaparte, to the revolution, and, above all, to humanity and its privileges and rights. Catharine reigned long and with great renown; and some of the criminals who were engaged in the murder of Peter, survived to

aid in the despatch of another emperor in the nineteenth century.

From the 10th till the 17th of July, Peter was kept a close prisoner in Roptscha, a country-house near Petershof, and although he might be somewhat indisposed, he was not dangerously ill, when Alexis Orloff presented himself before him on the 17th as the messenger of death, and immediately caused poison to be administered. Even the poison did not produce the intended and expected effect; they therefore seized upon the forsaken and betrayed captive and strangled him with such unheard-of barbarity as makes us shudder to think of, much less to describe the dreadful scene. For the confirmation of what we have above mentioned respecting the melancholy conclusion which has been drawn from history with respect to the rewards of virtue and the punishment of sin in this life, we shall now only add how great the triumph of these murderers was: Alexis Orloff and his cousin Gregory Nikitsch, the two princes Borjatinsky, Teploff and Engelhard, some of whom were present at the murder and encouraged the murderers, and others of whom took an actual share in its perpetration, continued to live in Russia loaded with wealth and estates, dignified with offices and orders, some of them even till our own century, and were as highly honoured as the originators of all the bloody scenes of republican murders in France, who adopted absolute and monarchical principles in the time of the empire.



## THIRD PERIOD OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

FROM THE END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR TILL THE  
SEPARATION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES  
FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

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### FIRST DIVISION.

POLITICAL HISTORY AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE  
SOCIAL LIFE OF THIS PERIOD.

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#### CHAPTER I.

SOUTHERN STATES OF EUROPE.

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##### § 1.

GENERAL REMARKS UPON THE CONNEXION OF THIS HISTORY.

THE manner in which the system of autocratical ministerial government, which had begun to prove ruinous to France as early as the close of the seventeenth century, and made Russia and Prussia great and powerful, has been fully explained in the preceding parts of this work. In the same manner the elements of a revolution were already prepared in France in the former half of the eighteenth century, which was precisely the reverse of that which about the same time took place in Russia, Prussia, and in all those states which were constituted after the model of these two monarchies.

Peter I. as well as Frederick William I., relying upon their own will and vigorous determination, and upon a standing army, had founded a new order of things, which was wholly inconsistent with the institutions of the middle ages; they were obliged to introduce their reformatations by force, and to reduce all those who were friends of what was ancient and traditionary to subjection

by the adoption of violent measures. The results in Russia as well as in Prussia were splendid and the success complete. The people did not trouble themselves about the means, but rejoiced only in the attainment of the end,—that the well-being of the state was promoted, and that their rulers, assuming the characters of republican dictators, and disregarding all traditionary prejudices and hereditary privileges, had reduced all the citizens of the state under subjection to *one* will, and introduced a completely new era. Care was afterwards taken to ascribe to the autocratic military system everything which was in reality attributable to the merits of the individual rulers, or belonged to the men who had been successful instruments in their hands, as had also been the case in France in the reign of Louis XIV. This greatly facilitated the introduction of the system and the foundation of a government by officials instead of that of the hierarchy, the hereditary nobility and the privileged corporations of the middle ages, which obstructed all progress, because it was inconsistent with the demands and necessities of the age, and which therefore in France also Louis XIV. had scotched, but not completely destroyed.

Frederick II. carried out and completed in Prussia what the paternal mind of Frederick William I. had commenced, and in the spirit of a king gave full practical effect to all that the new generation of philosophers and men of talents in France endeavoured but in vain to set up in opposition to the spirit and institutions of the hierarchy and feudal aristocracy, and to the privileges and corporations of the middle ages. In the first twenty-three years of his government, Frederick II. secured for the system of the new age a most complete and splendid triumph throughout the whole of Europe over all traditionary prejudices, and still existing but antiquated institutions. The Germans regarded him as their protector and the ornament of their nation, because he made them participators in the honour and glory of that victory which he had gained in the seven years' war over all the states which were united against him, and over all the power of the middle ages. He freed them from the reproach of servility and pedantry, which he neither endured at his court nor in the conduct of public affairs, and did everything in his power to deliver them from the dominion of a system of law which was foreign, unintelligible, and of multifarious significations.

All the princes and governments of the time imitated Frederick in one respect or another; all were eager to effect a species of monarchical revolution, such as he had accomplished, and outstripped the people, who lingered far behind. The case at that time was the reverse of what now frequently occurs,—the people clave fast to ancient traditions and usages which the rulers and their ministers wished to overturn. That feeling of attachment to justice and usage which is natural to the people, and which, alas! must always be impaired when anything permanently beneficial is to be effected, led them to offer the same resistance to the violence of the doctrinaires as they would have done to the mere brutality of power; and hence the opposition which was made to Pombal, Joseph II., Struensee, and Gustavus III.; not merely those who enjoyed peculiar privileges, but the people in general and even the neighbouring states resisted the innovations and improvements of the princes and ministers who have been just named, lest one principle of destruction might bring numbers of others in its train.

We shall therefore see, that whilst completely new views of life and administration were first disseminated by English and French writers, then by Italian (Beccaria, Filangieri), by Spanish (Campomanes, &c.), and finally by Germans, all improvements were really and first effected by the monarchical power of princes and of their ministers, who were not in the slightest degree favourable to the progress of freedom. No actual movement appeared among the people, properly speaking, till the time of the American war, and only occasional symptoms were exhibited of the prevalence of democratic, or as they are now called, radical principles, by the writings of Rousseau, Price, or Paine.

This principle will guide us in our mode of treating the history of the period between the termination of the seven years' war and the second year of that in America; it thus naturally presents itself in two great divisions, of which the one, at least in reference to the southern states, commences some ten years before the seven years' war. The history of the former half therefore will be almost wholly occupied with the changes and disputes which were occasioned by the attempts of the rulers and their ministers to break down and destroy the landmarks and limits of the middle ages; and the second with the events in England, Belgium and Holland, and the spirit of disunion and turbulence which immediately preceded the revolution in France,

because in all these there were more or less evidences of the existence of a democratic spirit.

The former division may be best arranged according to the greater or smaller success of the reforms introduced and effected by monarchical power, and the events which it comprehends deserve to be mentioned first in order of time, because those of the latter, in which the democratic spirit began to appear, form the most suitable transition to the succeeding period in which that spirit became predominant. In the southern states of Europe the mass of the people derived no advantage whatever, either in internal or in external life, from the improvements which were promoted by the governments for the advancement of their own objects; we therefore commence with the history of these states. The accounts of the revolutions in Denmark and Sweden are most naturally connected with the almost completely fruitless reforms effected in Spain, Portugal and Naples, because in the former states also, notwithstanding all the noise which was made and the revolutionary passions which were exhibited, no new condition of society was established, nor was the supremacy of the nobility, which had prevailed since the seventh century, in the least degree impaired. Russia, Prussia and Austria will be most conveniently introduced at the close of the period, together with some brief notices of the small German states, because, in all these countries, many things were changed and abolished during the time in which this earnest desire prevailed in the minds of rulers and ministers in favour of a progress with the spirit of the age which could not have been abolished at a later period, when they eagerly longed for a return to the former system, without creating a general confusion, and many new institutions were introduced which could never afterwards be suppressed.

The second division in which the democratic spirit manifested its existence and power will begin with England and end with France; and from the following history it will be seen, that the democratic movements of which we shall speak were followed by totally different results in England from those in which they issued in France. In the latter kingdom the whole structure of the middle ages was completely demolished, whereas in England the entire system, which was composed of a mixture of hierarchical, aristocratical, plutocratical, and only apparent monarchical dominion of the parliamentary oligarchy, was newly established

by Pitt. This was the constitution which Montesquieu very erroneously, but on plausible, historical and philosophical grounds, described and recommended as the universal means of promoting the happiness and prosperity of all nations. It will appear from the history of the following periods, that not the constitution, but the nature, manner of life, condition and occupations of a people make it extremely difficult for democratic or radical principles to pervade a nation in which, in all its social relations and orders, individuals and whole classes are so completely separated by their property and rank, nay, even by the coat which they wear and its cut.

Pitt was thoroughly acquainted with the characteristics of the nation, and therefore, at a later period, availed himself of the services of the same Burke in favour of the privileges and prejudices of the middle ages, who, in the American war, had stormed with democratic fury; he became, however, at last sensible that the spirit of the new age had penetrated into England also. He felt himself obliged on two occasions to do homage to this spirit, and disapproved of the tenacity with which George III. clung to the possession and maintenance of principles now become obsolete. He however, as well as his successors, understood how to make this subservient to their own plans. First, in 1784, he assisted in again bringing forward the old plutocracy; and secondly, he made concessions to public opinion in things unimportant, that in essentials he might be able with more firmness to retain what was old. In this respect the Whigs afterwards imitated his example, and thus the struggle between the old and the new was prolonged. Notwithstanding the outward appearance of quiet in England and Germany in the still and under current of life, this struggle is more vehement than ever; and we shall briefly notice the course of events connected with the progress of this contest in the subsequent parts of this work.

We shall first refer to all those changes and occurrences by which the constitutions and institutions of the middle ages were either more or less changed, accommodated to the demands of the age, or wholly destroyed in all the continental states, and to the history of that democratic storm which was raised by the malcontents in England and America. This will be succeeded by an account of the manner in which Pitt allayed this storm immediately after the termination of the American war, which

had threatened the destruction of old English abuses before and during its continuance. He deceived the people, and furnished new supports to the oligarchy and aristocracy through the whole of Europe at the very moment when the old building of feudalism and the hierarchy in France were tottering to their fall. In the prosecution of the history it will be shown in what way the enemies of all progress with the age and of every improvement found in Pitt a support of the real though legalized abuses of the earlier times, and how the friends of these legalized rights, which had become wholly incompatible with the demands of society, relying confidently upon the authority of Montesquieu, leaned and supported themselves on the oligarchy and plutocracy of England. In conclusion, the mere detail and application of the facts will prove that Pitt, till the day of his death, carried on an incessant war in England itself and in all the states of the continent by means of sophists, money, ships and mercenaries against every radical improvement, and supported every species of tyranny.

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## § II.

### PORTUGAL.—POMBAL.

Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho and Melo, who was created count of Oeyras and afterwards marquis of Pombal, whom we shall hereafter call by the last and shortest name, had been introduced in his youth to king John I., who was a person of a sickly constitution; he however made himself intolerable to the king by his incessant fertility in plans and projects. In order to remove him from the court, he was first sent on some trifling affairs to London, and secondly upon business of graver importance to Vienna. In these cities he became acquainted with the French philosophy and the new theories of political economy and statecraft, and convinced that the jesuits, who exercised unlimited dominion in Portugal, and had the whole system of instruction completely in their hands, had kept his countrymen more than a century behind the spirit of the age. The queen of Portugal, who was an Austrian princess, had the management of the government during the very frequent attacks of absence of mind and incapacity under which her husband laboured. Pombal

had been employed by her in the execution of affairs of various kinds in Vienna, and he no sooner married her friend the countess Daun, than she resolved to recall him from his embassy and to take him into the ministry in Lisbon. She had formed this resolution before the death of her husband, which took place in July 1750, as we learn from a letter of the French ambassador in Vienna to the ministry in Paris. In this letter, written in the beginning of the year 1750, and which may be seen in the archives of the foreign office, the ambassador, among other great commendations which he bestows upon Pombal, announces that he was destined to become minister for foreign affairs in his native land\*.

King John died immediately after the arrival of Pombal in Lisbon, and his widow, as guardian of her son Joseph, was so completely under the guidance of her friend, Pombal's wife, that it was very easy for Pombal to make himself so indispensable to the young king, as to maintain his influence even after the death of the queen his mother. The young king was of an indolent character, shrunk from every effort, was licentious and extravagant, but entertained a childish fear of his wife, from whom he carefully concealed his amours. He was as superstitious as the humblest peasant of his superstitious nation, he was as cowardly as Pombal was courageous, and the latter kept him in such a continual state of suspicion and anxiety, that the

\* Correspondance d'Autriche, No. 244. Blondel writes as follows, under date of the 10th of January 1750: "M. de Carvalho a été long-tems ministre de Portugal à Londres, d'où le roi son maître l'a fait passer ici (à Vienne) pour y employer ses offices afin de rétablir la bonne intelligence entre cette cour et celle de Rome (Maria Theresa had abolished the patriarchate of Aquileja). Il a été également chargé de faire recouvrer à l'électeur de Mayence les bonnes grâces du pape. Dans ces deux affaires il a donné des preuves de son habileté, de sa sagesse, de sa droiture, de sa douceur, et surtout de sa grande patience, et il s'est non-seulement concilié la bienveillance de toutes les parties intéressées, mais aussi de tous les ministres étrangers et des personnes de considération qui sont ici. Il est noble en tout sans ostentation, il est sage et très-prudent, rempli des sentimens et principes d'honneur, ne visant qu'au bien général et je sais qu'il n'a pas dépendu de lui que l'impératrice n'adoptât plutôt des sentimens pacifiques. Il est aussi bon citoyen du monde qu'ami solide, et il a été fort regretté de la cour et de la ville. Il a environ 50 à 55 ans, et s'est marié à Vienne depuis 4 ans à la fille du général de Daun, dont les enfans sont établis les uns en Italie, les autres en Bavière, d'autres dans l'empire, et elle a aussi une fille chanoinesse de Remiremont." He then adds, that his wife was very unwilling to leave Vienna, because she had to take three children along with her, whom she was afraid of losing; and that he himself had often said, he would much prefer an appointment in France to one in his own country, but now it is said he is about to become minister of foreign affairs in Lisbon, and his wife "dame du palais de la reine."

king from fear resigned everything into his hands in order to secure his favour and protection.

Wraxall, who only first became acquainted with Pombal when he was seventy years of age, speaks of his features, his giant build and his language as characteristic of all that energy which he had exhibited for twenty-seven years in the public administration; it would appear therefore as if nature had from the first designed him for a reformer and dictator. In order to lessen and correct our ideas of the cruelties which he practised in his reforms, we must remember that in Asia, Africa and Southern Europe our cold and tedious morality is completely unknown and compensated for by warm feelings of religion, which take heaven by violence; and moreover, no one except a monarchical Danton or Robespierre would have been able to snatch Portugal from its state of powerless subjection to the institutions of the middle ages. Pombal appeared to have been raised up to organize a monarchical system of terror, and he alone could have succeeded in bringing Portugal nearer to the other states of Europe and to the spirit of the new age. He is nevertheless wholly undeserving of the name of a reformer in the true sense of the term, for there was no real connexion in his measures: he failed in carrying through the most of the things which he commenced, and as he knew neither measure and object, nor mildness in his course of action, what he actually effected by violence, power and severity, was sometimes good and just, and sometimes unjust and evil. This general opinion will still be found true, when we have read the latest work respecting Pombal, and have learned to admire the various talents of the man, from a consideration of the original documents contained in the work, and from the extracts which are given from Pombal's own writings. As, however, we are less concerned with Pombal's personal character and talents than with the spirit of his administration, we can only refer our readers to the work itself, in order that they may become acquainted with other views of his administration\*.

The first contest of the Portuguese minister after he was firmly seated in his position, was that which he commenced with the

\* 'Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal, with extracts from his writings and from despatches in the state-paper office, never before published. By John Smith, Esq., Private Secretary to the Marshal Marquis de Saldanha.' Lond. 1843. 2 vols. 8vo. In the January and February numbers of the Heidelberg Jahrbuch, the most important passages of the work are given and its value pointed out.



order of jesuits, to whom we refer in this place in their political relation alone, as Pombal had as little idea as the jesuits themselves of effecting any moral or real religious improvement. The jesuits were regarded by him as a dangerous independent aristocracy with a chief dwelling in Rome, which as a hierarchical power, and as the guardians of the secrets of the confessional of almost all the princes and nobles of Europe, were far beyond the reach of any secular arm. This was equally true of all the European states; but in Portugal in particular, the order, by the possession and use of great wealth, acquired by trade, and of a flourishing colony, threatened the complete oppression of the state, which was entirely in its power. Shortly before Pombal became minister the order of the jesuits had obtained a temporal dominion in Uruguay in America, secured for themselves all the privileges of government and legislation, and threatened to draw the whole trade of private individuals to themselves by various speculations and large commercial adventures in the Antilles and the European ports. The order was in ill repute for its casuistry, by virtue of which regicide and bankruptcy might be equally justified, as Arnauld and Pascal had proved in the preceding century. The danger of allowing such an order first to sustain speculators by its credit and then to allow them to fail, had been so clearly proved in Pombal's time in the superior courts in France, that the parliament at that time zealously pressed for the abolition of the order.

The order of jesuits had long been accused of carrying on for its own profit a system of usury and slave-dealing, and even a trade in small wares, which properly belonged merely to the humbler classes of the people; but the full extent of the evil was only first brought to light in the case of the bankruptcy of the jesuit De la Valette, which was discussed before the French parliament, when it appeared that in reality the casuistry of the order was used as a means of defrauding creditors. Notwithstanding the strict prohibition by which pope Benedict XIV. had forbidden all ecclesiastics to engage in worldly speculations, the jesuit La Valette had become concerned in a very considerable branch of the West India trade at St. Peter's in Martinique. The order at first disapproved of his undertakings and recalled him, but he was afterwards appointed general superior of the order in the Leeward islands, and in 1747 his speculations were supported by the money and credit of the fraternity. This jesuit

had connexions in all the great commercial harbours of Europe, and sent agents and established factories in all directions: the order was well acquainted with the state of affairs, and shared in the advantages of the speculation as long as it proved successful; but fortune no sooner changed, than they wished to give up him and his creditors at the same time.

On the breaking out of the war between England and France in 1756 the ships of the jesuits were captured, and the house of Livonay and Gouffier, Brothers, in Marseilles, was obliged to provide for the payment of bills to the amount of a million and a half, which they had accepted on account of the goods thus captured, and which had been consigned to them by the jesuits. The holders of these bills and other creditors of De la Valette made claims for payment upon the order, which had hitherto guaranteed the credit of the house in St. Peter's. The order was unwilling to meet the demand, and an action at law was at length commenced against them, because it appeared from many of the commercial letters that the general of the order had at first acknowledged that the property of the society was responsible for the engagements of the trade, from which they afterwards attempted to withdraw, and very ridiculously offered the Marseilles' house a number of masses for their souls instead of money. A great number of houses of consideration were at that time ruined in consequence of their connexions with De la Valette; all the law courts were now occupied with actions against the jesuits, but the latter had influence enough at court to obtain an order in council (Aug. 1760) by which all these actions were transferred to the grand chamber of the parliament of Paris.

The jesuits expected to be able to smother all inquiry before this high tribunal, but they were disappointed in their expectation, and the whole of Europe was astonished at the things which were brought to light, because those trials were not carried on before these tribunals as they are before our imperial courts in Germany under the seal of secrecy, but all was treated and argued before the public. The issue was, that the general of the order, and in his person the order itself, was adjudged to pay the bills and condemned to pay the costs of the prosecution as well as damages.

The parliament moreover did not even rest here. It did not satisfy itself by prohibiting, upon the motion of the procureur-général, De la Valette and all other ecclesiastics, directly or in-

directly, under pain of heavy penalties, from engaging in mercantile speculations or trade, but it ordered a legal investigation to be undertaken, with a view to inquire whether and in how far the order in general was dangerous to the laws of the kingdom, or obstructed their execution. The constitution of the order, its internal arrangements as well as its external government, the morality preached and practised by its members, the most distinguished writings of its most influential and accredited moralists and casuists, were all closely and legally examined, and declared to be injurious, in a printed judgment, which was accompanied with the reasons and grounds of the decision. We shall hereafter state the way in which the affair became so important, that the procureur-général, who now for the first time became acquainted with the first bulls of the popes for the establishment of the order, and regarded these as attacks upon the highest functions and privileges of the temporal government, appealed (*appel comme d'abus*) to the judicial power of this government, and proposed the abolition as well as the limitation of the order. All this, as it will afterwards be seen, was the effect of mere cabals in France, because the Catholic pietists or jansenists in parliament cherished an old grudge against the jesuits, and were secretly supported by Pompadour and Choiseul. Moreover, the pope himself had issued very severe orders in 1741 against the practices of slave-dealing, usury and banking, in which the order had engaged. In February 1741 Benedict XIV. published a bull, by which, without naming the jesuits in particular, all orders whatsoever and all ecclesiastics were strictly forbidden to engage in any description of trade or commerce, to exercise any temporal authority, or to interfere with the sale or purchase of the converts. This bull failed in producing its intended effect, and in December another was issued expressly against the jesuits. The latter, entitled "*IMMENSÆ PASTORUM*," which is remarkable as being the first manifesto published by the pope against the order of jesuits, was particularly directed against their conduct in their missions in Asia and Africa, in Brazil and Paraguay.

The bold spirit of usurpation which the jesuits continued to display, notwithstanding the pope's first bull, after having caused the *IMMENSÆ PASTORUM* to be launched against them, urged Pombal also to the adoption of his first strong measures against this dangerous order. In their missions in Paraguay, both in

the portions which acknowledged Portugal as their sovereign state as well as those which acknowledged the supremacy of Spain, they had contrived to obtain complete possession of the secular administration, by having secured for themselves the most extraordinary privileges from the kings and queens of these nations, who were entirely subject to their guidance and dominion. No Spaniard or Portuguese was suffered to set foot in their missions without their special permission. This ecclesiastical temporal state, which was governed by the jesuits after a patriarchal fashion, appeared indeed to many to be the very *ideal* of a true government, so that Muratori, in a work written expressly with this view (*Christianesimo felice*), and three French philosophers of a very different stamp, Montesquieu, Condamine and Raynal, have praised it as a model for the world. It fared with these missions as with Anson's description of the Ladrone and their inhabitants, which are so beautifully delineated in Rousseau's '*Heloise*,' and with George Forster's description of Otaheite at the time of Cook's second voyage. According to the opinions of monks, and that portion of the philosophers who imagined that a state of virtue without sin and passion was possible on earth, the life of the Indians under the paternal government of the jesuits was like a calm and peaceful sea which reflected the image of the Creator. We shall not detain our readers by proving in detail that this celebrated government may have been very good for angels, although wholly unsuitable to the destination of man upon earth, but shall proceed at once to place, in opposition to the views of such visionaries, the authority of the pope, who represents it as dangerous and destructive.

The pope had sent the bull which has been referred to to the bishops of Brazil, and insisted that the king of Portugal and the bishop of Para should take charge of its execution. From this it appears that the bishop and king exercised some jurisdiction in the missions which constituted a portion of the Portuguese territory, which was not the case in that part of Paraguay which acknowledged the supremacy of Spain, because this was governed exclusively by the jesuits. The pope in his bull, under threats of the greater excommunication, forbade all and each, and the jesuits expressly by name, to make slaves of the Indians, to sell, exchange or make presents of them, to separate them from their wives and children, to despoil them of their property, or to injure

or molest them in any other way whatsoever. He even forbade all faithful Catholics to lend aid or counsel to those who acted in any way in contravention to the orders prescribed in the bull, or who maintained in sermons, by instruction or other ways, that it was right and lawful to treat the Indians as slaves. The king of Portugal commanded the bishop of Para to use all due means and diligence to have the pope's bull strictly carried into execution: the jesuits however resisted, and the bishop had allowed the matter to rest from 1742 till 1747, when circumstances gave occasion to a new dispute between the Portuguese government and the jesuits.

King John V., who at that time still ruled, was frugal and covetous of wealth; one of his subjects in Rio Janeiro, named Gomez Pereira, persuaded him that immense treasures might be derived from the mines of Paraguay, which were in the hands of the jesuits; the king, therefore, resolved to bring the long disputes to a conclusion which had been carried on respecting the colony of San Sacramento and the smuggling in Para, by the acceptance of the ceded territories which were proffered to him by the Spaniards in Galicia and Paraguay. With this view he applied to his daughter Barbara, who, as the wife of king Ferdinand, exercised as unlimited a dominion in Spain as Elizabeth of Parma had formerly done in the reign of Philip V. The jesuits had the minister Ensenada completely in their power; he in his turn ruled the decisions of the king of Naples, who was presumptive successor to the crown of Spain, and induced him to send a formal protest to Madrid against the fulfilment of this projected exchange; Barbara, however, proved to have more influence than Ensenada, the jesuits, and the king of Naples. Spain accepted the proposal, and ceded the district of Tuy in Galicia and the seven missions\* of the jesuits in Paraguay, and obtained in re-

\* These seven districts were named St. Angelo, St. Laurence, St. John, St. Michael, St. Louis, St. Nicholas and St. Francis Borgia. When we consider the conduct of the Spaniards and Portuguese towards the Indians, and know what a dreadful state of morals now exists in the republics of South America, and at the same time bear in mind how peaceful and contented the inhabitants were under the dominion of the jesuits, how fanatical they were, like the Chinese, and found their happiness in a state of non-progression, and afterwards that they immediately fell together with the jesuits, we are forced to the conclusion, that it would have been better for them, as well as for the Chinese, to have suffered no foreigners to intrude. In every district there was then a Dr. Francia, with this difference only; that the jesuit who was at the head of the administration of the district united the priest and the temporal ruler in his own person.

turn San Sacramento. This exchange led to disputes with the jesuits, and finally even gave rise to military expeditions on the part of the Spaniards and Portuguese against the Indians; and notwithstanding the treaty, the king of Naples no sooner ascended the throne of Spain, than he carried out the spirit of his protest, annulled the treaty of 1761, again took possession of the districts previously ceded, and restored San Sacramento only to take it in the following year by force of arms, and afterwards to restore it a second time.

The jesuits in the meantime continued to place a confident reliance on their still unshaken influence in Spain, till the time of Carvalho's dominion in Portugal. When we call to mind the manner in which the Spaniards and Portuguese were accustomed to behave towards the Indians, and the example which they gave them, when we think of the state in which these countries now are, we can in some measure excuse the conduct of the jesuits in not granting to any Spaniard or Portuguese the privilege of entering their missions without their permission. In fact, they succeeded at first by means of the Spanish confessor Ravago and the minister Ensenada in obstructing the execution of the agreement for an exchange, to the great advantage of the Indians, who were collected together in villages and towns on the Uruguay and Maragnon, for the purpose of community of labour, of preserving discipline, life and property, and guarded like sheep by their shepherds; they even succeeded in Portugal in prevailing upon the government to send an ambassador to Madrid to conclude another treaty. Barbara, however, proved obstinate, and was still more powerful than the jesuits. Ravago was dismissed, Ensenada overthrown, and precisely at the very moment in which Pombal's dominion commenced (1751), the manner of the cession was settled by a new treaty. Commissioners were appointed on the part of both nations for the purpose of surrendering and taking possession of the missions occupied by the jesuits.

The execution of these measures, however, was attended with other difficulties than those which originated from the jesuits,—the Indians themselves were highly dissatisfied with the cession of Paraguay to Portugal, and offered strong resistance to the execution of the treaty. When we bear in mind that some of the most admirable and distinguished men were selected from the whole of Europe, and especially from Germany, to preside

with love over these missions, the jesuits who opposed the Spanish and Portuguese government, however prosaic and practical they were in other respects, will appear on this occasion as poetical visionaries in dispute with diplomatic and administrative prose. It was proposed not only to remove the Portuguese colonists from San Sacramento on the Rio de la Plata, which was ceded to the Spaniards, but to rob the Indians of their lands, and to conduct those to other settlements who had been gathered together from all quarters of the forests and the wilderness, won over to civilization, and were united peacefully together like Hernhuters in their villages and settlements.

The two commissioners\* met with resistance from the Indians, who felt themselves perfectly happy in their state of spiritual dependence and subjection; and as the jesuits, by means of the unconditional submission which the Indians rendered to them as their confessors, could have very easily prevented this resistance, accusations were brought against them, both in Spain and Portugal, as enemies of the royal power. The enemies of the jesuits even accused them of acting upon this occasion according to the principles which their most celebrated casuists had set forth, in order to make it easy for the confessors of their order to grant absolution in cases in which it was refused by other ecclesiastics. It was said of them, that the generals of their order publicly commanded obedience, and gave directions that they should cause all the decrees to be read from their pulpits and submit to their commands, but that they secretly encouraged resistance. These accusations of their opponents remained altogether unproven, and furnished the jesuits and their friends with good grounds for affirming, upon the expulsion and suppression of their order, that their members had never been guilty of any of these offences, and that the persecution with which they were visited was the consequence of a conspiracy hatched by the marquis of Pombal in Lisbon, Choiseul in Paris, and the duke of Alba in Madrid.

The active resistance of the Indians led the Spaniards and Portuguese to meet force by force, and a formal contest arose, which led to no very conclusive or satisfactory results as long as the matter was wholly left to the three thousand Spaniards and the thousand Portuguese who had been sent to aid and carry

\* These commissioners were Gomez Freire de Andrada and the Spanish marquis de Valdelirios.

into effect the objects of the commissioners; in the year 1753 Pombal adopted different measures. He sent a considerable army into the district, gave the command of it to his brother, Franz Xavier Mendoza, conferred upon him the office of governor of the province, and entrusted him secretly with full powers to destroy and for ever put an end to the secular dominion of the jesuits in this territory. The last part of the commission was kept a profound secret, and Pombal also delayed its execution till the death of the dowager queen of Portugal, who was a blindly devoted adherent to the order. These severe measures against the jesuits were first carried fully into operation in the year 1755, in which the capital of Portugal was visited and almost destroyed by one of the most dreadful earthquakes which has ever occurred in Europe. In the severe measures adopted against the order in Paraguay by Pombal's brother and the bishop of Para, who lent him his zealous co-operation, they did not so much rely on the authority of the royal command to justify their persecution, as upon the bull, *IMMENSE PASTORUM*, issued by pope Benedict XIV.

Almost the whole city of Lisbon lay in ashes and ruins; it was said that above 30,000 persons had lost their lives by the earthquake, and the want and distress which ensued were so great, that benevolent contributions were sent from all parts of Europe to relieve the distress; none but a man like Pombal could have thought at such a time, and under such circumstances, of changing the existing order of things by means of force. Even before he was prime minister he had contrived to push all his creatures into the public offices of the state, and he was no sooner appointed to be the head of the administration, than the whole country was inundated by his decrees\*. The edicts which he issued, and of which we shall advert to a few,

\* These documents are published at full length in the *Life of Pombal*, written in Italian and published in Florence and Venice, 5 vols. 8vo. This work was recast in French and published in Amsterdam, 4 vols. 1789. It was also abridged by C. J. Jagemann in German, and published in Dessau, 1782, under the title '*Das Leben Sebastian Josephs von Carvalho und Melo, Markis von Pombal, Grafen von Oeyras, gewesenen Staatssekretärs und ersten Ministers Joseph Königs von Portugal, aus dem italienischen übersetzt.*' This book contains a running complaint against Pombal, and an apology for all his enemies, especially the jesuits; but this does not lessen the value of the documents themselves. Herr von Murr, in his *History of the Jesuits in Portugal* during the administration of the marquis de Pombal, warmly defends the order, and even in his journal to promote the *History of the Arts*, he endeavours by some very singular documents to save their honour.



in order to show his views and the tendency of his reforms, relate to all the concerns of life, to ecclesiastical and social police, as well as to the management of domestic affairs.

One of the very first acts of his administration was to abolish the yearly exhibition of burning men for heresy (*auto da fê*): limits were set to the power of the Inquisition in general, and the infliction of all punishments, or cases involving punishments, were referred to the decisions of the secular tribunals. The conventual and religious houses were strictly forbidden to bring, or cause to be brought, young women of good fortune from the Brazils and to receive them into their convents, with a view of enriching their several orders. Restrictions were soon placed upon the nobility also, as had been previously done upon the clergy. Pombal behaved towards the high nobles precisely as Charles XI. of Sweden had done towards the same class in his kingdom, with this exception, that the latter rested the defence of his conduct upon the declaration of the estates of the realm. In the Portuguese possessions on the coasts of Asia, Africa and America, whole districts, lordships, and large estates which at first belonged to the crown, had come into the hands of private families, as was also the case in Sweden in the seventeenth century; all these alienations were reclaimed, and all the estates which had come either by gift or occupancy into the hands of private individuals were resumed by the crown, and the families who were thus arbitrarily and violently deprived of their properties received very inadequate compensation.

By this resumption of crown lands which had been long in the possession of the nobility, the members of this body lost much of their influence and power, and the measures must be allowed to have been executed with great rigour. The island of St. Michael, one of the Azores, for example, belonged to the count de la Riviera, whose family had ruled there with princely dignity for at least three hundred years, and had established a variety of manufactures; they were however obliged to give up their possessions. The same severity was everywhere exercised, and imprisonment and death arbitrarily inflicted upon all those who showed themselves discontented with the scientific and philosophic system of government of the prime minister, which had been introduced since the death of the queen dowager. The first years of Pombal's administration may be very fitly compared to the times of terror during the French revolution; for

the whole of the dreadful and subterraneous prisons, and all the towers and castles were filled with prisoners of state.

Should it be asked, how it was possible that the cowardly, superstitious and weak king could approve of such a revolutionary method of proceeding, this will be best explained by calling to mind, that from the time of the disputes with the jesuits he lived in a continual state of fear, not only of the order, but of his nobility and his brother Don Pedro. He had therefore completely thrown himself into the arms of his minister, who surrounded the king and himself with guards, relying upon whose protection, the weak king rejoiced that by the instrumentality of his minister he was able to exercise a dominion uncontrolled by the people or the nobles, such as was enjoyed by Louis XIV. or Frederick of Prussia. We must leave it to the authors of the special history of the kingdom to follow out the individual steps taken by Pombal to promote his reforms. The praises which he so well deserved, supported and proved by documents, may be read in Smith's 'Memoirs,' which have been recently published; we have and keep a different object in view, and shall therefore only refer to the measures adopted by him, in common with Spain, against the order of the jesuits, and the steps which were resorted to against the nobility, for which he was furnished with a pretence by a project against the life of the king.

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the jesuits as an order, and of the whole of that system of conversion and civilization which was effected by the instrumentality of monks and pietists, it must be admitted that the jesuits in America, in their contest with Spain and Portugal, not only suffered in their own cause, but in that of mankind and of humanity also. The Indians, whose own views and feelings should have been first and especially consulted, found themselves physically better under the dominion of jesuitical ignorance, and the mechanical worship which was connected with it, in their state of servile dependence and unconditional obedience, than thousands of Irishmen now do in the midst of all their freedom, and thousands of free English labourers who are even as ignorant as were the Indians themselves; the former have often nothing to eat, and the bread of the latter is weighed out in their workhouses in the most nicely balanced scales, in order that they may merely prolong a miserable existence. Pombal's

object was to abolish the whole system of those institutions and that social training which rested upon prejudice and superstition, upon which in reality all human things are more or less founded, and to do away with all principles of government which were dependent on theological dogmas; but in this attempt he was actuated by a principle which sprung from the philosophy of the eighteenth century, which was at least a thousand years in advance of the Indians. He pretended to be guided by the spirit and the political economy of the new age; but this in reality only took place in edicts, which were to be carried into practice by secretaries and knaves. The jesuits however were by no means justified in the course which they pursued, because Pombal was in error.

The armed resistance of the Indians continued through the whole of the unfortunate year 1755 and that which followed, till it was terminated by as great cruelties as those by which Cortes and Pizarro had formerly effected their conquests over the rich kingdoms of Mexico and Peru. When the regular troops of the Spaniards and Portuguese were brought into the field against the unpractised Indians, who had continued to live in a state of simplicity, victory was no longer doubtful; and the consequences of victory were the infliction of death or slavery, the wasting of the lands and their productions, and the removal to other districts, by the philosophical despot, of all those among the protégées and converts of the jesuits who were unable to find a refuge in the primitive forests, deserts and ravines from which the jesuits had originally drawn them forth. The struggle with the Indians in America was no sooner ended than another was commenced with the order of the jesuits in Europe, which Pombal however carried on for the first two years in secrecy. The order had struck too deep root to justify any minister in the bold attempt of committing himself in an open struggle with such a powerful body; the jesuits however were oppressed, although they were still at that time in possession of all the offices of confessors about the court\*. They knew however too well, that Pombal had inspired the king with the belief that he

\* When Joseph mounted the throne in 1750, the jesuit Joseph Moreira, whom Pombal contrived so to deceive as to make him an instrument of his own promotion, held the office of confessor. The German jesuit Joseph Ritter was confessor to the queen-mother; Timothy Oliveira to the royal princesses; Hyacinth da Costa to the crown-prince Don Pedro; and Samuel de Campos and Joseph Araugio, all of the same order, to the king's cousins

was only secure against their power and that of the nobility under his protection.

The prime minister, who was desirous of carrying on the whole course of the administration by means of edicts and a state police, attempted to follow the same principle in the management of the trade with Brazil, and with the cultivation of vines and the wine-trade in the northern provinces of Portugal. By this means he effectually succeeded in preventing the jesuits from carrying on the trade with Brazil on their own account and for their own advantage, but instead of leaving it free as he ought to have done, he placed it under greater restrictions than ever. He was desirous of drawing the profits of this trade into the king's exchequer, and with that view established a company for its prosecution, but destroyed its chance of success or prosperity in the very birth, by depriving it of that freedom of action which is the first element of successful commerce. His object was merely to use the company as the servile instrument of his own speculations, and he was therefore laughed at and deceived by the merchants, who in such things are much more clear-sighted than the ablest diplomatists. He not only wished to regulate the trade with Brazil, but also that of Oporto, by re-scripts\*. He no doubt adopted and enforced some extremely good regulations for maintaining and increasing the reputation of the wine, by forbidding the continued cultivation of vines in unfavourable situations, and at the same time promoting the culture of other productions; every one however complained bitterly respecting his arbitrary conduct in wishing to confine the whole wine-trade of Oporto to a privileged company. This step gave rise to a dangerous outbreak in Oporto, which Pombal immediately ascribed to the jesuits, and punished by a dreadful military execution.

Even the measures which he adopted on account of and after the earthquake, although in themselves prudent and humane,

Don Antonio and Don Emanuel. In addition to these confessors, the German jesuit Rochus Hundertpfund was in great favour with the queen, and the Italian Gabriel Malagrida with the king.

\* The English minister Kay, from whose despatches Smith (vol. ii. p. 46) quotes a passage in which Pombal's plan is very shortly and clearly explained, came to a very just conclusion when he said: "This minister has undoubtedly great and avowed abilities, but I am afraid it will be found that the foundation he has to build upon is too narrow for the superstructure of his plan. The subjects of Portugal have no funds of their own sufficient to carry on the trade on their own account."

were enforced in a severe and arbitrary manner. He caused the public granaries to be thrown open, because hundreds of persons who had not been buried under the ruins, or killed by the falling buildings, were wandering about like ghosts and dying from hunger. He adopted measures for the immediate import of grain from all quarters, abolished the duties upon corn, and strictly forbade the export of provisions of any description. The water-conduits which had been destroyed were also immediately restored and carefully maintained. The indescribable misery which resulted from this calamity gave occasion to murders and plunder in such a country as Portugal. Pombal applied remedies for this evil also, but by the use of most horrible means. Thieves and robbers, regardless of the most imminent dangers, and urged by their covetousness, ventured into streets which were masses of ruins, and carried away property from churches, palaces and private houses before the very eyes of the inhabitants, who were trembling for their lives. To put an end to this fearful system of plunder, the minister ordered guards to be placed at all the outlets from the city and in every street, and summary justice to be executed upon every one who either refused or was unable to give a satisfactory account of what he was carrying. Hundreds of gallows were erected around the circuit of the city, which was filled with the dead and the dying, and with persons robbed of all their property and means even of present existence; and on these gallows three hundred and fifty people were hanged within three days.

At the very moment at which Pombal proved himself to be a delivering angel, and was devoting his labours day and night to the public preservation and the restoration of order, the clergy, and especially the jesuits, endeavoured to expose him to the hatred of the people as an enemy of God. Sermons were preached against him from every pulpit, and a report was industriously put into circulation, that the whole of their misfortunes, and even the earthquake itself, was a visitation of the divine wrath on account of Pombal's conduct towards the clergy. The jesuits at that time had recourse to the same pretext to which many of the demagogues of our own days are accustomed to resort, and ascribed their own mad projects to the government police. They alleged that Pombal himself had intentionally got up this popular tumult in Oporto, in order to furnish a pretence for involving the jesuits in its consequences. The most highly

honoured of the jesuits, a man who would now be regarded as insane, the renowned father Gabriel Malagrida, had invented a peculiar method of mechanical spiritual exercises which he alone was able to direct, in order that he might have the king and the whole of his superstitious family completely in his power\*. Nothing however resulted from his attempts; Malagrida was banished to St. Ubes; and when at length all the princes, the whole royal family, and the grandees were induced to give utterance to the strongest opinions respecting the ungodliness of the jesuits, the minister cunningly availed himself of this prevailing feeling to influence the cowardly king, and to prevail upon him to have recourse to extreme measures against the whole body.

The king placed as much confidence in the allegation of a minister whose mode of thinking and religion were as different from his as those of Voltaire were from the convictions of a Capuchin or Carthusian, as the weak Louis XIII. had formerly put in the assurance of cardinal Richelieu, whom he personally hated, that his energy alone was able to protect him against the power of his grandees and his family, who were stimulated by the jesuits; he therefore sacrificed his dearly-loved jesuits to his minister. At Pombal's instigation, king Joseph signed the severe decree by which all jesuits were banished from the court, which the minister caused to be executed after his own fashion. On the night between the 19th and the 20th of September Pombal caused all the jesuits at the court, then in Belem, at some distance from the capital, to be removed and conducted to Lisbon, and their places at court were immediately occupied by other ecclesiastics. This step against the court confessors was immediately followed by others against the whole order and its constitution.

In order to justify the steps taken against the jesuits, and to

\* George Moore, in his 'Life of the Marquis of Pombal' (Lond. 1814), has given such an admirable description, in the person of father Malagrida, of that class of persons who are again becoming so numerous among us, that we willingly present it to our readers. In p. 287 he says that Malagrida insisted upon the *exercitia pietatis*, in order by the mechanism of these exercises to fill the king with a deep impression of the horrors of hell: "So that (he continues) he hoped soon to appear triumphant at the head of the *exercises* in the palace. The object of the good father's proceedings was sufficiently obvious; he wished however to cloak and disguise it under a pious turn of sentiment. Being pressed by some of the enemies of the minister to be a party in their designs, he answered in the genuine style of sanctified malice, *that he would do nothing but pour out his sighs and groans in silence before the Lord.*" The author has devoted the whole of chap. xi. vol. ii. to this fanatic.

induce all the monarchs in Europe to regard them as decided enemies of the temporal power of princes, Pombal had recourse to a remarkable expedient, which excited great attention throughout the whole of Europe. He published a manifesto against the order, which was eagerly read at all courts, produced a great effect in Austria, and enabled Kaunitz to prevail upon Maria Theresa to adopt many measures to which she never would have consented except for Pombal's publication. This manifesto, or rather book, against the jesuits, appeared under the title, 'A short Account of the Conduct of the Jesuits in the New World, and especially of the War which the Spaniards and Portuguese were obliged to carry on with the Indians who were under the Dominion of this Religious Order.' This account, to which the whole of the official documents connected with it were appended, was printed to the number of 20,000 copies, and distributed all over Europe. It was singular enough that the provincial of the jesuits forbade the publication of any answer to this account. In order still further to justify the order which had been issued, forbidding the jesuits to appear at court, another official paper was published, in which they were charged as being the promoters of the bloody insurrection in Oporto\*.

Both these criminatory reports were sent to the Portuguese minister in Rome (October 1757), and he was instructed to seek and obtain from pope Benedict XIV., who was then mortally ill, a complete reform of the order; and as early as February 1758, a new and urgent note on the same subject was presented to the papal court. The pope yielded to the solicitation and issued a brief in April, by which the patriarch, cardinal Saldanha, was appointed to examine and reform the abuses of the order in the kingdom of Portugal†. Saldanha, by means of an ecclesiastical procedure, never thought of supporting the rapid temporal measures of Pombal, which stood in remarkable con-

\* This was entitled 'A short Narrative of the late Events and recent Conduct of the Jesuits in Portugal, and of the Secret Tricks played by them at the Court in Lisbon.'

† Breve. "S. P. N. Benedicti p. p. XIV. Litteræ in forma Brevis quibus Eminentissimus ac Reverendissimus D. Franciscus S. R. E. Diaconus Cardinalis de Saldanha motu proprio constituitur et deputatur in visitatorem et reformatorem clericorum regularium societatis Jesu in regnis Portugalliæ et Algarbiorum et in Indiis orientalibus et occidentalibus regi fidelissimo subiectis." This brief, together with all the minutes and documents connected with it, will be found given at full length in Jagemann's work already referred to.

trast with the usual tardy proceeding of ecclesiastical justice against ecclesiastics, and which cut up the order by the very roots.

1758 In May, Saldanha published an edict in which the jesuits were declared guilty of having violated the papal mandate by which they were strictly prohibited from engaging in trade or temporal affairs; he again repeated the prohibition in the strongest terms, and commanded them to abstain from all trade or usury, commerce or speculation, which they were neither to pursue in person nor suffer others to pursue on their account. This was quite in the usual order of ecclesiastical justice: the following was something more in Pombal's manner. The jesuits in their sermons and in the confessionals excited the people; even after Malagrida was removed, the others continued to complain, to sigh, and to point to the visitations of God's wrath; the patriarch therefore commanded them, on the 7th of June 1758, to abstain from all preaching and from hearing confessions till further orders\*. The jesuits were now immediately protected from further ecclesiastical persecution by pope Clement XIII., who, as successor to Benedict XIV., took the order under his special protection. This circumstance would have placed Pombal in great difficulty, had not the extravagance and unfaithfulness of the king to his marriage vows furnished him with an opportunity in autumn of involving the order in a criminal investigation with respect to a charge of high treason.

Pombal had previously turned to account in a masterly manner some unsuccessful attempts which had been made against his own life in order to destroy his enemies with some appearance of justice, and now he availed himself of a murderous attempt against the king as a pretence for carrying out his system by the power of the military and police, precisely in the same manner as the French ministers in our days have availed themselves of similar crimes to give Louis Philippe a firmer seat upon his uncertain throne. The attempt upon the king's life proceeded from one of the most distinguished families of Portugal, and one which was in the closest alliance with the jesuits, and particularly with Malagrida; this circumstance enabled Pombal to involve both the high nobility and the jesuits at the same time in the suit. There was here no need of a star-chamber or a

\* This was very despotically announced: "*propter justa motiva, nobis nota, eaque magni obsequii divini et publici,*" as it is stated in the terms of the edict.



house of peers composed of *parvenus* ready to pronounce a sentence of guilty ; the nature of Portuguese justice greatly facilitated the condemnation.

If any strict ideas of matrimonial fidelity had prevailed in Portugal, the family of Tavora, from whom this attack proceeded, would have had private causes sufficient for wishing to effect the death of the king without any need of having recourse to the allegation of high treason ; but this family had long continued to profit by the indulgence of the king's passions, without entertaining any idea that their honour was injured. The head of the family was Joseph Mascarenhas, duke of Aveiro, grand chamberlain of the royal palace ; his brother-in-law was the old marquis Francis de Tavora, whose wife had long lived on terms of intimacy with the king, till in 1752 Joseph fell in love with the wife of the young marquis Louis de Tavora. This lady, Donna Theresa, was her husband's niece, and he for years had been aware of her familiarity with the king, as the family had previously known of his improper intimacy with the old marchioness. The court was in Belem, and the king was obliged carefully to conceal his visits to his mistress from the knowledge of his wife. On this account he often drove out secretly in the disguise of a private individual whilst he was supposed to be engaged in his cabinet with Pombal, and the latter was accustomed to remain in the cabinet till his majesty's return. On one of these occasions, on the 3rd of September 1758, the king, to preserve his incognito, drove out in order to visit the marchioness in the carriage of his friend Texeira. The family of Tavora regarded this as a favourable moment for executing their design, and the duke of Aveiro placed some desperate men, whom he had hired for the purpose, in ambush in three different places on the route, in order to waylay and fire upon the king. The duke himself had taken his position at the first station, and as soon as the carriage approached he fired at the coachman, but without effect, whilst of two other shots which were discharged, one wounded the king slightly in the shoulder and frightened him almost to death. The coachman immediately wheeled round, and did not drive back to Belem, but to the house of the marquis of Angeja, by which the king escaped the danger of the two remaining parties. The duke of Aveiro, however, had as bad a reputation on account of his personal character as the old marchioness of Tavora. Under the preceding government he had got everything in his power,

through the aid of his uncle, father Gaspard, who had immense influence with John, but was at that time on no friendly terms with the jesuits; he had now lost all influence with the government through Pombal, and therefore again became reconciled to the jesuits, who were also enemies of the minister. The old marchioness's friends consisted exclusively of persons of this order; and shortly before the murderous assault upon the king, she had gone to St. Ubes to visit father Malagrida, who was then living in exile, in order that she might practise the spiritual exercises which had been invented by him immediately under his own direction. These two circumstances, together with the position which the order had assumed towards the Portuguese government, that is to say, the prime minister, furnished the chief means of involving the jesuits in the suspicion of being privy to this plot.

After this event, and in consequence of the slight wound which he had received, the king remained for three months completely secluded from the world in his palace of Belem, whilst the minister with his usual vehemence urged on the prosecution against those who had been guilty of the attempt, as well as against those innocent persons whom he was anxious to involve in the consequences of their crime, although for months no important discovery was made. The king was unaccompanied, and did not return till it was late to the palace at Belem, after having his wound dressed and bound up at the house of the marquis d'Angeja; and Pombal was not able to elicit grounds for implicating the Tavora family and the jesuits in the plot, or of bringing a judicial accusation against them, till December. No sooner, however, were some traces of their guilt discovered, than several regiments of cavalry and infantry were collected, and during the night of the 13th of December 1758, most of the members of this family were arrested; but what is singular enough, the duke d'Aveiro himself was overlooked and not seized upon till the following day. The cruelty which was practised on this occasion on all the members of this family, who were accustomed to the indulgence of princely luxuries, is quite characteristic of the whole of Pombal's government; it may however be observed, that in Denmark in 1772, cruelties of a similar kind were inflicted upon Struensee and the noblest and most meritorious men in Germany.

The accused were torn from their beds, immediately put in

chains like the most desperate criminals, and shut up in those narrow dens which had been used before the earthquake as cages for wild beasts. Those ladies who were regarded as peculiarly guilty, or at least represented as such, were sent to prison in the convents, and others were placed under a guard in their own houses. As their enemies were desirous of implicating the jesuits in the crime, guards were at the same time placed upon all their establishments, and every person who desired to visit a jesuit who lived in any of these establishments, colleges or seminaries, was obliged to sign his name in a book kept at the door. On the following day, cardinal Saldanha, as papal visitor, issued an order to the whole body of the jesuits, forbidding any of them to leave their respective houses without his permission. As the whole of the examination respecting the attempted murder was conducted in secrecy, according to the usual method, and by the application of torture and all those other means of criminal inquisition which were customary in those times, when guilty persons were certainly to be discovered and confessions extorted, it is quite impossible to form any opinion with regard to the guilt or innocence of the accused; it is however undeniable, that numerous confessions of guilt were really obtained. A small book, which was wholly composed of such confessions, was printed and published on the occasion of their condemnation, the whole process having been brought to a termination in a single month.

The case was the same in this as in all other charges of political offences,—the one party exaggerated the crimes and the number of the guilty, and the other represented the whole as a mere invention. It can scarcely be denied that the accused had entertained designs upon the life of the king, but the means which were employed to prove their guilt are wholly incapable of being justified; and the official account of the murder story is so improbable in its connexion and circumstances, that it is easy to comprehend how the whole affair might afterwards become a matter of doubt, and it might be alleged, that no attempt whatever had been made upon the life of the king, but that the enemies of Teixeira had really supposed him to have been in the carriage and wished to murder him. The horrible vengeance which was taken by Pombal would of itself suffice to make him and his philosophical reform objects of detestation.

The investigation was brought to a close on the 9th of January, and on the 13th the cruel judgment was executed on the prin-

cial offenders. The aged marchioness of Tavora was beheaded, the duke broken on the wheel, the chamberlain burnt, and others brought to the gallows. Besides those who paid the penalty with their lives, a number of others, who stood even in the most remote connexion with the condemned, were thrown into prison, and the very description of the treatment which they received fills us with horror. All the dungeons and convents were full of prisoners; the marchioness Theresa alone was treated with consideration, but she was accused of having betrayed her father, her mother and her relations by blood. She was afterwards acquitted and provided for, and was still alive in 1794.

The public prosecutor, who was unwilling to be used as Pombal's tool in this prosecution, because he was attached to the old methods of proceeding which Pombal wished to root out, was dismissed from his office, and the minister himself drew up the report upon the crimes of the condemned\*, the judgment upon whom was pronounced by commissioners whom he had selected for the purpose out of his family. By this judgment and report the most distinguished† among the jesuits were implicated in the plot, and two days after the execution of the secular criminals, they were dragged forth from their seminaries and colleges and cast into prison. The minister would also most willingly have implicated Don Pedro, the king's brother, in the plot, because he was completely devoted to the jesuits; but he did not venture to make the attempt. Don Pedro, in contempt of all laws human and divine, by means of a dispensation from the pope, was afterwards married to his own niece, the princess of Beira and heiress to the throne. From this time forward there commenced a struggle with the jesuits, in which we must not venture to appeal to any principles of justice or right, but whose effects were as salutary for Portugal and for the whole of Europe as the times of terror in the French revolution, or

\* The minutes of the proceedings and an abstract of this report may be seen in the Appendix No. 10. of Jagemann's book.

† We here subjoin the names of the individuals:—Moreira, formerly confessor to the king; Hyacinth da Costa, the queen's confessor; Timothy d'Oliveira, confessor to the princesses; St. Gabriel Malagrida, who once, by a prayer offered to an image of the Virgin, succeeded in causing a ship to float which was fast in the sand, upon which occasion the king and all the people followed him and the image in procession; Joseph Perdigao, procureur-général of the order; Joseph Soarez, procurator of Maragnon; Henriquez, provincial of Portugal; Johann Matos, Johann Alexandro, and afterwards Stephan Lopez and Joseph Oliveira.

Buonaparte's autocracy, or an earthquake; that is, it served completely to destroy what was obsolete, which is always more destructive in its remnants than if things had continued in their previous condition.

On the 19th of January 1759 an edict was issued, by which all the estates, revenues, rents, merchandise,—in short, property of every description belonging to the jesuits in Portugal, were placed under arrest. Pombal acted upon the same principle whose avowal has rendered Danton immortal, that in a revolution, daring alone leads to any results (*osez, c'est tout*). Without paying the least attention to the views of the founders or to the object of the institutions, he laid claim to the whole wealth of the jesuits and to all their estates on behalf of the crown, and did not suffer himself to be led away from his purpose by the cry of heresy and sacrilege which was raised throughout the whole of Europe. The minister knew well that similar measures would be adopted in Spain, France and Naples, which in reality took place immediately on the death of king Ferdinand of Spain, and therefore he felt no apprehensions from the alarm which the pope and the German bishops attempted to raise in these kingdoms. Pope Clement XIII. issued a declaration directed to his nuncio in Madrid in favour of the order, and thirty-six bishops of all countries, together with all the cardinals and the three ecclesiastical electors of Germany, published a letter to the pope, in which they earnestly besought him to lend his continuous and vigorous support and protection to the order; but all to no purpose.

All the courts and the catholic clergy themselves were agreed in thinking, that the falsehood and schemes of the confessors and many members of the order, as well as their principle of persecuting all the opponents of their order as enemies of God, demanded a reformation; even the pope could only venture to submit some modest doubts in opposition to the apparently judicial proofs which were laid before him, of the participation of Malagrida and other jesuits in the attempt which had been made upon the king's life, and did not therefore venture to refuse Pombal's request, to issue a brief, by which permission should be given to the secular tribunals to commence a prosecution against the spiritual members of this order. At the same time in which the pope wrote to his nuncio in Madrid in favour of the order (April 1759), the minister had caused a memorial, in

the name of the king, to be sent to the pope in Rome, in which the grounds were fully developed on which the king rested his indignation against the whole order, and could no longer suffer them to remain in his kingdom. The crown prosecutor or attorney-general appended an official letter to this memorial, from which we incidentally learn how totally inconsistent it must have been with the administration and government of a well-regulated state for catholic rulers to endure the presence of a society in their respective kingdoms, whom they were not permitted to summon before the legal tribunals of the country without first obtaining permission from Rome. In this letter the attorney-general craves permission not merely for the present occasion, but for all future times, to be allowed judicially to prosecute and condemn all ecclesiastics who, like the jesuits in this case, should take part in plots for compassing the king's death.

The king's letter was accompanied by a correct list of all the various properties possessed by the jesuits in Portugal, and the pope's opinion earnestly requested as to the mode of their disposal and application. This request led to a dispute between Pombal and the pope, but the former showed himself on this occasion possessed of a noble and iron resolution. He exhibited as much indifference to consequences as the Spanish government has shown itself to possess in our days, without however being able, as in their case, to appeal to the will of the representatives of the nation. The pope, it is true, drew up the desired brief; but it applied only to certain persons therein expressly named, was deficient in legal form, and accompanied by other papal letters, in which, under the usual smooth and canting phraseology, a strong protest against Pombal's conduct in the case of the jesuits was concealed. The pope was well aware that the king and the royal family entertained opinions on the subject of church and state the very reverse of those which were held by the minister, and he therefore enjoined the nuncio to deliver the brief and letters to the king himself and not to the minister. Pombal had however obtained such an influence and power over the king, that though the latter was blindly attached to the church and the pope even with absurd superstition, yet the nuncio's efforts proved vain. The minister had contrived to obtain a previous knowledge of the contents of the brief and the pope's letters, and he persuaded the king to refuse to receive them.

The pope signed the brief and the accompanying letters on the 11th of August 1759, whereupon the Portuguese minister immediately sent a solemn protest to Rome, and in September Pombal commenced a course of action against the order of jesuits, whose severity can only find its parallel in the kingdoms of the East, or in Russia. On the 13th of September one hundred and thirteen priests, all belonging to the order, and many of them old and estimable men, were forced on board a Ragusan ship, subjected to all the inconveniences of a difficult voyage, and even to a want of the common necessities of life, before they were at last landed in Civita Vecchia in a state of destitution. In the beginning of October, cardinal and patriarch Saldanha, as visitor of the order, published a royal edict, which affected the whole body of the jesuits.

In this edict all jesuits were declared to be rebels, traitors and enemies of the kingdom, and even those who had been born in the country were pronounced to be foreigners, banished from the kingdom, and threatened with death if they ever ventured again to set foot on the soil of Portugal. Immediately afterwards a second Ragusan ship was freighted with jesuits and sent to Civita Vecchia. Without entering into a minute account of the tragical history of these transportations, which were carried into effect in the midst of winter, in miserable, dirty and confined ships, destitute of all provision for the health or comfort of the unhappy exiles, a judgment may be formed of the suffering of these aged and in many cases honourable men, from the knowledge of the single fact, that they were obliged to remain in these miserable ships from November 1759 till January 1760. Three hundred younger priests were afterwards sent to the states of the church on board two Swedish ships. The king of Portugal was reduced to the greatest perplexity when he confirmed all these measures by his sign manual. On the one hand, he entertained a great feeling of dread for the pope, who, according to his conviction, could hurl him into hell; and on the other, his minister inspired him with fear for the preservation of his bodily life, by arraying before his mind the poison and daggers of the jesuits, their adherents and friends. The last fear, being that which was most imminent, prevailed.

Pombal saw clearly enough that he should never reach his object with pope Clement and his friendship for the jesuits by

means of these Romish forms ; he was therefore by no means dissatisfied with the difficulties which were made by the pope, and intentionally sought for an opportunity to come to a breach. An irreconcilable contest was carried on with the nuncio Acciajuoli, whom the pope had elevated to the dignity of a cardinal and wished to recall ; but the minister declined the proposal of receiving another papal representative, and intentionally insulted the cardinal nuncio, in order to send him out of the kingdom with disgrace. The occasion selected was the marriage of Don Pedro with his niece, which was solemnized in virtue of a papal dispensation. Previous notice of the celebration was, according to custom, sent to all the foreign ambassadors ; but the nuncio was intentionally overlooked. The consequence was, that the nuncio took no part in the rejoicing or testimonies of respect which were shown on the occasion.

This occurred on the 6th of June (1760), and as early as the 15th Acciajuoli was banished not merely out of Lisbon, but was not allowed time to write to the secretary of state, or even to hear mass ; as soon as the royal command was communicated to him, he was placed in a state of complete isolation, and under an escort of dragoons conveyed to the frontiers of Spain. About this time the Portuguese minister sent whole bundles of papers against the order of the jesuits to Rome, and against the conduct of the nuncio, and finally broke off all intercourse with the pope and his ministry.

The pope was very anxious to avoid coming to a rupture and proceeding to extremities ; but he was also at length obliged to take some public steps in the matter, when the Portuguese minister brought the whole affair before the public by placards posted upon the church doors in Rome. The Portuguese minister afterwards left Rome, but he remained in Tuscany, and from thence sent forth and put into circulation a great mass of papers directed against the papal see and the jesuits. These writings were sometimes only condemned in Rome and sometimes publicly burnt ; but Pombal and the pope were both inspired with too strong an attachment to diplomatic wisdom to have led them completely to break off all intercourse on that account. It appears however that the minister forbade all Portuguese subjects to reside in Rome, but suffered some contributions in money to be sent thither, and the pope on his part



granted some spiritual favours to the vanity of the minister, as, for example, the privilege of a portable altar for the masses read in his presence.

Clement XIII. was obliged to give up the cause of the jesuits and succumb to Pombal's influence, by whom Portugal was now for ever delivered from the tricks and devices of this ecclesiastical order. An anxious desire was felt for the restoration of the order after the death of Joseph II.; but its abolition was still maintained, as well as many other things whose restoration was longed for, and which would have been re-introduced if means had not been wanting. Pombal, besides, did not shrink from counter-acting one prejudice by another, and putting down one species of fanaticism by the influence of another equally as dangerous: this may be illustrated by the case of the poor jesuitical saint, father Gabriel Malagrida. Pombal had at first caused the old and weak-minded man to be included in the number of those who were accused of being implicated in the attack upon the king's life and in the judgment pronounced upon the whole family of Tavora, but he found it much easier afterwards to deliver him up to the Dominicans as a heretic. For this purpose he availed himself of the Inquisition, whose powers had been previously limited by himself, but which was afterwards allowed to celebrate its *auto da fé*, according to former custom. If one might form an opinion from the writings of Malagrida and from the judgment pronounced upon him, it would be, that this old man, who had reached his seventy-third year, and who had always been weak-minded, had at length become insane; but because the jesuits always regarded him as a model of piety, and acknowledged and honoured him as a saint, it appeared to be a triumph for Pombal to be able to have him condemned and burnt as a heretic by the Inquisition, which published a long judgment\* explanatory of the heresies for which he was condemned.

These circumstances furnish abundant proofs of the small grounds which the friends of the progress of reason, of its influence on politics, or application to the religion of the people and to worship, have to rejoice in the changes effected by Pombal in

\* This document may be seen in the 'Life of Pombal,' already frequently referred to, Part I. pp. 392-424. no. 19. The judgment is signed by Gama, Castro, Lemos, Xavier da Sylva, Geraides, Synbra, Carvalho, Sylva, and Freyre.

Portugal. The vehement and restless activity of the minister in favour of a progress consistent with the age was the less likely to be followed by any favourable results, as he himself and a few other enlightened persons stood quite alone in their appreciation of the wisdom and principles announced in their edicts; for even the king was wholly addicted to that same dark superstition whose influences Pombal was endeavouring, by virtue of the king's signature, wholly to destroy. The future queen and her husband were deeply distressed at every step which was taken in opposition to old prejudices and customs, and longed eagerly for the moment when it would be in their power to restore everything to its ancient footing. Because Pombal had the people, the grandees, and even the court against him, and was also by nature a despot, he was obliged always to have recourse to measures of violence and tyranny, which in the beginning of his rule he had not a regular army to enforce. Before the year 1763 the Portuguese troops consisted of a mob of persons of all sorts, without discipline or regular pay, wholly destitute of honour, and therefore useless and unfit to be employed against foreign foes.

It is reasonable first to state the advantages which were gained by Pombal's despotic measures, before we speak of his administration of justice and police. Portugal, up till this time, had been held in more than monkish darkness respecting what was going forward in other countries, and the improvements which were introduced; the first advantage therefore consisted in the government itself being obliged to disseminate knowledge. In order to meet and counteract the denunciations uttered in the pulpits, and the poisonous insinuations sent forth from the confessionals, as well as the doctrines daily propagated by the monks and clergy in private houses, the government was compelled to have recourse to newspapers, books, manifestos and other documents, to point out the difference between religion and superstition, fanaticism and priestly dominion. Neither the influence of these books and writings, nor Pombal's institutions, could be rooted out again in the following reign. It was further especially important for the whole of catholic Europe, and for all those princes and ministers who were disposed to pay regard to the demands of the age, that a proof should be given to the world, in a country so completely dark as Portugal, that the energetic will of a single individual was able to check and withstand the dark-

ness of the middle ages and to promote the light of the new age, in spite of the power of the jesuits and the pope. This effect was particularly produced by means of the writings which were put into circulation by thousands by Pombal, in the name of the government, and which were composed in such a strain, that the judgments, edicts, manifestos, arguments and books, published by the Portuguese government, respecting the affairs of the jesuits and the contest with the pope, were not suffered to be disseminated or even to be read in Spain. In Austria, Kaunitz turned these writings to account for the promotion of knowledge by inducing the empress Maria Theresa to place no obstructions in the way of their general circulation, but rather to encourage the printing and explanation of Pombal's reforms in the Austrian newspapers.

In addition to the immediate advantages which have been mentioned, Europe gained a still greater mediate one from Pombal's vehement attacks upon the jesuits, by having exposed before the world for the first time, the true character of the jesuit schools, the nature of the instruction therein communicated, and the value and contents of that description of science, which since the decline of learning had been exclusively cultivated by the order itself. They alone had the complete direction of the schools: the order sought out, and, if possible, incorporated in their own body all the men of the most promising talents, of whose sophistical powers they afterwards availed themselves, precisely in the same manner as the doctrinaires on the Seine and the Spree now employ historians, philosophers, theologians and journalists. Those persons whom the order either could not or would not use, that is, the stupid, narrow-minded and superstitious, whose heads were filled with dead knowledge and *memoriter* science, and who therefore remained blindly attached to mechanical learning, were left to the state to fill its offices and superintend its business. Pombal has furnished the most conclusive proofs of this fact in the edict by which he deprived the jesuits of the privilege of giving instruction in the schools. In this paper it is stated, as a thing universally known, that "they not only obstructed the growth of knowledge by their dark, pedantic and narrow-minded methods of instruction, but even contributed to the decline of the learned languages, an acquaintance with which they always pretended to be especially desirous of promoting. They were in the habit of harassing their scholars

for eight, nine, or even ten years with learning grammatical rules, without acquiring a knowledge of the language itself, or becoming acquainted with the authors who used it."

Pombal appointed a different class of teachers, prescribed new methods of instruction, caused new school books to be introduced, and transferred the whole direction of the national education to an enlightened and well-educated man, the chamberlain Thomas de Almeida. The university of Coimbra was completely reformed, its statutes renewed, the whole system of instruction altered and new professors appointed\*. When the minister afterwards founded a peculiar institution for the education of the sons of the higher classes (1766), it became apparent to all how grossly the jesuits had neglected the duty of providing able teachers for the instruction of the people. The whole of Portugal was unable to furnish a man who was competent to give instruction in those branches of science which are necessary to a liberal education, or even in the modern languages, and they were obliged to engage an Irishman and two Italians. Schools for the people there were literally none, and Pombal found it necessary to establish them anew; and this he did in such a way, as to entitle himself to the great merit of having been the first founder of any tolerable elementary instruction in the kingdom of Portugal. In Lisbon he founded besides a school of industry, which was indeed brought into operation in a very tyrannical manner; but if it had not been so it would doubtless have remained altogether useless, and never have been visited by the idle mob of the Portuguese capital. He caused the vagrant boys in Lisbon, who were accustomed to idle about the streets, or to bask in the sun in the public squares, to be seized upon by force, and to be kept under strict superintendence in the vast arsenal till they had learned some useful trade.

He followed the same course respecting the improvement of trade, commerce and agriculture which he had pursued with education. In order to guard against the accident of the capital becoming dependent on the introduction of foreign grain, he caused many vineyards to be destroyed: that indeed he was able to effect by force, but he failed in what in reality he wished

\* The author of the 'Memoirs' has devoted the whole of the 20th chapter, part 2, to the subject of education. He states, that there were 80 new professors appointed in the university, and 887 new teachers established in various parts of the kingdom.

to accomplish,—the conversion of these vineyards into corn-fields. Although therefore, in other respects, he abolished monopolies and promoted trade, yet, as the necessity for the importation of foreign corn continued, he was compelled to play the tyrant in the trade in the prime necessities of life. The corn trade at that time was indeed in the hands of usurious speculators, who were able to raise or depress the prices at their will, and therefore wholly dependent on a few capitalists; the measures, however, which Pombal adopted were precisely similar to the course which has been pursued by Mehemet Ali in Egypt. The minister claimed the sale of corn as the privilege of the government, and sold and bought at fixed prices. It is alleged, besides, that the Portuguese in general, and Lisbon in particular, was better provided for under this system than it had been by any other.

The Portuguese possessed extensive colonies in Asia, Africa and America, and it had been the custom for centuries for those who possessed slaves in the colonies and brought them with them to Europe, to regard them as slaves still; so that it was recognised as a principle, that all their descendants by father or mother should continue to be slaves also: Pombal abolished this enormity. He established the principle that every man born in Portugal was free, and caused it to be carried into effect with all that energy which was peculiar to his character. There was a prejudice existing respecting the difference between new and old christians, which also even the authorities recognised; the minister never rested till the public opinion gave way to his determined will. In religious questions indeed he often appeared weak and remarkably inconsequent, but he was obliged, sometimes at least, to spare the king, the royal family, and the mass of the people.

Pombal carried his spirit of reform among the various orders of monks, and again united those estates, which king John had presented to the church on account of his ridiculous patriarchate, to the crown domains; he gave every encouragement to printers, publishers and authors, and abolished many holidays and useless customs, whilst he suffered the continuance of many things which should have been among the first to fall under his condemnation. The censorship of the press was now more strictly put in force than ever, in his own sense indeed, and the Inquisition was at first limited in the sphere of its operations, but afterwards, when

he came to need its aid against the jesuits, he restored it to such dignity, that he fell upon the singular thought of honouring this court of conscience, so called, by applying to it the attribute "Majesty." From that time forward *Autos da fé* were celebrated, though no person appears to have been executed except Malagrida; many however were incarcerated, because the minister conceived the project of thus freeing himself of those whom he suspected.

Pombal's measures with respect to trade, commerce, industry and agriculture were neither the best, nor free from selfish views; but they roused up the Portuguese and awakened them from the slumber and idleness of their monkish life, although this rousing was frequently not performed with a very gentle hand. We shall therefore attribute no higher importance to the school of commerce established by Pombal, to the solemn and public examinations which were held in his presence, and to the public attention which he thereby roused, than that he opposed a school of practical life to the prevailing monkish institutions, and a secular celebration which bore upon education and life to ecclesiastical processions. He also contributed very largely to the improvement of agriculture in the province of Alentejo, although we should feel by no means disposed to undertake the defence of all those measures which he adopted with this view; the same may be said of the great canal of Oeyras and of the fair established in the same place. It may be true that he constructed the great canal from Oeyras to the sea, and established the splendid fair, with a view to promote the interests of his own lordship; it was however no inconsiderable benefit, that, in a country where the public funds were only employed in the erection of churches and convents, and in works profitable to the priests, immense sums should at least for once be devoted to the completion of works of immediate advantage to the citizens and peasants.

The author of the recently published 'Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal' has with great justice devoted a whole chapter to eulogise the merits of his hero in the rebuilding and beautifying of the capital. He provided for the security of the streets of a city repeatedly destroyed by earthquakes and now rebuilt by him, he provided an abundant supply of water by means of magnificent conduits, and erected numerous noble buildings for public edifices; but the means by which he accomplished his

objects, however useful, were not the less tyrannical and cruel. The unfortunate inhabitants whose dwellings had escaped the terrific power of the earthquake were obliged to pull down their houses and build them up again at their own cost, according to a prescribed plan and on a given scale, if, either in their external appearance or by their situation, they interfered with Pombal's magnificent plan of broad streets and beautiful houses. Travellers were struck with admiration at his immense architectural structures, the arsenal, the exchange which was connected with it, and the market-house, and it was said there was nothing in Europe of their kind to be compared with these buildings; but, in fact, the only real glory in the matter was, that Pombal's buildings were all erected in the taste and style of the new age, whereas those of John V. retained all the characteristics of the middle ages; for the exchange and the market-house were wholly destitute of merchants and wares, and there was no suitable army or fleet to correspond to the arsenal. Influenced by a love of monarchical splendour, Pombal, after the manner of Louis XIV., forgot that a small portion of the wealth applied to the mere ornament of the capital would have been sufficient to provide convenient dwellings for the lower and middle classes, who lived and dwelt in indescribable misery. Had this been done, the minister's repeated and severe ordinances with respect to cleanliness would have been attended with much better effects; but in despite of all this severity, the misery of the inhabitants again brought back an unspeakable mass of filth into all the by-streets of the city.

Pombal had entertained the wish completely to organize the army and introduce a new system of discipline before he knew anything of the Prussian army and its military training, but he discovered in this, as in most other things, that the Portuguese could not even be compelled by force to the observance of social or military order, because they had been for centuries too obedient to ecclesiastical and monkish rule. In 1759 the Portuguese did not deserve the name of a European army, either in number or in conduct, for, according to Baretti's description, they could only be compared with a band of gipsies, beggars or robbers\*. These troops however rendered quite as efficient

\* Baretti describes the condition in which he found the army in 1759 as follows:—"I am told that the troops kept up in this kingdom amount to no more than 8000; and if the private men are all like those whom I have seen at

services for the purposes for which they were at first used by Pombal, as bailiffs and gaolers, as if they had been the best soldiers in Europe; but when the time arrived in which it was necessary to employ them for the defence of the kingdom, the rabble of which they consisted must necessarily be organized. This necessity arose when Charles III. of Spain, in the character of a close ally of France in the seven years' war, made an incursion into Portugal as one of the oldest allies of England. This circumstance led to a connexion between Pombal and the singular but warlike count Lippe, who had been completely initiated into the whole system of Prussian discipline, and was therefore recommended by the English: Lippe was a man whose character and peculiarities may be best known from Herder's 'Life and Correspondence.'

The new king Charles III. of Spain, who ascended the throne on the death of his step-brother Ferdinand, had entered into such a close union with France by the "family alliance," that a war with England became unavoidable as soon as the Spaniards and French made an attempt to compensate themselves by an attack upon Portugal for the losses which they had suffered at sea. Before however an attack was made upon Portugal, every means had been employed to induce this kingdom to separate herself from her ancient ally, and to make common cause with Spain and France. Spain first set on foot a well-appointed and well-officered army on the frontiers of Portugal, and then king Charles wrote a letter to the king of Portugal, in which he proved to him that his kingdom possessed neither soldiers nor officers, nay, not a single general. The defence of the kingdom against the Spaniards he stated to be impossible, whilst its defence against England, if the latter country should attempt to take vengeance upon Portugal for her defection, would be easy with the guaranteed assistance of Spain. The condition of the Portuguese army, and the whole means of protection or defence were at this time such, that the minister was obliged to pretend that he was not disinclined to enter upon and consider the proposal. He sought to gain time by nego-

Estremos and in Lisbon, there is nowhere in Europe an equal number that looks so wretchedly. The greatest part of them are absolutely in rags and patches; and in Lisbon many of them asked my charity, not only in the streets, but even where they stood sentinels; nor did their officers appear to any great advantage, though they visibly endeavoured to put on a military look, and set their legs in posture of defence."



tations, but the French and Spaniards soon discovered that he was not serious in his purposes, and they therefore ordered the Spanish army to advance into *Tras los Montes* as early as May 1762, and took possession of all the towns in this province.

The English sent an Irishman named O'Hara, afterwards lord Tyrawly, to Portugal, who was to conduct the negotiations, to command the auxiliary troops which they sent and the Portuguese who were to join them, and to organize a Portuguese army: the Irishman however treated the Portuguese, whom he should have endeavoured to win and conciliate, with the greatest degree of contempt; he neither would nor could make anything of such an ignorant, undisciplined rabble. Lord Tyrawly, who was a man of great talents and adroitness, conducted the negotiations in an admirable manner, and at first also took the command of the 6000 English troops which had been sent to Portugal, to be followed by 5000 more, but he was not at all suited to be the general of an army composed of English and a Portuguese rabble. Tyrawly therefore was recalled, and only held the chief command till the new generalissimo of Portugal, who was proposed by the English, could be obtained. The English found this man in Germany among the great number of our insignificant sovereign rulers, who often afforded the most comical exhibitions of their unlimited sovereign feelings and power. The person selected on this occasion was the singular and original imperial count William, sovereign prince of Lippe-Schaumburg.

The mere enumeration of the different places which this imperial German count had visited, proves that he had made various experience before he played his celebrated and renowned character in Portugal. He was born in London, educated in Geneva, Montpellier and Leyden; he then received a commission in the English guards, and was about to leave the guards and enter the navy, when he altered his views, and accepted an appointment in the Austrian service. In the war of the succession he served under the Austrians in Italy; in the seven years' war he was devoted to the cause of England and Prussia, because he had thoroughly studied the Prussian exercises and the strategy of Frederick II. under Ferdinand of Brunswick.

This singular man, who invited two of our earliest and most distinguished writers of the eighteenth century, Abt and Herder, to his capital of Bückeburg, had already made an experiment in military organization in his own small territory, where he after-

wards built a fortress on a small scale. It certainly could not prove more difficult to change 15,000 ragged, ill-paid Portuguese idlers, commanded by officers as poor, idle and beggarly as themselves, into ordinary troops, than it had been to convert the Westphalian peasants of Lippe-Schaumburg into Prussian soldiers. He had however succeeded in training all the inhabitants of his lordship to the use of arms, and made them serve by turns in his little army, upon which he expended the whole of his income, which was by no means inconsiderable. He paid his soldiers well, and in time of peace had raised his army to 800 infantry, 300 artillery and 50 cavalry. He constantly attracted good officers into his service, and when the peasants were completely trained, he suffered them to depart to their homes, in order to be succeeded by others who might go through the same course of discipline. He had been engaged in this manner from the year 1753, but in the seven years' war his military amusement was turned to earnest, he engaged in some serious practice, and in 1757 concluded a formal subsidy-treaty with England.

After the battle of Rossbach, he led a considerable number of his long and well-drilled peasants to join the allied English and Prussian army in Westphalia. George II. appointed him general of the Hanoverian artillery, and he distinguished himself under Ferdinand of Brunswick during the years 1758–59 in all the numerous battles and skirmishes which were fought, but gained especial renown by his conduct in the engagement before Münster. These circumstances led the English ministry to fix upon and recommend count William, together with the prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, as a proper person to defend Portugal against the Spaniards. Count William was to command the allied English and Portuguese army, and to convert the vagabonds of the latter, if possible, into soldiers. The prince of Mecklenburg was first to raise and organise a corps of Portuguese artillery, and afterwards to command it. The Portuguese were favoured by accident and some want of skill on the part of the Spaniards, otherwise the new leaders would have arrived too late. The English, by means of their officers, had so skilfully directed the rising and resistance of the brave inhabitants of the mountains of *Tras los Montes*, which had been occupied by the marquis de Sarria, that he was compelled to evacuate Braganza, Moranda, Chiaves and Moncorvo at the very time at which

count William arrived. The peasants of the mountain districts having risen *en masse*, the marquis afterwards sent 8000 men against Almeida in July (1762), the whole of which division perished in the heat of summer from want, heat, and sickness. The fortress however was finally assaulted and taken in August, after a siege of nine days, by a new and well-appointed force under count Aranda.

Lord Tyrawly had remained in Portugal up till this time; immediately after his departure, count William undertook the command. The English reinforcement of 5000 men not only arrived soon after, but along with them generals Lee and Burgoyne, whose names became afterwards well known in the American war by the capitulation of Saratoga. On this occasion count William, by his skill in tactics and strategy, gained for himself immortal renown, without even venturing to bring his badly organized Portuguese troops into direct collision with the Spaniards. Merely by skilful manœuvring, the selection of positions and encampments by the English and Portuguese, the admirable Spanish army was checked, and prevented from making an attack with advantage, till at length, weakened by sickness and want, it was obliged in autumn to retire from the kingdom. The short and splendid campaign of the count consisted in first passing the Tagus and reinforcing the garrison of Santarem which was threatened by the enemy, and then taking the Spaniards by surprise, which was performed by Burgoyne in a most masterly manner.

Although the war was speedily brought to an end by the peace of Paris, which was concluded in February 1763, count William still remained and continued to act as before, as Portuguese generalissimo. He now attempted to carry through the same radical reforms in the military affairs of the kingdom as Pombal had already effected in the other departments of the state. The count commenced his improvements by endeavouring to inspire the army with some feelings of military honour, of whose existence among the Portuguese troops every trace had disappeared. For this purpose he established by law the practice of duelling, because no sense of honour existed among the troops; and even the officers were not ashamed to fill the place of servants, or to combine some handicraft trade with their military duties. Count William issued a completely new system of regulations for the army, by which not only its internal consti-

tution and arrangements were defined and determined, but also its external relations. The chief difficulty was the payment; up till this time pay had been either so irregularly distributed or altogether withheld, that the soldiers, according to Barette's evidence, were accustomed to beg; and even officers of rank, as reported in the 'Memoirs of Count William,' entered into servile employments. The count could, with the more grace and earnestness, insist upon the punctual payment of the soldiers, as he claimed nothing for himself.

He had no sooner awakened a feeling of honour, and made adequate provision for the payment of the troops, than, according to the usages of the time, he immediately recruited an army of well-trained soldiers from those whose services were no longer needed by other powers after the conclusion of the seven years' war, and then caused the Portuguese army to be drilled and disciplined as he had formerly done in the case of his troops in Bückeburg\*. His reputation drew a great number of French and German officers around him, to whom he gave double pay: in this way an artillery corps was organized by a Swede and a Prussian, and thirty-two regiments of infantry and twelve regiments of cavalry, amounting to 32,000 men, were set on foot and commanded by foreign officers. When the count returned to Germany in 1764, Pombal combined in his own person the dignity of generalissimo with that of prime minister, as Richelieu had formerly done that of admiral of the kingdom, and appeared for the first time in his life in military uniform. Traces of the creative energies of the count of Lippe in military affairs, as well as of the extraordinary exertions of Pombal, still remained in Portugal, even after the kingdom had again fallen under the dominion of ignorance and priestcraft; but these improvements had not struck root firmly enough to become an enduring growth.

Pombal was at that time the object of the most deadly hatred as a tyrant in the nation which he was desirous of reforming; this alone was sufficient to render everything hateful which originated with him amongst a people whose condition he was indeed unable immediately to improve, but whom he annoyed, provoked and tormented by means of his state police and his numerous and detested decrees. He was anxious to bring the clergy also under the yoke, the only persons among the middle

\* See ensign Scharnhorst's account of the count's labour to promote military science in 'Schlözer's Correspondence' for 1782, No. 55. p. 93, &c.

classes who are free in Italy, Spain and Portugal; and because he had not to do with submissive Germans, he durst not in consequence venture out of his house without a guard, and was obliged to have recourse to the most hateful means of maintaining the respect due to his station and rank. Wraxall, who, as regards hearsays, mixes together truth and falsehood, stories, footmen's reports and lies of all kinds, but who is deserving of credit when he speaks as an eye-witness, informs us, that as late as the year 1772 he found all the prisons full of unfortunate individuals, some of whom had been buried in these living graves for fifteen years. A few remarks will suffice to point out and explain the means by which it was at that time attempted to deliver the Portuguese from superstition, and to make them industrious, honest, cleanly and prosperous.

The tower of Belem, fort Bougie at the mouth of the Tagus, and the castle of St. Julien on the opposite bank, were filled with prisoners. In these fortresses the jesuits, who were even then detained in Portugal, had been left to pine away in solitude and misery since 1758, till Maria Theresa succeeded in effecting the liberation of the German jesuits who were still kept in confinement, as well as thirty-eight Portuguese belonging to the same order. In 1772 there were above a hundred prisoners in the subterraneous casemates of the castle of St. Julien, who might be seen from the fortress through the small gratings which admitted a scanty light into the subterranean space, which lay from fifty to sixty feet under the ramparts. These prisoners were for the most part jesuits, and partly in the dress of their order. The numerous European prisons were found incapable of containing the number of the captives, and hundreds were sent in bondage to America and Africa. The number of those who were banished and incarcerated in the intolerable and scorching climate of Angola was so great, that 250 criminals are said to have been implicated in a conspiracy which was discovered. On the other hand, political offenders were brought from all the colonies to Portugal. The manner of proceeding on this occasion may serve as an example of the general policy and practice of the government; the greatest number of the conspirators in Angola were executed, and in 1764 thirty-seven persons, many of them of good station, among whom were two colonels and four captains, were brought at one time in chains from the colonies to the mother-country and heard of no more. The same course was

pursued towards general count d'Ega, who however, as viceroy of India, had conducted affairs quite after Pombal's manner, and strictly carried into execution the decrees respecting the jesuits. The cruelties and terror which were inflicted in the prisons were increased by a tribunal which was called *Inconfidenza*. As a political inquisition, this tribunal, by means of its officers and agents, penetrated into the most secret recesses of family life, and destroyed all confidence even among the dearest friends or nearest relations.

The advantages therefore which Portugal gained through Pombal's administration, and which were loudly celebrated through the whole of Europe, rested upon a very unstable foundation. The most remarkable of these advantages were—security from assassination, which Lisbon has never enjoyed either before or since the time of Pombal's rule; the rebuilding and adornment of the capital; cleanliness of the streets; a free trade in books; an academy which deserved well of the friends of the sciences; a disciplined army, &c. &c. All these momentous changes and creations, however, wholly depended for their continuance upon the absolute power of the minister, and that again upon the life of the king. With respect to the severity of the ministry against the clergy and in ecclesiastical affairs, it deserves to be remarked, that the general feeling of all the temporal governments in Europe was at that time so much akin to that which Pombal exhibited in the administration of Portugal, that the pope thought it advisable not to attempt to counteract the feeling, but to overlook the matter altogether. Pombal at length caused the dispensations which were exclusively reserved to the pope to be distributed by the Portuguese authorities, and precisely according to his humour or judgment he one while forbade the several orders of monks to receive any novices into the convents, and at another he granted them permission. Notwithstanding all this, a Portuguese minister was suffered to return to Rome, and the pope sent a new nuncio (Conti), who made his entry with great pomp into Lisbon, but whose mission was not the less a mere empty form, because everything which was prepared by the nuncio must first be examined and approved of by the Portuguese council and government.

As long as Joseph lived Pombal maintained his influence, and pursued the same energetic course both towards priests and soldiers. He put limits to the number of brotherhoods and

ecclesiastical orders, and availed himself of the aid of his sister, who was herself a nun, to carry his reforming principles even into the nunneries. Military affairs he conducted in the same manner, for he never hesitated to cashier whole regiments if they transgressed his army regulations respecting discipline, or suffered themselves to be guilty of acts of injury or violence towards their officers, who were gathered from all nations and countries. It was at that time generally alleged, that Pombal, on the death of the king, foresaw the destruction of the whole edifice which he had built, because the queen dowager as well as her daughter, the future queen, would undoubtedly immediately restore all that had been abolished as soon as they had the power so to do, and that he was therefore anxious to prevail upon the weak-minded king to appoint him regent and guardian to his grandson; this however is very improbable. It is unnecessary for us to enter into an examination of the probability or the contrary of this report, because we speak only of things which really happened, and there is not even a trace to be discovered of any attempt at the realization of such an idea. On the other hand, it is certain that Pombal prepared himself for entering with the greatest courage on the struggle which was drawing near with the royal family, the court, clergy, and the innumerable and envious enemies of his person and greatness.

The king, who was nearly eighty years old, no sooner became seriously ill than Pombal foresaw his fate (1776), for the queen was appointed regent and he was kept far removed from the sick bed of the monarch. He therefore, shortly before Joseph's death, which took place in February 1777, preferred a request to the regent to be relieved from his official duties, and appealed, as a reason for his request, to his advanced age and his bodily infirmities. In this remarkable document he gives a brief but comprehensive statement of the whole of the arrangements and condition of all the departments of the government at that time\*. No person who reads this paper can fail to be pleased with the ability which it displays and to admire its author, who had raised the financial condition of the country to a degree of prosperity which it had not reached for centuries; he appended a paper to his petition for leave to retire from public life, in which a correct account is not only given of the diamonds in the royal

\* The author of the 'Memoirs,' &c. has given the paper at full length, vol. ii. chap. xxiv. pp. 267-274.

cabinet, but in which it is stated that a sum of 76,000,000 of crusadoes in hard cash was deposited in the royal treasury. The king however died before the regent had returned her answer; he was succeeded by his daughter, Donna Maria I., to whom Pombal preferred his request anew on the 1st of March 1777, which was granted to him by a decree of the date of the 4th of the same month, drawn up in a kindly spirit. The regent, at the end of February, had already released from imprisonment several of the clergy and persons of distinction who had been incarcerated as being implicated in the conspiracy against the king's life, under the appearance of having taken this step by her husband's command: in the beginning of March everything was changed. The new and unholy marriage which was celebrated in the royal family, for which the pope had granted a dispensation, may be regarded as a preliminary announcement of the return to the old order of things: this marriage was solemnized by the command of the late king immediately after his death. It appeared as if it were not enough that the reigning queen should be married to her own paternal uncle, but the son of this marriage must be further allied with his mother's sister, Donna Maria Benedicta. The whole history of this incestuous family furnishes proofs enough that, although the pope might sanction and bless such marriages for money, they had the stamp of God's indignation upon them. This was soon evident in the case of the new queen Donna Maria. Immediately after her father's death she assumed the reins of government, which she shared with her husband Don Pedro; soon afterwards, however, she exhibited traces of insanity, and at a later period became completely mad. As her unsoundness of mind was closely connected with her excessive superstition, she did not wait for Pombal's removal from the presidency of the council, which took place in a few weeks afterwards, but immediately proceeded to take steps for the restoration of all those religious abuses which had previously existed in the kingdom. She restored to the papal nuncio and the saints of the jesuits all the honours and distinctions which they had previously enjoyed among the people. The nuncio immediately played again the character of a spiritual monarch; and the pope received half a million of florins as an indemnification for the expense to which he had been put by the support of the jesuits who were landed at Civita Vecchia. The estates of the ridiculous patriarchate were given back,



the holidays, confraternities and tribunals of the middle ages restored, and those saints of the Romish church who had been the enemies of all temporal sovereigns were again reinstated in the honours of the church and the calendar. This was the case with Gregory VII., Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, and Francis Borgia, whose names had been erased from the calendar by the orders of Pombal. All this took place long before Pombal received permission to retire from his official duties.

The queen was as childishly pious and obedient as she was devotional and superstitious; she was therefore perfectly willing to reinstate everything which had been abolished during the government of Pombal; but she could not at first be induced to determine upon a prosecution, because he had always acted with the knowledge and consent of her father, and had shown his full powers as well as the signature of the king, but she was speedily beset on all sides to call him to account for his conduct. Hundreds were liberated from their subterranean dungeons, among whom were bishops, grandees of the kingdom, and members of families of the first distinction, and especially the sixty jesuits who had been restored to freedom upon the command of the queen; all these combined and allowed the weak-minded lady no rest or peace till she let loose her jurists upon the reformer, with the forms and formulas of their Byzantine criminal law, of which its codes furnish abundance, for the torment of all those who are unfortunate enough to live in countries in which Byzantine justice is honoured. Some idea of the number and power of the minister's enemies at court may be deduced from the fact that he had hunted forth whole crowds of that court mob which, under all sorts of titles and pretences, had wasted or spent on themselves and their pleasures the revenues of the kingdom, or sacrificed them to his own creatures; and that again he had not only met the expenditure, but accumulated a large reserve-fund in the treasury of a kingdom whose exchequer had always been previously empty. In the royal treasury he kept always on hand 40,000,000 of crusadoes, and in the tithe exchequer 30,000,000, which was a thing long unheard of in the history of Portuguese finances.

Pombal shared the fate of all those who have ever attempted to carry through a revolution or even a reform by means of violence and severity; the cruelty, criminality and violence of their measures rouse every human feeling against them to such an

extent, that neither sense nor gratitude remains for the various beneficial changes which they have effected. The numbers of prisoners who were released from their dreadful captivity and dungeons at the king's death, furnish but too strong proofs of the strict applicability of this principle to Pombal, and of the severities which he exercised under pretence at least of serving the interests of humanity, and promoting the cause of knowledge and improvement. In the very first days of the new government five hundred human beings came forth from their cells as from their graves, who had never been brought before any legal tribunal, and their number was afterwards increased to eight hundred. When it was determined to prosecute the marquis, it was alleged by his enemies that during his administration 9640 men had been banished or incarcerated, of whom 3970 had been completely innocent, and of the rest only 800 then remained alive.

The order of the jesuits had now for some years been abolished by the pope; nothing therefore could be done for the whole order, and for that reason several of those who were now released from their dreadful imprisonment were honoured as martyrs. All the persons of distinction who had been condemned under Pombal, and especially the family of Tavora, prayed for a revision of their several cases, which was granted, and new proofs thereby furnished of the manner in which lawyers bend and pervert the law to suit the occasion. The new tribunals found justice to have been entirely on the side of the condemned, reversed the whole of the former judgments, and gave as great a number of reasons for their decision, and quoted as many authorities for the acquittal of the accused, as Pombal's tribunals had given for their condemnation. For two years (from 1777-1779) Pombal was prosecuted before the courts by individuals who brought actions against him for false imprisonment and damages, and a prosecution was not commenced against him, on account of his administration of the state, till he had been first baited and hunted down by the lawyers.

Those who had been judicially condemned under his administration, or arbitrarily incarcerated or fined, were encouraged to further proceedings by the favourable decisions which were pronounced in one case after another; they therefore caused a paper to be drawn up by their counsel, printed and circulated in which Pombal's administration was described in the most

hateful terms, and himself represented as a state criminal. Upon this official attack the marquis could no longer remain silent, and he drew up an answer, which he also made public. In this long justification, which was written in a vehement tone, and drawn up by his advocates evidently under his own direction, he gives a full account of the whole of his administration in a manner not very favourable to the reigning sovereign, and constantly appeals to the will of her father and predecessor the late king. This paper was condemned, called in, and ordered to be burnt by a royal decree\*, and the advocate, as its presumed author, summoned before the courts.

The two highest tribunals of the country did not give their consent to the institution of a judicial process against Pombal himself till after the appearance and condemnation of this justificatory and alleged calumnious paper, and grounded their sanction of the prosecution upon this document. In this way, the marquis, like the elder Cato, was put upon his trial for life or death when he was eighty years old. He lived on his estates, and the courts sent commissioners, who assailed and harassed him for a whole year with interrogatories and hearings, without however subjecting him to any other inconvenience; and the queen even allowed him to visit a watering-place during the investigation. The suit was afterwards prolonged according to ancient custom, and by means of written accusations and defences, assertions and denials, replies and replications, was judicially conducted from January 1780 till July 1781, when at length a severe final judgment was pronounced against the marquis, now in his eighty-second year. In August 1781, the queen overruled the decision of the courts, and limited the punishment to a public disapproval of the manner in which he had discharged the duties of his office, and banishment from the court.

Almost every improvement or change which had been effected by Pombal had disappeared before his death, which took place in 1782. Priests and monks of all colours, jesuits, now called exjesuits, want of police, filth, insecurity for life and property, and a total relaxation of military discipline again appeared; but the whole effects of his exertions and labours could not be rooted out. Murphy†, who visited Portugal in 1789, found many

\* This decree will be found in the Appendix to the second part of Pombal's Life, No. 21.

† Murphy's Travels in Portugal in the years 1789-90.

changes in the old Portuguese life, and every change which he mentions is referred to Pombal. Murphy also takes under his protection the ordinances and measures of the minister respecting the cultivation of vines, as well as the new arrangement of the wine-trade in Oporto, which led to the bloody tumult to which we have already referred. He also approves of the exclusive privileges bestowed upon the wine company, in which he was concerned, and boasts that it had mainly contributed to increase the exportation of wines. In like manner he attributes the improved behaviour of the officers of customs to the attention which had been directed under Pombal to the conduct of these officials, which had been previously almost intolerable. He further boasts that Portugal was indebted to this celebrated minister for an institution of which England was long destitute, and which it has only very imperfectly obtained in very recent times; in England hundreds of unfortunate debtors were continually to be found languishing in the public prisons at the suit of some heartless and intolerant creditor. In 1744 Pombal issued an ordinance, which since that time has continued to be the law in Portugal, by which, on the one hand, debtors were freed from personal arrest or imprisonment at the suit of their creditors, and the means were given to the latter, by which, obtaining possession of the property of their debtors was rendered as easy as it had previously been difficult. Murphy also gives an account of the manner in which the building of an hospital, commenced by Pombal in 1760, came to an end after his fall, in the usual Portuguese manner. At the end of twenty years, instead of a beneficent institution for the relief of the poor and the sick, which was extremely needed, the church of the hospital alone was finished, when in Oporto as well as in all other parts of Portugal, the number of churches was already by far too great.

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### § III.

#### NAPLES.—SPAIN.—DISPUTES WITH THE ORDER OF THE JESUITS.

From the time of the Vienna preliminaries, Charles III. of Spain had been known under the name of Charles IV. king of Naples. He had acquired very different ideas in Naples from those which were usually given to princes in Spain, and in order to explain the earlier periods of his government in the

latter country, we must first necessarily cast a glance upon his government in the former. Fortune had there cast in his way men of great abilities, who thought and worked for him whilst he indulged in the pleasures of the chase, and who understood how to ward off the consequences of his superstitious reverence for the church. Among these men, Charles whilst in Naples placed an unconditional confidence in Tanucci and Squilaci, the latter of whom long afterwards continued to be his adviser in Spain. Charles had first become acquainted with Tanucci in Parma and Tuscany, where he ruled before he ceded the latter state to Francis Stephen the husband of Maria Theresa, and went to Naples. He was at that time in need of the services of a man who was well acquainted with law, and particularly with the law of nations, and who could prepare his political papers; Tanucci, who was the most celebrated advocate in Tuscany, and at the same time professor of the law of nations at Pisa, was recommended to him as well qualified for this duty. The professor accompanied the young king to Naples, and was advanced from the post of counsellor to that of minister of state, for which he was admirably well qualified, because he had made the relation of the church to the state the subject of his peculiar study. In Naples, during the long period of the Spanish and short one of the Austrian rule, the altar had completely triumphed over the throne. The clergy listened more to the commands of the pope than to those of the king, whom the papal chair from the middle ages downwards had been accustomed to call its vassal; and Tanucci, who was now to found a new and independent kingdom in Naples, after a long interruption, was necessarily obliged to commence by setting limits to the power and pretensions of the pope and the clergy.

According to Colletta, Naples contained at that time 112,000 ecclesiastics, among whom were 22 archbishops, 116 bishops, 56,500 priests, 31,800 monks, and 23,000 nuns. In the city of Naples alone there were 16,000 persons belonging to the ecclesiastical order. All these ecclesiastical persons enjoyed important privileges; they were free from the obligations of the common law, as regards their persons and properties, and could even protect all those who fled to their asylums; or to use the technical expressions, they enjoyed *tre specie d'immunità, reali, personali, locali*. Tanucci had no more idea than the king himself of effecting a reform of religious abuses; he was merely de-

sirous of circumscribing the too extensive influence of the church, and setting bounds to the power of the pope as well as of the hierarchy. He thought that a man like Benedict XIV., who had shown himself so zealous an opponent of the worldly views of the jesuits, would gladly grant what he should have been obliged to require from another; he therefore applied to him to conclude a concordat. The pope in fact named commissioners to enter into negotiations with Tanucci respecting the terms of the concordat; this word however has always had something in it ominous of evil, for every such agreement which has been made with the court of Rome, from the concordat of Worms under the emperor Henry V. till the present day, has only served as a snare.

However earnestly the Neapolitan plenipotentiaries pressed for a limitation of the ancient possessions, and especially of the recent acquisitions of the clergy, the papal commissioners, cardinal Gonzaga, cardinal Aquaviva, and the archbishop of Thessalonica, would not acquiesce in their demands, but were willing only to consent to the abolition of some gross abuses with respect to the possessions of the church. The estates belonging to ancient endowments were in future to pay the one-half of the usual taxes, and the newly acquired properties the full amount. The lay estates also which had been included under church lands were now strictly separated from them, their privileges limited, and old though illegal exceptions from taxation (*favori d' uso*) wholly abolished. Tanucci showed his ability and wisdom in not entering into diplomatic negotiations respecting the difficulties and disputes which arose between the commissioners and himself with respect to the concordat, as is now usually done, but in referring their decision and settlement to a mixed court composed of clergy and laymen. Colletta has given such an admirable and graphic account of the changes effected by means of the concordat, that we only deem it necessary to refer to his words\* and pass on to subsequent events.

\* "Le speranze de' sapienti e de' liberi pensatori furono in parte appagate, in parte deluse. Della investitura, della chinea, de' donativi, de' beneficii sul patrimonio ecclesiastico, de' vescovadi da ridurre, de' preti e frati da minorare, della piena abolizione degli asili, del foro ecclesiastico e delle immunità, e, per dirlo in breve, de' maggiori interessi della monarchia non si fece parola nei patti o nelle conferenze del trattato. Abbondava l' animo a' negoziatori napoletani, mancava la speranza del successo. Lo stesso popolo, lo stesso Carlo re, que' medesimi che traevano beneficio dall' assoluta libertà, ignoranti o divoti, non la bramavano."

It was no sooner perceived that the state had gained little or nothing by the concordat, than the conditions of it were explained in the manner most advantageous to the government, or in other words, they were so extended and applied, that finally they were openly overstepped, and such measures were adopted as seemed useful or desirable without paying any attention to the outcries of the clergy. It was first resolved to diminish the number of the clergy, and an ordinance was issued by which it was announced, that only ten priests should be consecrated for every ten thousand souls; and secondly, it was determined that no papal bulls should be published in the kingdom which were not first approved and sanctioned by the king and the government. The clergy were prevented from acquiring any new estates, and episcopal excommunications were declared to have no efficacy which were issued against or in reference to royal decrees. Immediately in connexion with these stood the claims or recorded privileges of the barons of the kingdom, which rested upon pretensions no longer to be reconciled with the spirit and demands of the age. Charles IV. did not however venture to deprive his nobles of these privileges in the first years of his government; on the contrary, when he was threatened by the Austrians in the war of the succession, he restored to the barons (in 1744) many of those feudal rights of which he had deprived them in 1738. The reforms on this point were not seriously thought of till after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, and then at length the government began to devise means, if not of abolishing, at least of setting bounds to the abuses of the middle ages, through which the great landowners and nobles formed an *imperium in imperio*.

Very slight restrictions were at first imposed upon the barons with regard to the rights of property, for the government felt very little concern about the interests of the people, but continually strove to increase the prerogatives of the crown. Many departments of the administration of justice were wholly withdrawn from the barons, and in others the decisions of the baronial courts were made subject to the revision of the royal tribunals, and thus the people were incidentally benefited. Many descriptions of personal service were shortly afterwards abolished, and a law was passed by which it was enacted, that on all future occasions of conferring new feudal tenures, the rights of criminal jurisdiction should be wholly reserved to the

crown. A more important step was made in the progress of reforms in the spirit of the age and in favour of the people, who were oppressed by the hereditary customs of barbaric times, by the passing of a law, by which it was enacted that the rights of the state over the possessions of the barons could never become obsolete by time. Tanucci was a jurist and professor; he felt therefore all that respect for books, parchments, seals and hereditary claims, which every one entertains for what is or has been the particular subject of his study or pursuit, and his views extended no further than to diminish the importance and distinctions of the nobles and clergy, and to increase those of the officers and ministers of the crown. Colletta is therefore also of opinion that the people of Naples gained very small, if any, advantages by these changes, as is at present the case in Germany; a new cast was only added to the two which had previously long existed, viz. that of the officers of state, secretaries and jurists, to whom he afterwards attributes a great deal that was evil\*.

When Charles IV. became king of Spain in 1759, without paying any regard to the conditions of the peace of Aix la Chapelle, by which Parma should have fallen to Austria, he transferred this duchy to his brother Philipp, who should have exchanged it for Naples, and conferred Naples upon his third son Ferdinand, who was yet a child; but entrusted the government of the kingdom to his minister Tanucci till Ferdinand should be seventeen years of age. The eldest of Charles's sons was weak-minded; he caused this fact to be publicly proclaimed in a solemn convocation of the *grandees* of Spain, and his second son Philipp to be recognised as his successor upon the throne of Spain. Neither of the other sons had however exhibited anything like an ordinary share of understanding, and both became infamous in consequence of the disgrace with which they were covered by their wives, whilst they gave up their country and their people a prey to them and to their favourites. Ferdinand of Naples was great as a *lazarone*, insignificant as a king and a man: he may be regarded as the representative of the strongest and rudest huntsmen and fishermen of his kingdom. Everything good which was effected in Naples

\* "Sono i curiali timidi ne' pericoli; vili nelle sventure, plaudenti ad ogni potere, fiduciosi delle astuzie del proprio ingegno, usati a difendere le opinioni piu assurde, fortunati nelle discordie, emuli tra loro per mestiere, spesso contrarii, sempre amici."



in the eighteenth century sprung from the suggestions and power of Tanucci, or from the commands which he received from Spain. Ferdinand was eight years old when his father made him king of Naples, and Tanucci therefore continued for eight years in possession of the highest powers of the state.

Charles III. had no sooner ascended the throne of Spain than he thought of uniting more closely the bonds between Spain and France, which had already become considerably relaxed, and then he endeavoured to bring the finances of the kingdom into a better condition. He felt no desire whatever for the improvement of ecclesiastical affairs, and never thought of taking part in the persecution against the jesuits; on the contrary, he dismissed the duke of Alba, who was accused by the jesuits of having entered into a league with Pombal and Choiseul for their destruction, and would probably have again made their old friend Ensenada his minister, had he not been prevented by Choiseul. His friend and confidential adviser Squilaci had already rendered him great service in the department of finance in Naples, and he therefore committed this department to his management in Spain. The condition of the Spanish finances and the internal administration of the kingdom, insofar as they have no connexion with the progress of the European civilization of the eighteenth century, do not seem to us immediately to fall within the scope or objects of this work, and we therefore do not enter further into their history. We pass over Squilaci's activity and the great services which he rendered to the king and the nation as minister of finance, in order to dwell upon the conduct of some of his colleagues, who in some measure, without the knowledge or will of the king, brought his government into connexion with the Parisian philosophers of his age and with the system of the political economists. This point is closely connected with Charles's political system and with his friendship for Choiseul, who was by no means well-disposed either to the hierarchy or the jesuits.

Charles III. was a very different man in his youth from what he became in his old age. From the time in which he renewed the bond among all the members of the house of Bourbon, by contracting the "family alliance," he entered into the closest terms of confidence with Choiseul, and willingly selected his ministry in such a manner as to be agreeable to the French minister. The Irishman Wall had remained at the head of the

Spanish ministry till the year 1761; he maintained the most friendly relations with England and especially with the elder Pitt, and kept everything upon the ancient footing in Spain; but on the accession of Charles III. he was obliged to retire and to make way for a friend of Choiseul and of the new ideas of reform. Choiseul, as is well known, was a friend of Voltaire and a patron and protector of the anti-jesuitical philosophy, at the same time that he was a favourite of Pompadour, and favoured and promoted all those measures which proceeded from her.

The new minister, who was favoured by Choiseul, was Jerome Grimaldi: he undertook the department of foreign affairs in Spain at the time in which Charles III. was closely allied with France, and was desirous of coming to a breach with England. As an Italian and Genoese, Grimaldi entertained no feelings of regard for mankind or its improvement; he was by far too wise and too much experienced for that, and was wholly devoted to his king and master alone, and not, like Aranda, to the Spanish nation, and therefore the king still continued to entertain the most friendly feelings towards him, even when he was obliged to sacrifice him to his policy. Ensenada, the friend of the jesuits, was the man who had first introduced Grimaldi into public life; Charles III. had sent him to Paris, where the views of the Diderot school were then the fashion in the saloons, as catholicism, romanticism, pantheism and eclectic sophistry are now the fashion in the same city. The Spanish minister shone in these reunions, and adopted just as much of the fashionable colouring as was suitable to the circumstances, and as at a later period, if necessary, he could easily wipe off; he was therefore precisely the man to persuade Charles III. to abolish as much of the old Spanish usages as might be necessary to keep even pace with France. Whilst in Paris he had gained the confidence of Choiseul because he cooperated with him in his labours against England, and therefore, when a war with England and Portugal became imminent, Choiseul procured for him the appointment of minister for foreign affairs in Spain. Charles, like all the rest of the Bourbons, and afterwards especially his son Ferdinand of Naples, was passionately addicted to the chase; he devoted very brief intervals only to the despatch of public affairs, and was at that time surrounded by friends, who, like Grimaldi and Choiseul, like Voltaire and Frederick II., were strongly opposed to priestcraft and monkery, because these

were calculated to diminish and sometimes to overlay the distinction of princes, ministers and mistresses. Reformations were thus and therefore carried on in Spain, in the name of the king, whose significance and object he himself did not fully comprehend.

It deserves to be remarked, that the men who surrounded Charles III.,—who united all their exertions to promote the objects of Choiseul and Grimaldi, to assist in overthrowing the dominion of the jesuits, monks and priests, rendered immortal services to their country, which have been only first recognised and acknowledged by the Spaniards in our own times. We should not indeed associate the name of Olavidés with those of these honourable men, because his liberalism was as impure and egotistical as that of the whole Parisian school, and his knowledge and eloquence as vain as all academic commodities usually are; on the other hand, we assign to Campomanes a place in the very first rank of reformers. As a writer and statesman, Campomanes knew well how to act with prudence and caution, to spare the prejudices and to correct the abuses of his age, and to draw a distinction between that portion of the clergy which was deserving of esteem, and those who were mere priests and monks. He was the first and most distinguished among the founders of a new literature among the Spaniards which had reference to the great principles and movements of social life, and not merely to the fanaticism of catholic superstitions. Campomanes was an admirable jurist and man of business, but he entitled himself to special commendation and renown by writing upon political economy, trade, commerce and agriculture, in such a theological and juristical country as Spain, in a manner which was agreeable to the tastes of the people and accessible to their understandings. Aranda is particularly celebrated for his patriotism,—for a French-and cosmopolite education grafted upon a Spanish stem. Figeroa was a similar phenomenon in Spain as Von Hontheim (Febronius) in Germany: to the secular weapons which Aranda used, he added proofs and reasons, drawn from ecclesiastical laws, of which he was a complete master. We would also have made honourable mention of Monino, had he not, like those who in our days are called philosophers in Paris as well as in Berlin, changed his opinions, modes of thinking and principles, as a man changes his garments. As Monino, he distinguished himself among those who came forward as

enemies of the usages and barbarisms of the middle ages, but afterwards, terrified by the revolution, under the name of count de Florida Blanca, he persecuted, under Charles IV., everything which he had maintained and promoted under Charles III.

The whole of those enlightened men who surrounded the throne of Charles III. in Spain clearly saw that the chief obstruction to the establishment of such a government as the new age demanded, lay in the influence which the jesuits had possessed in Spain since the times of father Neidhard, in their wealth, their schools and confessionals; his advisers therefore laboured to impress upon the mind of the king, that the monarchical splendour at which he aimed was only to be arrived at by promoting the substantial well-being of the people and progressive civilization, and that these were wholly inconsistent with the permanent stability of the order of the jesuits. The king, who attached as much value to autocracy as all those do who are accustomed to rule, was thus led to regard this religious order as rivals, whose power and influence he must destroy in order to maintain his own. The egotism of the king of Spain, who had more knowledge and talents than Louis XV., was turned to the same account by his ministers for the promotion of their objects as the duke de Choiseul used the parliaments of France for the advancement of his. The parliaments received secret encouragement to continue the war against the jesuits, and the Spaniards only waited to see the issue of the contest, in order to induce their king to emulate the conduct of the parliament of Paris.

On his accession to the throne, the king of Spain had been obliged to set bounds to the influence of the jesuits in America, and the abuses to which they had recourse in order to accumulate immense treasures. By their attacks upon the rights of the crown and upon those of the other clergy, he was compelled to resort to violent measures, and had learned from his experience on this occasion that they ventured not only to treat the royal tribunals with contempt, but resisted even the papal commands with impunity. This alone could have induced him to imitate the conduct of the parliament of Paris, or to have had recourse to the violence exercised against the order by Pombal; and withal such a course would probably not have been adopted without the influence of Aranda. The disputes which took place in America twenty years before Charles ascended the throne, between the temporal authorities, the bishops and their chapters

on the one hand, and the jesuits on the other, at a time when Spain was covered with thick darkness, necessarily claim our attention in this place, because the history of these disputes will explain the reasons why the whole of Europe at that time waged war with the jesuits as with a dangerous political power, and why so large a portion of the following history of the nations of Europe is mixed up with that of this spiritual order.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century loud complaints were made in America against the order of jesuits; they were accused of threatening to oppress all the other clergy, both secular and regular, and the archbishop of Mexico had gone so far as, by a public letter, to unmask their covetousness. This archbishop, John de Palafox, was a man of great intelligence, so universally beloved and so pious that the public demanded his canonization after his death. In letters to the pope he described the jesuits to the life, and proved by documents that they would very soon have converted to the use of their colleges all the tithes which belonged to the state and to the several chapters. The case was afterwards brought before the legal tribunals and justly decided against the jesuits. The order, however, confidently relying upon its influence in the confessional, refused to submit to the award of the royal tribunals, and would by no means so far acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the archbishop as to admit that the members of the order should lay before him, as had always been hitherto the practice, the commission by which its members were entitled and privileged to preach and to hear confessions in his diocese.

In consequence of this refusal, the archbishop's vicar-general commanded all jesuits who did not first produce their authority to abstain from preaching or hearing confessions till they complied with this demand, and the archbishop himself published a manifesto, in which the order was accused of having transgressed the regulations of the church in twenty-eight points. The favour of the viceroy had however been won by the order, and its chiefs, relying confidently upon his support, published a decree of excommunication against the archbishop and his vicar-general, whilst the people made common cause with the latter. The viceroy gave effect to the decree of the jesuits, and persecuted the archbishop, whom the people honoured as a saint. The question would have led to the commission of violence and the shedding of blood, had not the archbishop prevented the calamity

by retiring to the mountains, and there taking refuge from the persecutions of his enemies. He and his friends were obliged to remain long in this species of exile, and numerous acts of violence had been perpetrated against them before the Spanish authorities declared themselves in their favour and procured them aid from the king. The viceroy was at length removed, De Palafox brought back in triumph to his palace, and all the steps which had been taken by the jesuits condemned by a decree of the Propaganda and the pope's brief. The jesuits, however, neither paid any regard to the judgment of the courts, the resolutions of the king, nor the Propaganda and the pope; they did not yield to all these combined, but persecuted the memory of the archbishop after his death with the greater vehemence the more zealously the Americans and the Spanish court urged his canonization in Rome.

The jesuits were especially incensed at the archbishop on account of two letters which he had written at an earlier period to pope Innocent XIII., who died in 1724, in which he complained of their order and their efforts to gain wealth and dominion. These letters were widely circulated by copies, and contained an accurate description of the pretensions as well as of the covetous and grasping propensities of the order, together with an affecting account of the persecutions which the worthy and pious man had experienced at their hands. As these letters only came into general circulation after Palafox's death, the jesuits at first attempted to cast doubts upon their genuineness, and when this failed, they caused a complaint to be lodged upon the subject before the Inquisition, had them condemned, and according to the traditionary and ridiculous custom, ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. From a passage in one of these letters quoted in the note\*, it will be seen that the pious man had undertaken the defence of religion against these hypo-

\* "I found," he writes, "almost all the property of South America in the hands of the jesuits. Two colleges of them possess 300,000 sheep, without reckoning the cattle. The episcopal churches and the other orders taken together possess scarcely three sugar-bakeries, whereas the jesuits alone, in the province of Mexico, where they have not less than ten colleges, possess six, and these among the largest. Every such manufactory is worth from 500,000 to 1,000,000 dollars. In addition to these, they own immense estates in land, of some miles in circuit. These are let out for corn-growing, and many of their sugar-bakeries bring them in a yearly income of 100,000 dollars. They possess besides several very rich silver-mines." At the end he seeks to prove, that each individual jesuit, who was a resident in New Spain, possessed a yearly income of 2500 dollars.

crites, and of the spiritual interests of mankind against the worldly views of the priesthood; but this, as is well known, was and is a course which neither catholic nor protestant jesuits ever did or ever will suffer with impunity. King Charles III. no sooner ascended the throne than he became the decided defender of religion in the person of the saint who was persecuted by the jesuits even in his grave. The Inquisition was obliged to reconsider the prosecution against the letters, to recall the sentence of condemnation pronounced upon them, which had been procured by the influence of the jesuits, and the letters, which had been previously only circulated in manuscript, were now printed and generally circulated by command of the king, who at the same time pressed eagerly for the canonization of the archbishop.

Grimaldi and Squilaci now also caused the suit to be revived respecting the tithes in America, which the jesuits had gained under Ferdinand VI. The king in this case had been induced by the jesuit Ravago to have recourse to an act of sovereign authority, although the chapter of Mexico clearly proved, that the cathedral lost yearly a sum of 15,000 florins, and the treasury 25,000 florins by the deceitful practices of the order. The suit which had been previously suppressed by the cabinet was now submitted to the law courts, and they determined that the jesuits, as well as other orders, were bound to pay tithes to the state and to the established church. It soon after appeared, from various other decrees, changes and limitations imposed upon the order, that the ministers had succeeded in inducing the king to follow the same course with the jesuits which was pursued by the French parliament at the same time. We shall therefore, in this place, give some account of the steps taken against the jesuits in France at that time.

The French parliament had taken advantage of the prosecution of De la Valette to bring the case of the whole order of jesuits before the court, and formally to pass sentence of condemnation against them. The king, at the earnest solicitation of his confessor, opposed the execution of this sentence; and the jesuits were favoured by his wife and his father-in-law beyond all the other orders of ecclesiastics. The parliaments of France, like the imperial courts, pronounced sentence it is true in the name of the king, but were wholly independent of him (as *cours souveraines*); they did not suffer themselves therefore to be restrained by the king, but pronounced further decisions against

the order. The jesuits were now placed, from August 1761, in a very singular position in the kingdom of France. The order was judicially and according to the common course of law annihilated; but in fact, and according to the royal will, it was still in existence, and in the full possession and enjoyment of all its ancient rights. The parliament had published two remarkable judgments against the jesuits, which were given at unusual length, accompanied by a full display of legal reasons, precedents and authorities, and caused them to be printed and circulated. In the former of these judgments the whole institution of the jesuits was condemned, all the bulls, briefs and letters of the popes, all the jesuitical constitutions, vows, &c. were declared to be violations (*abus*) of the fundamental laws of the kingdom of France; in the second the sentence was more minutely defined. The order was forbidden to receive novices or to keep schools; twenty-two of their most distinguished writers of authority on jesuitical morality and all their casuists, and many among them such as Bellarmin, Molina, Gretser and Busenbaum, who were considered almost equal to the bible, were condemned as disseminators of rebellion and of doctrines which gave a sanction to murder, equally ruinous to princes and nations, and it was decreed that their books should be burned by the common hangman at the grand entrance to the palace of justice. A war respecting the jesuits now sprung up between the king, supported by the great body of the clergy under the leading of jesuitical bishops, and the parliament, who resolved to carry through their determinations without regard to the court.

The king first granted the jesuits a delay of a year, before the execution of the edicts of parliament, in order, as he assured the high court, to be able to consult the whole body of the clergy of France. Under the title and form of an opinion, the clergy published a defence\* of the jesuits against the parliaments, by which the public excitement was increased, but very little aid was really rendered to the order. The parliaments now commenced a formal dispute with the clergy, and in opposition to this opinion published a full justification of their judicial conduct. The king fluctuated in his views, sometimes influenced

\* There were forty-seven prelates who subscribed and put forth, but only in manuscript, the "Avis des Evêques de France sur l'utilité, la doctrine, la conduite, et le régime des Jésuites de France." The archbishops of Besançon and Rouen, the bishops of Chalons sur Marne and Nevers, refused to subscribe this defence of the jesuits.



by Choiseul and Pompadour against the jesuits, and at another time by his confessor in their favour. The reasons assigned by the parliament upon many points were obvious and conclusive to a man who was so proud of his sovereign rule as Louis XV., and he therefore attempted to obtain a promise from the order, that they themselves would change these offensive points in their constitution. Ricci, the general of the order, placed his reliance upon pope Clement XIII., who was completely devoted to the jesuits, and in a characteristic phrase (*sint ut sunt, aut non sint*) refused to give any promise of improvement, whereupon the king no longer offered any obstructions to the regular course of parliamentary justice.

The question was now mooted as to the best means of carrying the two edicts into execution, so as completely to suppress the order in the kingdom of France; for this purpose preparations were made and preliminary decrees issued in the months of February, March and April 1762, then all the archives and libraries of the jesuits were sealed up, and a judicial inventory taken of the property belonging to every college. On this occasion the jesuits made public use of that sophistical morality and casuistry which has been so often laid to their charge, and declared themselves bankrupts, whilst they were well known to possess immense riches. The final judgment of parliament was first pronounced on the 6th of August 1762. In this edict, which was circulated in print and to which authorities and reasons were appended, the permanence of the order was declared to be inconsistent with the well-being of the kingdom of France. The jesuits were now forbidden to wear the distinctive dress of their order, and it was imposed upon them as a duty, neither to yield obedience to the general nor to the constitution, because these were opposed to their duties as Frenchmen and subjects of the king. If they wished to remain in the kingdom, they were no longer to maintain any connexion with the brethren or the chief of the order; and the colleges and houses of the order were to be no longer inhabited.

The pope now undertook to defend the cause of the jesuits, which was very weakly supported by the king, whilst Choiseul and Pompadour were publicly favourable to the views of the parliament. The example of the pope was followed by Christopher de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, who also entered upon a struggle with the parliaments in favour of the jesuits. This

same archbishop, as is well known, afterwards formed an alliance with the parliaments against Rousseau's 'Emile,' and published a pastoral letter in opposition to this novel, which the parliament in the usual form caused to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman at the celebrated grand entrance to the palace of justice. This high tribunal proceeded even so far as to issue an order for the arrest of Rousseau's person, and the latter therefore, in his masterly reply to the archbishop of Paris, makes the most bitter and witty allusions to the alliance which in his case was concluded between the jesuits and jansenists. The jesuitical archbishop met with the same fate from the parliament as Rousseau. He issued a vehement pastoral letter against the judgment of the parliament in the case of the jesuits, and all the provincial bishops, whose parliaments had imitated the example of that of Paris, did the same; the consequence of which was a great commotion among the people. The parliament immediately commenced an action against the archbishop's person, and ordered the pastoral letter to be suppressed. According to the usual forms of judgment and law, it too was also burnt by the hands of the hangman at the same unlucky entrance to the palace of justice, where Rousseau's 'Emile' afterwards experienced a similar fate: a decree was issued for the personal arrest (*prise de corps*) of the archbishop himself. The court endeavoured by the instrumentality of the high police, as it is now called, to prevent the irritation and excitement which would have resulted from the execution of the last resolution of the parliament. The king banished the archbishop for a time from his diocese. The French cardinals, it is true, prevented the pope, who was about to begin a war with the parliaments in favour of the jesuits, from issuing his vehement bulls, which were already prepared to be sent to France; but instead of these he published a brief to Stanislaus of Lorraine, of whose blind and devoted attachment to the order we have found so many curious and ridiculous proofs in the French state archives, and another to the archbishop of Paris. These two briefs excited the greatest indignation in the minds of the councillors of parliament, and drove them to adopt extreme measures. On the 9th of March 1764, the parliament held one of its solemn sittings, commanded the attorney-general to denounce the two briefs, condemned that which had been sent to king Stanislaus as well as that which had been directed to the archbishop of

Paris, declared both to be hostile attacks upon the constitution and the laws of France, and as such ordered both to be suppressed. Parliament proceeded still further: it strictly forbade the publication of all briefs and papers sent from Rome to France, and commanded the whole body of the jesuits within a month to quit the kingdom.

Such vigorous and radical edicts could not indeed be carried into execution without the approval of the king; and this he hesitated for such a length of time to give, that the jesuits began to entertain some hopes of gaining the cause at court which they had lost in the parliament. They had the stronger reason to hope for favourable orders (*lettres patentes*) from the cabinet, as the court was at issue on various matters with the parliament, and dissatisfied with its conduct towards the jesuits. The affair remained at rest till the concluding month of the year. In December (1764) the king at length came to a decision, which was immediately published, and which, without being favourable to the jesuits, was condemnatory of the parliament. All the actions, proceedings and decrees of the parliament against the order were annulled; and on the other hand, the order, by virtue of an act of the king's sovereign authority, was abolished in the kingdom of France\*.

In Spain the advisers of the crown hesitated about treating the jesuits in the same manner as they had been dealt with in Portugal and France, till they found means of implicating, if not the whole order, at least some of its members, in a judicial investigation respecting a popular commotion in Madrid. Before Aranda, Campomanes and Figeroa took up the cause, much less attention had been directed to ecclesiastical affairs in Spain in general than was the case in other countries; the Inquisition was indeed obliged to remain quiet and submit to the temporal courts.

\* The tenor is as follows: "From the above-mentioned and other reasons which have determined us, and by the consent and advice of our council of ministers, out of our full conviction, supreme authority and royal power, we have decreed, commanded and ordained, and do decree, command, ordain and express our will and desire by this present, perpetual and irrevocable decree, that the society of jesuits shall no longer exist in any part of our kingdom, or in any lands, territories and dominions subject to our authority and rule: we however graciously grant permission to all those who may have been members of the said order to remain in our states, under the spiritual superintendence and in submission to the ordinaries, in as far as they submit to the laws of our kingdom, and conduct themselves as true and faithful subjects of the realm."

Squilaci had drawn hatred enough upon himself by his finance and police regulations ; Grimaldi was completely occupied with foreign politics ; and the numerous other foreigners who were employed by Charles III. did not venture to touch upon this most delicate point among the Spaniards. This remained for Aranda and his friends. Before we state the manner in which Aranda came to Madrid, the methods by which he drove out the jesuits and carried light into the midst of thick darkness, we must point out the way in which Charles III. was prepared for the adoption of all that was afterwards proposed to him by Aranda and Campomanes, by the steps which were taken by Tanucci in his name in Naples, after his departure from that kingdom.

After the departure of the king, Tanucci continued to make rapid advances on the way on which he had entered during the king's presence in Naples ; and wherever his own influence and authority, as president of the council of regency, proved insufficient, he obtained orders from the young king's father, behind which he sheltered himself. It was fortunate for Naples that Tanucci proceeded with so much energy and vigour ; for neither the young king nor his second wife, the infamous Caroline of Austria, was born or educated to be the reformer of a state. We do not venture to determine whether any education, art or instruction could have availed in the case of Ferdinand ; the attempt at least should have been made ; but his father never once thought of the subject. It was enough to bind him fast to the church and its ceremonies, since he would then be certain of happiness, and had no need either of human feelings, of which he was wholly destitute, or of virtue, knowledge or penetration. By natural disposition and training he was the rudest of the rude huntsmen and fishermen with whom it was his pleasure to associate, whose morals and jests he adopted, and whose vulgar dialect he spoke ; he was an indefatigable sportsman, and so devoted to fishing that he remained at sea in an open boat in all weathers, and often under the most scorching sun. The leading topics of correspondence between father and son, carried on in the vulgar dialect of Naples, always referred to the results and success of their respective engagements in the chase. The young king himself undertook the government in 1767 ; and considering his character, it was, apparently at least, a piece of good fortune, that Tanucci had at an earlier period so regulated the ecclesias-

tical affairs of the kingdom, that the pope and the hierarchy were no longer more powerful than the secular government. Tanucci's conduct and the advantages of his government will be best learned by the enumeration of some of those great changes which he effected. Before his administration the popes received a certain portion of the personal hereditary property of all abbots and bishops, as well as of the income of all vacant parishes and sees: Tanucci abolished both. The share of these personal inheritances was withdrawn from the court of Rome, and the incomes of the vacant parishes and sees were put into the treasury and appropriated to undertakings of general advantage. Besides this, Tanucci suppressed ten convents on the main land of Naples, and twenty-eight in Sicily, all the estates belonging to which were applied for the general purposes of the kingdom. The system of tithes was doubly disadvantageous and obstructive in a country where the improvement of agriculture was of such pressing importance; and these were at first limited and afterwards abolished. Gianone wrote a history of Naples in a spirit the very reverse of the papistical histories of the country which had been hitherto published: his object was to raise and maintain the secular in opposition to the ecclesiastical power; and this was also the whole tendency of Tanucci's endeavours. It was rendered illegal for the clergy, chapters or convents, for the future, to receive by gift, inheritance or otherwise, any real estates whatsoever. The powers of the church courts were diminished through the whole kingdom, and it was decreed that even in the case of mixed tribunals, in which ecclesiastical and royal judges presided, a solicitor for the crown should be always present to watch over and protect its interests. In order to decrease the excessive number of ecclesiastics, Tanucci insisted upon the strict observance of the law which permitted only one priest to be ordained for every ten thousand souls, and this number was afterwards reduced to the half. In order to obtain in Naples also the same monarchical rights and privileges which the Bourbons enjoyed in France, it was decreed that no bulls and no papal ordinances, even although they should be of earlier date, should be considered to have any authority in the kingdom until they had been first confirmed by the king.

In Spain, the men who were desirous of inducing the king to introduce reforms in ecclesiastical affairs, commensurate with the spirit of the age, were obliged to proceed much more cau-

tiously than it had been necessary for Tanucci to do in Naples. The queen dowager was still in the enjoyment of so much power in Spain, that she did not cease to cherish the expectation of being able again to bring Ensenada, the favourer and favoured of the jesuits, into the ministry. Notwithstanding all that had taken place in France, and in spite of the powerful support which the enemies of the jesuits received from the duke d'Os-sun, the French minister in Madrid, the jesuits would have been driven out of Spain with great difficulty had not the king himself called to his aid, in some measure against the pretensions of the order, the talents of Aranda, who was a native of Arragon. King Charles became acquainted with Aranda immediately after his arrival in Madrid (1759); for this most distinguished and noble-minded man had been selected by his countrymen of Arragon to convey their congratulations to the king on his assuming the government. Charles was at that time in the full vigour of his powers: he and Squilaci perceived the abilities of the Arragonese, and immediately confided to his management some diplomatic affairs in Poland. When Aranda returned from his mission in 1763, he was appointed captain-general of Valencia. This occurred at the very time in which Squilaci had excited and irritated the minds of the Spanish people against the monarchy of the eighteenth century, which he wished to introduce instead of the system of the times of Charles II. His police, which was active in the suppression of murders and deeds of violence which were then common, was hostile to the large hats and cloaks by which the murderers contrived to conceal their persons, obstructed the Spaniards in their methods of revenge, and put down that club-law which was one of the barbarous remnants of the middle ages; and his finance regulations suddenly awakened a feeling of general discontent, the public outbreak of which was afterwards ascribed to the jesuits.

We do not venture to pronounce any opinion as to the degree of blame which may have attached to the Spanish jesuits on the occasion of this open resistance to the minister of finance and his plans; but so much is certain, that the whole order, Ensenada and the queen dowager, must have looked with great satisfaction on the downfall and expulsion of Squilaci, whose conduct resembled that of a grand vizier, and would have been pleased to see his master, the sultan, inspired with such a degree of terror by the tumult of the populace as would have compelled

him to sacrifice his minister. The whole systematic course of the insurrection and its peaceful termination would of themselves have led to the conclusion that it was controlled by some guiding hand, had not the investigations of the police and the courts convinced Charles III. that the jesuits and Ensenada had been secretly active and instrumental in promoting and directing this popular commotion. Ensenada being at that time in Madrid, was occasionally invited to the council, and shortly before the tumult had proposed a plan by which the Spanish possessions in America might be rendered more productive, and a larger income be derived for the state.

The immediate occasion of the insurrection in Madrid, which has been referred to, was an act of violence committed by the minister of finance which immediately affected the people, and originated in Turkey, where people cut down the tree in order to gather the fruit. In order to secure a regular supply of oil, bread and other necessities of life for the capital, he established a royal monopoly, and thereby caused the inhabitants of the capital to rise *en masse* on Palm Sunday (the 23rd of March 1766); every man was compelled to join the clamorous multitude, who proceeded to storm Squilaci's house. The people shouted "Long live the Jesuits, Ensenada and the English!" who at this time were endeavouring to counteract the king and his French advisers. The loudest curses and imprecations were poured out by the people upon the heads of the French and Italians, who enjoyed the king's favour; but no one was injured, and no acts of plunder or robbery were committed. The government did not venture to employ Spanish troops on this occasion because the national feeling and spirit were too clearly displayed in the tumult, and Squilaci's house as well as the royal palace were covered and protected by the Walloon guards alone. Charles was besieged in his own palace by the whole mass of the irritated inhabitants of his capital, and negotiated with his people from the interior of his house as with a foreign enemy. The people continually protested, even when they were in complete possession of the city, that they were still most faithfully attached to the king, and only insisted upon the dismissal of his minister. The king at length found himself compelled to appear to the people, and from the balcony to give them a promise that he would dismiss Squilaci. The crowd immediately separated and became quiet; but the flight of the king to Aranjuez, and the

report that Squilaci had accompanied him, was still in his suite and acted as his friend and adviser, led to new commotions, and the king was with justice reproached for having broken his royal word on the very night following the day on which it was given, and for having retained Squilaci in his service.

The king had scarcely arrived in Aranjuez with his Walloons and Squilaci, when he learned that Madrid was again in the power of the malcontents. The people now continued in complete possession of the city for forty-eight hours; but their conduct was so peaceable, order was so well maintained, such a degree of attachment to the king was manifested, and the storm so exclusively directed against Squilaci, that it was impossible not to perceive that the rising was well-organized and the whole under the direction of some invisible head. The king, notwithstanding his strong feelings of indignation and his unwillingness to separate from his old friend, was obliged to give way; but he thought upon revenge. Squilaci resigned his office and left Spain for ever; a new minister of finance was appointed, the people delivered up the arms and insignia of which they had taken possession, and the old course of order was restored as quickly as it had been disturbed. By Squilaci's removal the king was deprived of a confidential friend, and felt himself deeply injured; he was assured that Ensenada and the jesuits had stimulated the people, and he became the more fully disposed to coincide with the French and those who were allied with them against the jesuits, as the whole system of this spiritual order appeared to be completely inconsistent with the monarchical government of the eighteenth century. Advantage was afterwards taken of the investigation respecting the originators and the ramifications of the late rebellion, to throw the whole blame upon the jesuits, and to induce the king to have recourse to the severest measures against them. For many reasons, there was no man who could be employed for the execution of those measures of severity except Aranda, and he was therefore called to Madrid immediately after the suppression of the rebellion, appointed president of the council of Castille, and clothed with extraordinary civil and military powers.

The investigation, which was conducted with secrecy, led to the desired result. No communication was made to the public on the subject, nor was any account required or given of the means which were employed to obtain confessions. It was



acknowledged that there had been cries of "Long live the Jesuits! Death to the Confessor! (Osma, a Dominican.)" Ensenada was suspected, although not found guilty, banished from Madrid, and afterwards resided till his death in Medina del Campo. A few jesuits were found guilty of having promoted and encouraged the rebellion: their names were Isidor Lopez, Michael Benavente and Ignaz Gonzales. Aranda was a man peculiarly fitted to cope with the jesuits, for he was reserved and silent as he was energetic; and when he was compelled so to be, implacably severe. He was as much beloved by his countrymen as Squilaci had been hated, and besides, he immediately assembled a division of 10,000 men in the neighbourhood of the capital. During a period of eight months the king remained in retirement, whilst Aranda and Campomanes conducted the investigation against the jesuits; the former, as president of the council of Castille and captain-general, caused the guilty to be punished, and established public order anew. The king did not return to the capital till this had taken place, in order to embrace some definite resolution respecting the whole body of the jesuits. The abolition of the order was resolved upon, it is true, but the execution of the resolution was deferred. The king was so vehemently enraged at the conduct of this caballing fraternity, that he himself, in connexion with Aranda and with the greatest secrecy, in order to avoid all treachery, undertook the labour of writing and subscribing the circulars and orders which were to be issued to the governors and commanders-in-chief of the several provinces. As the impending danger could not be altogether concealed from the jesuits, the nuncio Pallavicini, at the head of a deputation from the order, presented themselves to the king, and made the most importunate representations. The king however dissembled, parried off their requests, and allowed the nuncio and deputation to indulge in hopes, till the *coup-de-main* which had been long prepared by Aranda was suddenly executed.

On the night of the 31st March 1767, the whole of the jesuits in every part of Spain were all at once arrested as if by magic, and their estates seized upon. It is supposed that more than 5000 ecclesiastics, who were for the most part very learned, meritorious and highly esteemed men, were taken prisoners in this single night and treated like criminals. These measures were truly of decisive importance for the progress of civilization

in the whole of Europe, but we are disposed to leave their justification to those who have discovered sophisms in our days for the defence of the cruelties of the Inquisition, or to those who praise the times of terror in the French revolution as a heroic manifestation of the dominion of the people. It is possible, at a later period, to feel thankful to Providence for despotic deeds of violence, as for a plague or an earthquake, or the devastations of war, but no one can either approve or defend them who possesses the ordinary feelings of humanity. The affair had been so secretly prepared, and was executed with such silence, punctuality and despatch, that all the jesuits in the capital, on the next morning, were on their way to the coast before any one was in the least aware of their arrest. All the servants and others belonging to or employed by the jesuits were immediately dismissed, and ships were long before prepared and lying ready on the different parts of the coast to which by previous agreement they were conducted, in order that they might be conveyed to Civita Vecchia.

In this manner the execution of the judgment was allowed to be several days in advance of its announcement. The reasons for this harsh conduct, and the royal edict by virtue of which the order of the jesuits was abolished in Spain and all its members banished from the country, were first made public on the 3rd of April. The royal ukase, for so it must be named, which Charles III. called a pragmatic sanction, in reference to the jesuits, declared the whole order without exception to be criminals, decreed that they should be all conveyed to the states of the church, and that the king of Spain would take care that each priest should receive a hundred piastres, which might rather be called an alms-gift than a pension, and every layman ninety piastres yearly. When we inquire into the reasons for the adoption of so severe a sentence and such harsh conduct, nothing decisive or definite is to be discovered: the king and his ministry take refuge behind mere autocratical phraseology after having expressed in the most general terms, that the experienced counsellors of the king had given him advice completely to remove the jesuits, with a view to preserve order, peace, and justice in the kingdom. The passage which occupies and supplies the place of the grounds of their decision is as follows: "*The king has been led to adopt this determination not only by and*

*with the advice of his faithful councillors, but also by other, urgent, just and necessary reasons, which however he reserves in his royal mind."*

The general of the order and the pope himself were as much taken by surprise as the whole of the rest of Europe was astonished; for the courier who was to convey intelligence to the pope, that some thousand ecclesiastics were forthwith to be disembarked on the states of the church, was only despatched on the same night during which the jesuits were arrested. The fate of these unfortunate men, whose sufferings were so greatly prolonged, was much worse than that of the Portuguese whom Pombal had sent to Rome; it was sufficient to affect a heart of stone. The pope formally protested against their reception in Civita Vecchia, and the authorities of the town were cruel enough not to suffer them to be put on shore; and these unhappy men, who were partly old and weak and partly ill, and among whom there were many persons of the highest worth and distinction, were compelled to undergo unspeakable sufferings in the ships, in which they were crowded together like African slaves, before they were allowed to land. In the short letter which Aranda and the Spanish ministers sent to the pope by courier, and in which he was informed of the deportation of such a body of jesuits, he was formally treated with scoffing and contempt. It contained such language as the following: "That it was deemed most suitable to send these shiploads of jesuits to Rome, because the pope could there have them most conveniently under his spiritual superintendence." The language is no less contemptuous in which the king of Spain alleges that he has provided for the maintenance of these his subjects by the payment of a yearly salary of 100 and 90 piastres for each individual, clerk and layman respectively\*.

In this way the zeal which pope Clement XIII. showed in favour of the jesuits was converted by Pombal and Aranda's be-

\* The king's ministers employ the following language in his name: "I have found myself compelled by the most urgent necessity to banish all the jesuits who were in my kingdom, and to cause them to be conveyed to the states of the church, that they may be under the wise and pious guidance of your holiness, who is the gracious father and lord of all the faithful. It would give me pain to furnish the apostolic chamber with reasons for complaint, by compelling them to make provision for the sustenance of these ecclesiastics, whose fate it has been to be born subjects of my realm; and therefore I have already issued the necessary commands, that each may receive a pension for life adequate to his support."

haviour towards them into a zeal for right, justice and humanity; and especially when we learn that these unhappy persons were at a later period driven out of the states of the church, and obliged to endure unspeakable sufferings, first in Corsica and afterwards in Italy. Similar violent and military measures against the pope and the jesuits were also adopted in Naples and Parma. At the suggestion of Spain, the same course was taken in Naples on the 5th of November 1767 which had been pursued in Spain on the 31st of March. All the jesuits in Naples and Sicily, and afterwards even those in Malta, were arrested, and the Neapolitan members of the order conveyed to Terracina. The Neapolitan minister made his justification and defence of his measures of terror much easier for himself than his colleagues in Spain had done. He does not give himself the trouble of excusing his unheard-of conduct, nor attempt to prove that the poor people who were the objects of his cruelty had been guilty of any offence whatever. He declares, in the name of a monarch who derives his power immediately from God, that accountability was due to God alone for a course of action by which, upon mere political grounds, he had committed the grossest violence upon the rights of individuals\*.

Parma had been governed since the year 1765 by a nephew of the king of Spain, the son of a daughter of Louis XV., who was a minor, and to whom therefore the king of France had appointed a guardian and regent of the duchy. This guardian, William du Tillot, as we shall afterwards show when we come to speak of the abolition of the order by the pope, was the person who gave rise to the mighty strife which took place between the European powers and the pope respecting the bull in *Cona Domini*. The pope thought he might take his revenge, on account of the treatment of the jesuits, upon the duke of Parma, who was a minor, and whom besides he called his vassal, because the other princes were too powerful for him to attack. Like the uncle and grandfather of the duke, Du Tillot had defended and protected the secular rights of the monarch against the spiritual pretensions of Rome, before he drove the jesuits out of the duchy, at the request of the courts of Madrid and Na-

\* "Noi il re, facendo uso della suprema indipendente potestà che riconosciamo immediatamente da Dio, unita della sua onnipotenza inseparabilmente alla nostra sovranità per il governo e regolamento de' nostri sudditi, vogliamo e comandiamo che la compagnia di Gesù sia per sempre abolita e esclusa perpetuamente da' nostri regni delle Sicilie."

ples. He published a pragmatic sanction, in which the custom which had hitherto prevailed of applying to Rome in all ecclesiastical cases and actions was abolished, and the appeal to any foreign court was strictly forbidden in questions affecting tithes, livings, or other ecclesiastical reversions in the duchy. All livings, ecclesiastical offices and benefices were for the future to be conferred on natives of the province alone, and all papers, letters, documents, decrees, bulls and briefs whatsoever sent from Rome were to be regarded as null and void. The pope thought he might bring matters to a speedy issue with Parma, and therefore, in a very few days after the publication of the pragmatic sanction (30th of January 1769), he issued a dreadful brief against the young duke and his minister.

In this brief against the duke, Pope Clement XIII. appeals to the bull *in Cæna Domini*, by which it was enacted, that the clergy were not bound to obey the temporal authorities in questions which concern the church. He adds, that the duke is a vassal of the church, and therefore by his sanction has drawn down upon himself the penalty threatened in the bull, an excommunication from which it was in the power of the pope alone to relieve him. He proceeds further to declare, that in case the duke does not withdraw the pragmatic sanction, he (the pope) will immediately lay the duchy under an interdict, and pronounce the ban against the duke, his minister, and all those who had had any participation in the affair. Du Tillot answered by a very contemptuous proclamation, in which he expressed his doubts whether he had properly understood the terms of the brief, and whether the document itself was genuine, and at the same time adopted the Spanish measures against the jesuits. During the week following that on which the pope's brief was issued (on the 7th of February 1768) the whole of the jesuits were suddenly arrested, and 160 in number were conducted under military escort to the pope's territories. On this occasion the Bourbon courts took the part of the duke against the authority of the papal brief, expressed their decided opposition to the doctrine of the bull *in Cæna Domini*, and still more to that of the brief, against which Pombal also published a very strong and vigorous declaration. The ambassadors of France, Spain, Naples and Portugal all united, and presented simultaneous notes to the papal court, in which they demanded in threatening terms the withdrawal of the brief; and on Clement's refusal, France and Naples

proceeded to seize upon the property of the Roman see within their respective territories. Charles III. first caused the brief against Parma to be contradicted, then repeated his general grounds of complaint against Rome, and protested anew against the doctrine contained in the bull *in Cœna Domini*; finally, Tanucci in Naples was obliged to proceed judicially against the pope.

In Naples there existed a holy chamber of St. Clara, or a royal court of the holy church. This chamber, and the delegate of the royal jurisdiction, presented a representation to the king, which was afterwards made public, in which they sought to guard his rights and those of the kingdom against the unjust pretensions of the pope, and they proved at the same time in their manifesto, that the papal claims had no foundation. The chamber and the delegate further proposed, that the king should seize upon and confiscate the principalities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, on account of the attacks which the pope had been guilty of making upon the royal privileges and jurisdiction. A similar complaint and similar proposal were submitted to the French parliament with respect to Avignon and Venaissin; and these two counties in France, as well as the principalities in Naples, were actually taken possession of by the respective sovereigns. We shall connect the subsequent fate of the jesuits with the history of the activity of the exjesuits and with the reaction of the illuminati and freemasons in Germany.

Charles III. of Spain was at first surrounded by Frenchmen and Italians alone, men who had been educated in the principles of the new age, who reformed all the departments of the state, and proved to the king that the jesuits and their schools everywhere presented obstructions to the advancement and prosperity of the kingdom. Charles's army, fleet, and everything connected with them, were created anew by distinguished French officers, whilst the departments of foreign affairs and finance were under the direction of two able Italians; the jesuits therefore were able easily to avail themselves of the jealousy of the Spaniards against foreigners and their reforms. This circumstance made Aranda, Campomanes, Figeroa and Monino the chief persons in all those improvements effected during the reign of Charles III., because they were Spaniards. Among the foreigners the most important persons were, Squilaci, minister of finance, Grimaldi, minister of foreign affairs, Gautier, the reformer

of the Spanish method of ship-building, Maritz, the creator of their whole system of engineering and artillery, and finally O'Reilly, who organized the Spanish infantry anew. Radical reforms were made in every department of the state, although the king himself was as superstitious and dreaded the power of the priests as much as all the rest of the Bourbons were accustomed to do. Grimaldi had little share in effecting these various improvements, and, as a foreigner, was completely occupied with foreign politics, and therefore the appointment of count d'Aranda, and his undertakings against the jesuits, were decisive for the complete renovation of the Spanish kingdom.

Aranda was a man of great prudence and firmness: the high office of captain-general of Castille, which was more distinguished than that of a marshal of France, made him commander-in-chief of the whole army, and he enjoyed great personal respect, especially in Arragon. He willingly left the administration of foreign affairs to his colleague Grimaldi, who had powerful enemies to deal with in the English, because Wall had been overthrown and dismissed merely on account of his preference for England. In order to indemnify Spain for her losses in the seven years' war, the French had ceded Louisiana; but this proved of very small advantage to the Spaniards, who were obliged in 1769 to compel the French inhabitants of the province to submission by force of arms, and soon perceived therefore that little had been gained by the cession. Choiseul and Grimaldi, moreover, were very desirous of persuading their respective sovereigns to commence a war with England during the time of the disturbances in that country, in which the most unpopular ministry of the eighteenth century was at the helm of affairs, but Louis XV. could not be induced to venture upon this step; Grimaldi, therefore, was to attempt to provoke an attack on the part of the English upon Spain, by which the family alliance would be affected, and thus to bring on a war between France and England, against the will of both Louis XV. and George III. In fact, Grimaldi attempted, by means of the dispute respecting the Falkland islands, to which we shall afterwards allude, and other provocations, to induce the English to make an attack, upon which, by virtue of the conditions of the family alliance, France would be compelled to enter upon a war; but all his labours and cabals were frustrated by the fall of Choiseul and the declining strength

of Louis XV. Aranda was more successful in the administration of the home department.

By the labours and assiduity of Aranda and his friends, Spain was almost completely remodeled in a single decennium; and even such a miserable ruler as Charles IV. continued in the early years of his reign to follow up what Aranda had commenced, and through the instrumentality of Campomanes applied the new principles of the French political economists, and particularly of Turgot, to his kingdom. With respect to ecclesiastical abuses, Charles III. took a course in Spain similar to that which his mentor Tanucci had pointed out to him previously in Naples. It is true there already existed before his time in Madrid a Spanish ecclesiastical court of appeal, or as it was called, *Rota*, in order to prevent a number of appeals from being made to Rome; but this court was, properly speaking, a Romish and not a national tribunal. An auditor named by the papal nuncio, and entirely dependent on him, constituted in fact the whole of the court; this Aranda immediately abolished. The pope, who in other respects also was obliged to make many concessions to Aranda, found himself compelled to consent to a new organization of the tribunal. The court was now composed of six Spaniards, proposed by the king and nominated by the pope. The turn of the regular clergy also soon came. The ecclesiastical police had hitherto forborne with the disgraceful immoralities of the monasteries, and now at length some order and discipline were introduced by the temporal authorities. No order was henceforth to be subject to a general in Rome, but all Spaniards were to be under the rule of Spaniards alone. The rights of the free states in the matter of churches and convents were very much limited, and the daily processions called *Rosarios* were altogether prohibited. The censorship exercised under papal authority, which Charles had already abolished in Naples, as well as the powers of the Inquisition, were reduced within narrower bounds. Charles had no sooner ascended the throne in Spain than he issued a decree similar to that which he had previously issued in Naples, that in future no papal briefs should be published or acted upon in Spain without being first approved and confirmed by royal sanction.

Aranda indeed was not able to carry through all his designs; for the king's confessor, who as a dominican always kept in view



the interests of his order by maintaining the power of the Inquisition, powerfully counteracted his reforms. Father Osma terrified the king with the threats of future punishment, whilst Aranda on his part impressed upon his mind, which, like that of all the Bourbons, laid great stress on absolute monarchical power, the danger to which this power was exposed, and the manner in which it was circumscribed by the pope and the clergy; sometimes the one and sometimes the other was victorious,—now the minister of state and now the confessor. It was essential to all reforms that better provision should be made for education, because the instruction of the middle ages was necessarily connected with the constitution of the same period, and *vice versâ*. School instruction was now confided to the secular clergy, and new seminaries were established instead of the institutions of the jesuits. A large institution, which belonged exclusively to the modern age and to its direction towards industry and the practical arts, was founded in a spacious building in Madrid which had hitherto been occupied by the jesuits, whose sole object was to teach what was old after the old form. Aranda, who was desirous of abolishing all the old secrets of statesmanship, founded in this building the academy of St. Isidore for the promotion of his views, established a regular system of statistics, a science hitherto unknown in Spain, and gave publicity to all the transactions and labours of the society.

As the king grew older, he relapsed more and more into the old Spanish spirit, Aranda's reforms began to appear questionable, and his endeavours to maintain and consolidate the rights and privileges of several provinces, and especially of Arragon, his own native land, by no means agreed with the autocratic feelings and tendencies of Charles; and besides, his own particular friends, the French philosophers, were injurious to the minister. The French encyclopædists, whose tendencies and doctrines were by no means suited for Spain, lauded Aranda in such loud strains of commendation, as one of themselves, that they must have necessarily roused the king's suspicions. The conduct, and finally the fate of his protégé Olavidès also contributed materially to his loss of influence, and to the victory which was gained by the Obscurist party in Spain after the close of the American war.

Olavidès was a light-minded Peruvian, a perfect model of the character which modern travellers still ascribe to the higher

classes among the cities of this pretendedly free state; he had mastered that species of superficial education which is characteristic of that class of Frenchmen who do not enter upon the study of the exact or experimental sciences; he was as full of vanity as such men usually are, and had very little of the Spaniard in him. He had first made himself known in Spain by his attempts to enliven the seriousness of his countrymen by some light theatrical pieces, composed in imitation of French models. He was wealthy, lived sometimes in Paris, sometimes in Madrid, and kept splendid establishments in both capitals. He wrote operas which were arranged by Gretry, and caused Voltaire's 'Merope' and 'Zaire' to be brought out in Madrid; it will therefore readily be believed, that he was extolled and idolized as the most liberal among the liberal by those philosophers and literati in Paris whose acquaintance and society were at that time courted by kings and emperors, because their declamations alone could confer a European reputation. Olavidès was a man who could neither be acceptable to the king nor to any Spaniard of the genuine old stamp, and yet Aranda availed himself of his services; chiefly because he was a rich man, had acquired immense property by his trading establishments in the capital, and was able to be useful to the minister in allaying popular disturbances in Madrid, and especially in the expulsion of the jesuits; afterwards, on the banishment of the order, he entrusted him with an important office in the state.

Through his friend Aranda, Olavidès obtained one of the first situations in the kingdom, that of superintendent-general of Andalusia. The districts of the Sierra Morena which had been depopulated belonged to this superintendency, and the new intendant was to restore them to their former prosperity and population. He seemed well calculated for devising and directing measures for the promotion of industry and the improvement of agriculture, on account of his previous experience gained by his vast undertakings in trade. His first attempts were directed to improving and ornamenting the city of Seville, and in these he proceeded more after a French than a Spanish manner. He played the part of a great man for the benefit of parasites, and as Twiss relates who visited him, he indulged in a royal expenditure, and surrounded himself with princely splendour, but adopted measures for the repopulation of the Sierra Morena to which none but an adventurer could have had recourse. In order to bring

together and attract colonists, he did not hesitate to promise mountains of gold, without considering whether he was in a condition to fulfil his promises. He divided the waste lands into a number of lots, which were to be distributed among the colonists, whom he recruited like soldiers by means of adventurers sent into all countries, and to whom he promised various splendid advantages on their settlement. Among the colonist-recruiting adventurers of Olavidès, there was a German named Thürriegel, through whom Olavidès became renowned in Germany. Thürriegel, who undertook to raise and bring a body of 3000 German and Swiss colonists as a man would raise a volunteer corps, was born in Bavaria, had served as the colonel of a volunteer corps in the seven years' war, and was not ashamed to entice his colonists from their native land in the same manner as he had formerly seduced his recruits. By his mountebank arts and announcements\*, this miserable recruiting-sergeant allured thousands of foolish men from the over-peopled or poor and ill-governed provinces of Germany, particularly from the Rhine provinces, the Palatinate and Lorraine, even from Piedmont and Lombardy, and took handicraftsmen and manufacturers to a place where peasants only were sought for or could live. Colonists collected in such a way necessarily contained a great proportion of mere rabble; but there were among them also many German protestants who wished to escape from the religious intolerance and oppression which they were obliged to endure in their native land, especially in the Palatinate, and to whom the adventurous speculator and kidnapper had promised freedom of worship. It appears from the very first article submitted to the government and approved by them, that this promise was a piece of manifest deceit, practised either by Olavidès or Thürriegel. The first plan was laid before the government by Olavidès as early as 1766, before he had made any contract with Thürriegel; but the organization of the scheme, properly speaking, or the articles approved by the government, are of the date of 1768. These fundamental articles always refer to catholic

\* The printed invitation by which the scheming colonel allured hundreds of families from Germany and the Low Countries, was distributed by him as lottery prospectuses are circulated by the promoters of such schemes. It was entitled '*Harbours of Fortune, or rich caskets of treasure which the Spanish monarch has opened for the benefit and comfort of all German peasants, day-labourers and tradespeople.*' Many attempts were made to arrest this impudent and dangerous seducer, but he contrived to escape the vigilance of the police and to attain his object.

colonists, and it clearly appears from the most of them, that neither Olavidès, nor the government which sanctioned the organization which he wished to give to the colonies, had any knowledge even of the first principles of colonization. For example, he conceived the idea of allowing Spanish convicts to settle in the midst of the honest Germans and Swiss, was desirous of making compulsory service a part of their obligations, of depriving the peasants of all means of mental cultivation, and of enforcing rules of a similar description\*.

It would appear, in fact, from the course which he pursued, that Olavidès was guided far more by the mere love of reputation which might result from the display of his then fashionable knowledge and pursuits, than by any desire to promote the comforts or advantages of the colonists; from the very beginning of his career he showed himself to be an admirable courtier, but at the same time a very bad land steward and overseer of a rural community. The chief village was named Carolina, in honour of the king, and Olavidès erected in its vicinity a splendid summer residence for himself, the gardens of which were laid out with great taste, and stocked with the rarest and choicest productions. For some years all the newspapers in Europe were filled with accounts of Olavidès and his colonies, and of the vast progress in the various departments which was being made in Spain. We are in this case furnished with an illustration of the caution with which newspaper articles and reports should be received, even when their writers are unanimous in their commendations and eulogies. Their accounts give the affair a very different aspect from that which we may conclude was the fact from the testimony of an eye-witness respecting the German colonies in Spain, as given in Schlözer's Correspondence of the year 1778. The colony finally became ruinous to Olavidès himself, as soon as Aranda's credit received a shock; and the fatal result was effected by the instrumentality of a Bavarian capuchin. The

\* In Schlözer's Correspondence, No. xxxiv. Year 1779, Part 4. p. 587, there may be found an "Extrait des ordonnances de sa Majesté pour la population de la Sierra Morena contenant la substance de tous les réglemens auxquels on doit se conformer pour la collocation des *étrangers catholiques*, arrivées dans l'intention de former des nouvelles établissemens en Espagne." See also Büsching's 'Geography.' The most ample account however, with copies of minutes, &c., may be seen in a work, less esteemed than it deserves to be, "Upon the morals, temperament, antiquities, agriculture, trade, theatres, finances, and law-courts of Spain, by a travelling observer in the years 1777 and 1778." Translated from the French. Leipzig, 1781, p. 260-284.

adherents of the ancient faith and the superstitious party in Spain knew well that the belief of Aranda and Olavidès was the same as that of Voltaire, but the difficulty was to bring this home to the knowledge and conviction of the king. This task was entrusted to the royal confessor, who, as we learn from Bourgoing, spent an hour daily with his majesty. His enemies did not attempt to overthrow Aranda, but only to remove him from the court, in order afterwards to be able to present a terrific example by the punishment of Olavidès and his friends. The confessor therefore used all his arts to inspire the king with such a dread of eternal torments, that he at length succeeded in persuading him to remove Aranda from the management of affairs in Spain (1773), and afterwards to send him on an embassy to Paris (in 1775). He there continued to play the most splendid part for nine years, and even in Paris was the main stay of the reform party in Spain; but at this distance from Madrid, he proved unable to rescue his friend Olavidès.

Olavidès had brought heretics into his settlement; this alone was sufficient to awaken the slumbering Inquisition; but it roused itself up more quickly than usual on this occasion, because its quiet was disturbed and its energies stimulated by a fanatical Bavarian. A great number of monks had been sent among the colonists, of which the latter heavily complained; many colonists and even protestants, merely with a view to provide them with the shelter of a roof, had been quartered in the convents; this gave great offence to the Spaniards, and kindled a fire of enmity which the Bavarian father Romuald blew into a flame. This capuchin came to Spain furnished with letters from the general of his order, commissioning him to enter upon the cure of souls among the German colonists, and under this pretence he laid claim to the exercise of a species of independent spiritual power. This claim could not be conceded either by the bishop of Jaen, to whose diocese the colony belonged, or by Olavidès; but the latter was imprudent enough to attempt to win over Romuald in the same way in which it is easy to secure the voice and interest of a French deputy, a diplomatist, a man of the world, or a man of learning; that is, he attempted to attract and bind him to himself by favours and invitations to his house. He treated him with the greatest respect and invited him to his table, where he had opportunity enough of hearing conversations and remarks, of which he speedily availed himself

for accomplishing the ruin of the superintendent-general. The light-minded pupil of the Parisian scoffers made no concealment of his opinions respecting popery, the hierarchy and dogmas of the church, and boasted of his correspondence with the idols of fashion, the encyclopædists in Paris. Romuald lodged a double complaint against him in Madrid: he first spurred on the Bavarian and other fanatical catholics among the colonists against Olavidès, and then, as their representative, he lodged a complaint against the superintendent with the council of Castille, whilst at the same time he secretly made his step-brothers, the dominicans, acquainted with his heresies. These masters of the Inquisition caused some of the letters written by Olavidès to his friends in Paris to be seized and laid them before the king, who was indeed horrified at the Parisian tone which prevailed in them, and vehemently enraged against their author. The king was easily persuaded that the powers of hell, which were exhibited to him in the letters, must undoubtedly be checked by a revival of the powers of the slumbering Inquisition; his enemies, however, were prudent enough to wait for Aranda's departure on his embassy to Paris before they ventured upon any decisive measures against Olavidès.

Aranda had scarcely reached Paris when Olavidès was commanded to present himself in Madrid in November 1775. His presence was required under pretence of holding personal communications with him respecting the colony, and arranging many things pertaining to its success which could not be done by correspondence; but the real object was merely to allure him into the hands of the Inquisition. The king had submitted the letters of the intendant-general which had been seized upon to the courts of law, to enter upon an investigation, and they had transferred the business to the Inquisition. Olavidès was detained a whole year in Madrid before the plans of the cabal were ripe for publicity, and he was not thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition till the 14th of November 1776. His arrest and Aranda's departure for Paris seemed to be the signal for the return of the old reign of monkish superstition and spiritual despotism. A grandee of Spain regarded it as an honour to be head bailiff (*alguazil mayor*) of the holy Inquisition, and as such in person to hand over poor Olavidès to the keeping of the familiars of the institution: priestcraft, monkery and the Inquisition were again alive. Filthy capuchins were sent to Seville to

preach against the theatre, which had been conducted with success and taste under Olavidès with a view to put an end to the barbarous and bloody custom of bull-fights. A mission composed of monks of this order preached and madly declaimed against profane plays, and the Inquisition revived their tragedies, whose representation had for a time been interrupted. The celebration of an *auto da fé* was held in Cadiz, of which there had been now no example for fifty years; and from this time forward this high festival of the Inquisition was yearly solemnized in Madrid as heretofore. On these solemn occasions the Inquisition caused all their resolutions, all the bulls by which the trial and condemnation of heretics were committed to their court, and all the excommunications which were issued against heretics, to be publicly read. Every Spaniard who was more than ten years old was bound, under penalty of excommunication, to be present at every such public reading.

Olavidès was kept a prisoner for two full years in the dungeons of the Inquisition, and then, according to ancient usage, condemned as a heretic. The scene of the condemnation of a man who had occupied one of the first situations in Spain was not indeed enacted upon a public square in Madrid in the year 1778, but was nevertheless performed before a very considerable number of persons of distinction, both lay and clerical. On this occasion he was exhibited as a spectacle in the most degrading and scandalous manner. After this disgraceful scene in Madrid and his penitent confession of sin, he was condemned to imprisonment among monks, and to the rigid observance of all their exercises of devotion. He was fortunate enough to escape from the cruelties of these malignants by a successful flight from the monastery whither he had been sent in 1780 for the salvation of his soul. He lived long enough to prove to the world, that that love of freedom which inspires the ambitious, and that religious enlightenment which fills the mouths of vain men and superficial talkers, is of the same kind and of the same duration. After his flight he took up his residence in Paris and Geneva, and was known among the liberals under the name of count de Pilos. Terrified by the events of the French revolution, when the liberal saloons were scattered like dust, he became a convert to the blindest and most intolerant faith, and wrote a thick book in favour of the Spanish religion. The Spanish friends of darkness rejoiced, as all such are accustomed to do, with an extra-

ordinary joy over this celebrated convert, and extolled with ridiculous praise the four thick volumes of this Saul become a Paul, which were written for the benefit of the spiritually blind. The book was entitled 'The Triumph of Christianity.' Olavidès afterwards again lived in Spain from 1798 till 1803.

All reforms and improvements, however, did not cease upon Olavidès' downfall; for Aranda in Paris, and his prudent and intelligent friends in Madrid, continued to work with zeal and success during the whole life of Charles III., and even at a later period under Charles IV. To enter upon a specific enumeration of these improvements would lead us too far from our object, and we shall only make some general observations, referring our readers who may wish to examine the subject more particularly to an excellent work written by Bourgoing upon the condition of Spain from the year 1782 till 1788. From the particulars related by Bourgoing, it first appears that Aranda's friend and auxiliary Figeroa boldly advanced with the spirit of the age in ecclesiastical reforms, as Campomanes did in temporal ones, without having reason to fear any very decided or vehement opposition, because Charles III., though timid and superstitious, did not wish to remain behind other nations in the race of improvement. Among these men Campomanes especially distinguished himself, and deserves to be immortal in Spain. From the time of Charles III.'s accession, he was sometimes employed in the active service of the state, and sometimes he published admirable works upon the most various departments of political economy, history and administration, not as a learned man, a state sophist, or a professor, but as a man of genuine talents and sincere convictions. This was unspeakably important in a nation which, up till this time, had been accustomed only to monkish literature. His chief merit, however, consisted in having drawn clear and intelligible distinctions respecting church and state, and shown the just relation of the ecclesiastical to the civil power.

Campomanes was eminently serviceable to his friend Aranda in expelling the jesuits, with his pen, his counsel and active co-operation, and his celebrated work upon the right of every government—a right founded upon justice, law and custom,—to prevent the accumulation of ecclesiastical wealth, was greeted with satisfaction in all the catholic states of Europe and used for a variety of purposes, because Campomanes maintained the



rights of the civil power without touching too closely upon the faith of the church. Campomanes had the power of uniting his pure and holy zeal for the promotion of moral and religious education so admirably with a feeling of deference to ruling prejudices, that even Charles IV. at first held him in great honour. When this king ascended the throne in 1788, he appointed him president of Castille, and afterwards minister of state. Monino, as count de Florida Blanca, having so completely changed his principles and modes of action, a man of free and independent mind like Campomanes could not remain minister where Monino formed a part of the government, and he lost his situation.

Campomanes besides performed the most important services to Spain, by urging forward new principles of criminal legislation, and by putting some legal bounds to the barbarities of torture, whose practice was derived from the middle ages, Byzantium and the East. At his suggestion, and supported by his countenance and aid, Lardizabal, then a very young lawyer, in the year 1784 published his treatise upon criminal punishment, a work which is written quite in the spirit and on the principles of Beccaria, and which is placed by the Spaniards on a level with the work of that celebrated jurist. Before Campomanes was placed at the head of the council of Castille, Figeroa had received the place held by Aranda, but under the more modest title of governor of the council of Castille; and although he remained in other respects altogether a Spaniard, yet he had followed in the footsteps of his predecessor. This course he continued to pursue till a very advanced age, laboured with caution and prudence to carry on the work of his youth, and was zealous to free his country from the restrictive bonds of the middle ages. This eminent man was originally a secular priest, and had been employed as early as the middle of the century in various negotiations with Rome. In 1751, though he was somewhat too eagerly addicted to saints and canonization, he obtained a concordat from the wise and moderate Benedict XIV., which paved the way for the future progress of Charles III. on his reforming career.

Along with these men, Bourgoing, and even Tychem, who in the time of Florida Blanca's ministry travelled to Spain at Hanoverian cost, both speak with commendation of Monino, and praise him as one who contributed to deliver Spain from the

bondage of the middle ages, and to bring her into the light and freedom of the new age: he was, however, a state sophist, such as are to be found in our days in all ends and corners of Europe. He knew the better path, and was a man of judgment and taste, but his improvements were all limited to such things as were either calculated to increase the influence of the reigning powers, or by which a reputation might be gained. He improved, for example, the police of the capital, strove to abolish many usages and customs by which the Spaniards were separated from the other nations of Europe, and by which they were obstructed in their progress towards a higher civilization; but his merits extended no farther than his ambition and his vanity reached. He erected large and splendid buildings in Madrid, laid out magnificent promenades, founded new temporal schools for giving instruction in the different sciences, and paid the professors with such liberality that they could teach without fees. All this dazzled men of learning and travellers, which excites much less surprise in the case of such a man as Tychsen, who sought and perhaps had his reputation in a knowledge of the Oriental languages and Jewish antiquities, than in that of so skilful a diplomatist as Bourgoing, the keenness of whose perceptions was not blinded by the dust of the schools. This same man was praised as a Mæcenæ because he founded academies of the arts in Madrid and Valencia, and deprived the Cortes of the small remnant of distinction that had been left them since the time of Charles II. (our Charles V.) and Philip II.'s furious rage against the cities and estates of Spain; both together form the proper character of his administration.

When Aranda was recalled from Paris, the true reformers and patriots of the time of Charles III. formed a wall of defence around him, and even overthrew Grimaldi to raise him again to power; but Charles was now become old. To please the French, he dismissed Grimaldi from the ministry of foreign affairs, but he remained attached to this Italian even after his removal, and selected a new minister upon his recommendation, but not such a one as the patriots wished. Florida Blanca was recommended by Grimaldi, which sufficiently proves that the new minister plenipotentiary was no Aranda. As to the general relation of Spain to the reforming spirit of the eighteenth century, Aranda's removal from that country in 1775, but still more his recall in 1785 and his subsequent disgrace, prove that the princes and

their servants in Spain, as well as in the other monarchies of Europe, long before the French revolution, began to be terrified at the light diffused by themselves, because from that time they no longer went cautiously forward, but imprudently and reckless back.

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## CHAPTER II.

### NORTHERN STATES; FORMER HALF OR SCANDINAVIA.

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#### § I.

##### DENMARK.

WHEN speaking of constitutions and the law of nations, we think it necessary to refer somewhat in detail to the miserable court history of a small kingdom, which, at the end of the seventeenth century, was governed in a more absolute manner than even the empire of the Osmands. Such a history is calculated most clearly to show to what end the unlimited sovereignty of princes may and must always lead, because, however high their position and even good their personal qualities, they still are and must continue to be but men, subject to the accidents and calamities of human life. It is the more necessary to adopt this course, because, in the history of other absolute governments, and especially in that of Prussia, the advantages of autocratic rule have alone been exhibited, in speaking of the extirpation of abuses which may have been founded upon a right, which in consequence of these abuses has become a wrong, and is no longer consistent with the altered times and circumstances.

In the second part of this history we have given a general description of Frederick V. king of Denmark and of his government; we now add, that in the last years of his reign the king committed the whole management of affairs to a ministerial aristocracy, who, it is true, introduced many useful regulations and abolished various abuses, but who, on the other hand, allowed themselves to indulge in all those acts of oppression and self-aggrandizement in which such families are accustomed to indulge in England and other states, where a certain number and class of families have made themselves masters of the government. The ruling aristocrats, together with the court, form a

whole. Everything is sacrificed to the splendour of this court, and of the statesmen and managers of their exhibitions: there is a great pretension of promoting and cherishing the arts in a forcing-house into which a servile spirit can never suffer the fine arts to enter, and no attention is paid to the nature of the country and the people. All this is necessarily connected with imposing upon the lower classes, citizens and peasants, the obligation of paying for the maintenance of the splendour of the princes and their courts and the high officers of the realm, and enabling them, according to the common phrase, *to do honour to their rank*. The inferior officers who labour are condemned to penury, in order that their idle superiors may live in luxury and splendour. That this was the case in Denmark also appears from the single circumstances and detached accounts which the Danish writers bring forward, and which therefore we do not adopt as historical facts, but merely as illustrations of what has just been stated. It is said that there were judges in Denmark (and however low may have been their position, they still were judges) who had only twenty dollars' salary besides their fees. In general it is clearly proved, that all the officers belonging to the lower and middle classes were paid with incredibly small allowances, whilst the higher ones were remunerated by sums altogether disproportioned both to their duties and their rank. At a time in which a thousand dollars was regarded as a high salary both in Germany and in Denmark, many of the high officers of the kingdom drew 30,000 from the public treasury. It would not have been endured, that the aristocratic and exclusive ministry should have provided for the maintenance of all their kith and kin, had not the whole of the nobility, each for himself, pursued that course which count Brühl in his time pursued in Saxony. In order to obtain any good situation whatever, it was necessary to have been in the domestic service of some of those noble aristocrats, such as Schimmelmänn, Bernstorff, Daneskiöld, Moltke, Reventlau or Rantzau, who formed an oligarchy under Frederick; the petitioner or aspirant must have been chamberlain, cook, coachman, or even footman, before he could calculate on success or promotion: this became at last the case even with those situations for which learned studies, or a knowledge of the law was required\*.

\* All this is extracted from two very well-known and accurate Danish works

These grandees and exclusive oligarchs, of whom many were very tender and very pious, by whom Klopstock in particular was received with great attention and kindness, and by whom Basedow was provided with a good income, under the form of subscriptions to his 'Elementary Work,'—these men may not unjustly be compared with Brühl. They were reproached with having increased the debts of this poor country in the time of peace till it amounted to 26,000,000 of dollars; and it was felt, and justly felt, to be a great oppression, that whilst these nobles indulged in princely luxuries and expenditure and gave the most magnificent fêtes, the common people were ground down to the earth by merciless taxation. Newspapers and books boasted, it is true, that they introduced trade and manufactures, and promoted commerce and navigation in all parts of the world: Herr Rosevinge quotes the names of learned men, and cites ordinances of 1753, but we know from experience wherein the precise value of all these things consisted. When more nearly considered the whole of this glory disappears, as well as that of the attorney-general Stampe, who instituted an examination which must be undergone by the candidates for the lower offices, and which Herr Rosevinge refers to as a proof that learned persons alone became officers of the state. Trade was to be promoted by monopolies\*, because in these monarchical times it was believed that ministers could do everything—it was only necessary to issue decrees. The progress of navigation was purchased at an immense price, by the enormous sums which were spent on their possessions in all parts of the world, and the vast expeditions which it was necessary to equip; and whatever was gained by the manufacturer was drawn away from the rest of the people. In order to secure manufactures, the undertakers of the various manufacturing enterprises must be supported by money, and in order to procure a market for these home productions, high duties were imposed upon cheaper and better articles produced in other countries, or as sometimes happened, these were wholly prohibited. And now it may be asked, if arts which sprung immediately from the spirit of the people and from their pressing necessities would

by Kragh Høst. If therefore Herr Rosevinge, who has sent me a letter upon the subject, which is very commendable in a Danish official, denies these facts, it will be his duty to discuss the question with his countrymen, and not with us.

\* Hence Martfeld's witty remark, "that Denmark, instead of one Sully, had received two Colberts in the persons of Bernstorff and Moltke."

not have been more advantageous than those which were planted in the forcing-houses of the ruling aristocracy and supported by the excessive luxury of the court?

At this time great anxiety was felt in Denmark in consequence of the threats of Peter III. of Russia to wrest from the Danes by force of arms the territories in Holstein and Sleswick of which his father had been despoiled. In these circumstances the Danish nobles called in the aid of the count St. Germain, a Frenchman, whom we here meet with as a conservative minister, and whom we shall afterwards find as a liberal among the triumvirate of Louis XVI. He was invited to Denmark because he alleged that he was completely master of the Prussian military system, which at that time they did not favour in France. He certainly introduced this system into Denmark and raised the army to 70,000 men; but it very soon appeared that neither the man nor the system was at all suited to the Danes. When we hereafter come to speak of the negotiations respecting the arrangement of the disputes with Russia in the succeeding reign, we shall refer to the manner in which the Danes got rid of the services of the French minister, who left behind him a bad reputation, and great dissatisfaction with all that he had done in Denmark.

The miserable constitution of the German empire suffered its members to become the prey of the Danish ministry, without any interference on their behalf on the part of the empire, the emperor, or their neighbouring states. Hamburg and Mecklenburg were compelled to furnish cash for the payment, and to provide for the sustenance and lodging of the army which had been recruited by St. Germain, and which the Danes themselves were unable to pay. Ten thousand men were sent to Hamburg in 1758 and quartered in the territories of the city till the citizens produced 1,000,000 of dollars, which was extorted under the name of a loan at 4 per cent. At a later period, from 1762 onwards, when Peter III.'s Russians were threatening an attack, further sums were extorted by St. Germain's army, and in 1767 the city was obliged to provide 4,000,000 of dollars for Denmark. Mecklenburg was compelled, however unwilling, to allow the Danish army to be provisioned and lodged upon her territory and at her cost.

The Danish oligarchy, moreover, like the Swedish aristocracy and the German princes, availed itself of the folly of the French

government to purchase an influence in foreign cabinets, without deriving any substantial advantages from the influence so acquired. A month before Frederick's death a subsidy-treaty was concluded, in order to give an honourable name to a disgraceful thing. By virtue of this treaty Denmark was to receive a yearly allowance of 1,600,000 livres from France, in order to prevent the former country from throwing herself completely into the arms of Russia. Catharine, it is true, had renounced the views of her husband, but she delayed the complete termination of the dispute in order to keep Denmark in a state of dependence on her will.

The money which the ruling Danish nobles fraudulently obtained from the French and extorted from their weak German neighbours on the one hand, they were obliged on the other to pay with increase to the Russian ministers and favourites under Elizabeth, and still more under Catharine II. The dependence of Denmark upon Russia was not confined to the necessity of mere acts of bribery and contributions in money, but the Russian minister in Copenhagen was in some measure co-regent with that of Denmark. What is said by Höst may be indeed true, that baron de Korf never abused his influence during the twenty-six years in which he filled the office of Russian ambassador at the court of Denmark; but his immediate successors, Filosoff and Saldern, behaved with all that brutality which those are accustomed to do who are made insolent and overbearing by a sense of political and physical power.

Frederick V. died on the 14th of January 1766, and Christian VII. assumed the reins of government. The ministry, which consisted of estimable men, although led astray by the prejudices belonging to their cast, were threatened with a danger from the young king, now seventeen years old, which might have been guarded against by greater attention to his education, since he was by no means destitute of talents in his youth. His education however had been extremely ill-conducted by the chamberlain, and afterwards high steward, Reventlau, and his wife, because they themselves only possessed that description of education which is but too often found in high life,—that perfectly smooth exterior, fitted for the intercourse and empty forms of fashionable life, which is consistent with a gross, rude and undisciplined state of mind and affections. The crown prince was treated with harshness and severity by Reventlau, and his

wife, as well as by his tutor Nielsen. He had received no deep impressions of real and intelligible religious feeling, as is usually the case with the pupils of pietistic or ecclesiastical teachers, because the people under whose guardianship he was placed indemnified themselves by ridiculing every description of religion, for the restrictions under which they were placed by being obliged to do honour to the observance of religious forms. Kept apart from good society, and neither interested nor won by the courtly manners and associates of Reventlau and his lady, he fell completely into the hands of his page, von Sperling, and his footman, Kirchhof, who, by enticements, assistance and example, led him into a course of licentiousness by which both body and mind were early weakened and impaired.

The influence which Mallet and Reverdil, two French Swiss, gained over the mind of the young king, is a sufficient proof that he would not have sunk to such an extent of degradation as he really did, if he had been placed under better superintendence than that of Reventlau. These two men, of whom the former is well known as the author of a history of Denmark which was read throughout all Europe, were placed about the prince at the same time in order to make him acquainted with the language and literature of France. They not only completely succeeded in this, but they found the means of making his studies and mental cultivation so agreeable to the prince, that the court began to dread their power, and they were successively dismissed from their office. Frederick's minister gave the finishing stroke to the understanding and physical constitution of the king, by proposing to him to undertake a journey to France and England, which threw the poor kingdom into new pecuniary difficulties, whilst the king returned in a state of mental imbecility. This journey gave rise to a pause in those cabals by which the court was distracted immediately after the accession of the young king. Reventlau had indeed changed the title of high steward for that of high chamberlain, but he still continued to conduct himself as lord and minister. Sperling and Kirchhof no sooner appeared to him dangerous to his influence and power than both were dismissed, contrary to the wishes of the king, and Bernstorff, Reventlau and Rosenkranz appeared anew, as if desirous of forming a ruling aristocratic triumvirate.

The Danes often showed their dislike to Bernstorff on account of his Hanoverian origin, however estimable he was in himself;



and the dignity and solemnity of manner of this fashionable but withal noble and mild statesman were intolerable to the young king, who ascribed all this to mere vanity and courtliness. Every one however must admit that he entitled himself to great commendation under the new reign. His immortal and glorious labours for lightening the burthens and relieving the oppression of the Danish boors were the more noble and beneficent, as he himself belonged to the German feudal nobility, and possessed large estates with a vassal peasantry: he was the person moreover who again abolished the oppressive nature of military services which had been introduced by St. Germain; for the Frenchman and his helper's helper, lieutenant-general von Gähler, were dismissed from the management of the war department. The disgraceful results of their dependence upon France, which they had brought upon themselves by the receipt of a miserable yearly pension, if not altogether removed, were at least eased through his instrumentality. Under the previous reign, the French ambassador in Copenhagen (Ogier) had not only availed himself of the influence purchased by his court by subsidies for the promotion of his own speculations in trade, but he even purchased church-livings in Denmark, and yet they were long unable to succeed in procuring his recall; Bernstorff effected this under the new reign. The main service, however, which Bernstorff rendered to Denmark and the whole of Europe was the amicable arrangement of the long existing dispute with respect to Sleswick and Holstein, and a satisfactory settlement of the demands of the city of Hamburg. At this time he, Reventlau and Thott, were raised to the dignity of counts.

Peter III. attached by far too great importance to the possession of that portion of Holstein-Gottorp which his grandfather and father had possessed before the time of the mad campaigns undertaken by Charles XII., and by the indulgence of his humours to regain what had been lost, he manifestly facilitated the plans of his wife and her brutal and licentious companions to deprive him of his crown. Catharine II. entertained very different views. Falkenskiöld, who was himself employed to urge on the execution of the treaty concluded in 1768, alleges that she was quite wrong in laying no stress upon securing Holstein-Gottorp for her son Paul. Catharine had at first, it is true, laid claim to the guardianship of her son in Holstein and to the direction of a government in the nature of a regency to be esta-

blished in Kiel; but Frederic V. no sooner humbly left the question to her own good will and discretion, than she willingly yielded to a different arrangement. The direction of this regency was left to the chief of the younger line of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, duke Adolf Frederick, brother of the king of Sweden: he was to be president of the council of regency to be appointed and organized in Kiel. The rude and avaricious Saldern, however, who on account of his talents for business afterwards was in great favour with Panin, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, as privy councillor and minister, became the leading man in the council; his favour was secured by Bernstorff by means of enormous bribes, and by his instrumentality he obtained that which neither count Osten, as ambassador in Petersburg, nor the chamberlain Asseburg, who succeeded Osten in his embassy, had been able to effect\*. Saldern's name requires the more to be mentioned, as he not only played the tyrant in Denmark, but afterwards also, in the name of the empress, in Poland.

He was not, as Falkenskiöld relates, the son of a forester; his father enjoyed the title of a Gottorp state-councillor, and belonged to the very numerous class of German jurists who in our universities prepare themselves at the same time, by indefatigable industry and attendance upon lectures, for finding the thread of Ariadne to guide them through the labyrinths of law and for the routine of a pettifogger, and by carousing and duels acquire the tone and manners of a braggadocio, to impose upon the weak and simple-minded. He fell into some bad practices as Holstein administrator of the district of Trittau, and betook himself to

\* *Mémoires de M. Falckenskiöld par Secretan, Paris 1826, p. 105*: "M. d'Assebourg ayant d'étroites liaisons avec le comte de Panin, ministre des affaires étrangères en Russie, sembloit fort propre à servir utilement la cour de Copenhague; mais il étoit plus attaché aux intérêts du roi de Prusse qu'à ceux de sa cour. Il ne s'en cachoit pas et dit publiquement, qu'à ses yeux ce qui concernoit ce prince devoit aller avant tout; ainsi, au lieu d'agir comme mandataire du Danemarck il travailloit à brouiller les affaires de Pologne, où il espéroit ménager quelque bon coup de filet au roi de Prusse. La négociation de Holstein en de telles mains auroit peu avancé sans l'intervention de Saldern. J'ai rapporté qu'il se fit adroitement charger par la cour de Pétersbourg, de conduire cette affaire et qu'il conclût avec la cour de Copenhague, représentée par MM. de Bernstorff et d'Assebourg un traité," &c. He adds, "La cour de Pétersbourg devoit avoir eu des motifs puissans pour accorder au roi de Danemarck des avantages aussi considérables. Saldern fit sans doute envisager ce prince comme un membre de la maison régnante en Russie, qu'il falloit traiter généreusement, afin que se sentant sous l'influence bienfaisante de la famille impériale, à laquelle il appartenait par le sang il se dévouât tout entier pour elle. Il paroit que Bernstorff entra dans les idées de Saldern à cet égard, et qu'il sut inspirer une entière confiance à la cour de Russie."

Petersburg to seek for justice or vengeance at the hands of the grand-duke Peter, to whom count Panin was at that time high-steward. Saldern had the good fortune to gain great credit with Panin, and even contributed to maintain and increase his power when Panin afterwards became minister of foreign affairs under the reign of Catharine II. The conduct of the negotiation which had long been carried on by Bernstörff respecting the claims of the sons of Peter III. on Holstein, and consequently on Denmark, were entrusted to lieutenant-general Michael Filossoff, in connexion with Saldern, who was now the favourite of Panin, and minister of the council of regency in Kiel. This was a commission which would necessarily bring immense wealth to both the commissioners, and at the same time give them an opportunity, as plenipotentiaries of the empress, of proving to the Danes in Copenhagen itself how small their power and how trifling their influence were when compared with those of Russia.

The two commissioners went to Copenhagen in 1767, occupied a palace there which was fitted up with princely splendour, were treated as reigning princes, and conducted themselves with all the pretensions of such as long as they remained in the capital of Denmark. The treaty which they were sent to negotiate was concluded as early as April 1767, and confirmed by the empress and the king of Denmark in October and November, but could not be carried into execution till the grand-duke Paul, in whose name the empress had negotiated, was of age. The treaty appeared to be very advantageous for Denmark, but was in reality very burthensome, and hung like a threatening sword over the necks of the Danish ministry till the time of its execution. By this treaty the empress of Russia promised that her son, as soon as he was of age, should formally and solemnly relinquish all claims to Sleswick, which she now did in his name; and she consented that the portion which had been hitherto administered in the name of her son should be united with the kingdom of Denmark, in the same way as the royal portion of this German province had long been done. On her part, Denmark took upon herself all the debts of the province, even those which had been contracted before 1720, and further promised to pay to the younger line of the house the sum of 250,000 dollars, which was due to them, in the course of five years, as well as to raise it to the dignity of a reigning house. This was to be done by first

inducing the son of Frederick V. by his second marriage to give up the dignity of coadjutor of the bishopric of Lubeck, and by conferring the reversion of the principality of Eutin, which was called the bishopric of Lubeck, upon Peter William Frederick, the prince of the younger line. The lordships of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst were also destined for the same prince, although in the treaty they were first surrendered as an indemnification to the grand-duke Paul. So far all was tolerably advantageous; but there were accompaniments to this contract, whose completion many circumstances contributed to delay, which were extremely burthensome to the poor kingdom of Denmark, especially the heavy payments which were to be made, and a very suspicious so-called "family" compact with Russia.

The agreement with Hamburg at length freed this city from the vexatious extortions of the whole Holstein house, but the city was obliged to pay good money for obsolete claims, although neither Russia, Hanover, Holland nor England would ever have suffered Hamburg to be regarded as a Holstein city. The city by this agreement consented to relinquish the sum of 1,000,000 of crown dollars of the debt due by the king, and 383,000 from that portion of the Holstein debt which was owing by the grand-duke.

Bernstorff also, alas! suffered from the passion which constantly impels the great to desire to become greater, and the rich to become richer, from which Frederick II. alone was free, but which brought Buonaparte to his fall. Bernstorff also believed that a minister never could have titles and orders enough, and as nothing was to be attained in those miserable times except by the instrumentality of cabals, he now called in the aid of Saldern to assist him in the removal of those persons who stood, or seemed to stand, in his and Reventlau's way, and prevented him from attaining the object of his ambition, which was the title and dignity of high-chancellor. We should not reckon St. Germain, Gähler and Rantzau-Ascheberg amongst the number of those who were dismissed merely because they were enemies to Bernstorff's claims, because they were unworthy of office and their dismissal was salutary; but the case was quite otherwise with Daneskiöld, Samson and Reverdil. The latter stood in the way of the reigning nobility, on account of the attachment of the king, who was always in the power of any one who could make an impression

on his mind, and of the liberality of his opinions; his dismissal was unavoidable among persons who sometimes effected the downfall of one and sometimes of another by cabals, while no one at this young court could say who was, properly speaking, master. This was the case even with the wild and dissolute companions of the king, whom they entertained with the most childish follies and debilitated by licentiousness: sometimes one and sometimes another of these favourites was obliged to leave the court, according to the rise or decline of the fortunes of the noble courtiers of whom they were clients. When Reventlau, for example, was dismissed, Sperling was also obliged to leave the court.

After the removal of Kirchhof and Sperling, a lieutenant Osborn and a page, count Hölk, held the most prominent position among the companions of the mad freaks of the king, and the latter did not fail to make use of his influence over the childish and imbecile monarch. The government, it is true, still remained chiefly in the hands of the ministers, and their mutual and counteracting cabals continued their course; but nevertheless, before the departure of the king, Hölk had contrived to have himself advanced from a page to be marshal of the court, and promoted his whole family to valuable offices.

The young king was married to a daughter of Frederick Prince of Wales and sister of George III. of Great Britain. His wife bare him a son, the crown prince, in January 1768; but she was subjected to such annoyances and indignities, that the connexion could not possibly be long maintained. How was it possible for her to receive her husband with respect without sacrificing her womanly, not to say her queenly rights, and without degradation, on his return from his mad and childish pastimes in the capital, or approve of his indulgence of his unnatural passions and intercourse with the meanest of her sex? The queen possessed too great a portion of her brother's obstinacy, and of the insolent and domineering spirit of English amazons, to submit to treatment of this description; nevertheless, by permission of the ministry, she was first offensively treated by Saldern, secondly by her husband, and finally by count Hölk. Saldern never rested till the ministry, which gave unconditional obedience to Russian commands, drove the queen's mistress of the robes out of the country, and count Hölk, who for many reasons was an enemy to the queen, afterwards forced his own sister into the situation which had been occupied by her friend.

When we read\* the anecdotes of the mean wit and of the practical jokes in which the king was accustomed to indulge before his journey, the history of the court and government, and of the mad dissipation which was carried on around the king, we cannot comprehend how it was possible for a ministry, in which such a man as Bernstorff had a place, to send a king upon his travels, in whose society the conduct which was pursued was like that of a madhouse.

The preparations which were made for the king's journey bore no relation to the resources of a small kingdom which was completely exhausted by aristocrats and their creatures. In the journey and suite of the king we are presented with a true image of the nature of that aristocratic government and pomp of nobility which Bernstorff and his colleagues brought into Denmark under the reign of Frederick V. from Hanover and Holstein, and the high-steward, count Bothmar, from Mecklenburg; that is, from those very provinces in Germany where the nobles were everything and the people nothing. In the higher circles there was nothing but unbounded luxury, splendour and debts; in the lower, nothing but misery and oppression. The king's suite on his journey consisted of fifty-seven persons, and some of the highest nobility did not fail to take advantage of the opportunity of taking a journey of pleasure at the public expense, of showing their orders and obtaining new ones; the two brothers Hölk were not missing. The young queen Caroline Matilda shed bitter tears because she was not allowed to make one of the party. The suite might be compared to a travelling noblesse and a migrating court†. Before we direct attention to the manner in which the principle which Horace professes to have de-

\* We have no room for anecdotes. It may be worth while to read the few examples which Jens Kragh Høst gives in his work, entitled, 'The Danish Privy and Cabinet Minister, count John Frederick Struensee and his Ministry.' Copenhagen, 1826; part 1st, p. 82, note d.

† We shall not mention the baggage. At the head of this migrating army of idlers there was privy councillor count Bernstorff, privy councillor of state von der Lühé, lieutenant-general von Hauch, lord high marshal count Moltke, the two counts Hölk, chamberlain von Krogh, chamberlain von Bülow, minister of state Schumacher, councillor of state von Berger, lieutenant-colonel von Düring, groom of the chambers von Warnstede, councillor of the exchequer Sturz, &c. &c. It is very characteristic of the time, that the king named his former footman and pimp Kirchhof, who had been hunted out of Copenhagen and made a toll-collector in Nyburg, a *councillor of justice* (*Justizrath*). Some few of the suite turned back in Gottorp, for example, one of the Hölks, Berger, and von der Lühé; but fifty-four persons still remained and accompanied the king.

rived from Homer—that “the Achæians were obliged to suffer for the sins of their princes\*”—was illustrated in Denmark, we shall first refer to the useless and absurd expenditure under the burthen of which this poor country had long groaned. Saldern and his companions could not be maintained except at a great expense; immense sums were squandered upon the pensions of persons who, by the ebb and flow of the constantly fluctuating cabals, were sometimes driven towards the coast of court favour and sometimes washed out to sea. We shall not speak of Daneskiöld, St. Germain and Reventlau, for they performed some duties; but of Sperling, Kirchhof and innumerable others, whose proper place would have been the house of correction, and who were yet rewarded with thousands of dollars of the public money. The extravagance of the court, the immense sums which were required for the armaments of 1762, and the indemnification which was paid to the younger line of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, exhausted and far exceeded the usual income of the state; the ministers, who were allowed in their own persons to exercise the powers both of the king and the estates, were obliged to raise money by every expedient.

In 1762 an extraordinary tax was raised, and that not from the rich landed proprietors, but from the poor; it consisted in a poll-tax of a dollar per head, and could therefore only become considerable by the number of the contributors. The payment of this poll-tax was made obligatory upon all persons above twelve years of age; even servants were forced to contribute. In order to meet the expenses of the king's journey, a new personal tax was laid upon the inhabitants of Copenhagen in May 1768; this was a species of property-tax, which in many cases amounted to ten dollars. The expense of the journey is very differently stated, but certain it is, that at the time in which it was undertaken, Schimmelmann, the minister of finance, imposed five new taxes upon the whole country, which especially affected the industrious and even the starving classes of society. On this occasion, Schimmelmann, who was obliged to advance the money, played the banker also: he pledged the income of the state, whilst as finance minister he at the same time sanctioned the expenditure and laid on the taxes under the authority of the extorted signature of an absolute and half-idiotic king! The most usual and necessary payments were and continued to be

\* Hor. Epist., lib. i. 11.

neglected, the ministers who were dismissed from their situations and other persons of distinction were magnificently provided for by those who thought that tomorrow might place themselves in a similar position, and thus St. Germain was permitted to squander a pension of 14,000 dollars in a foreign country.

Notwithstanding his immense suite, king Christian travelled, as the phrase is, *incognito*; but in England the mask was thrown off, by which the expense was greatly increased. One of the most important events connected with the history of Denmark and the monarchical reforms in the kingdoms of Europe during the eighteenth century occurred on the king's journey in Holstein: he was there joined by Struensee, who was physician in ordinary to the town of Altona, and at the same time to the lordship of Rantzau and the district of Pinneberg. In England the imbecile king literally threw the gold pieces of his poor and oppressed country out of the windows for the pleasure and gratification of the English mob; in Paris, notwithstanding his weakness of mind, he was loudly praised and admired by the court, the academy and the ladies. He had long before received a eulogistic letter from Voltaire, with whose patronage no prince, man of learning, or man of the world, could dispense, if he aimed at any eminent position in society. The whole of the newspapers in Europe were filled with the clever remarks and witty sayings of the young king, although it is proved beyond a question, that on this journey he lost the small remnant of mental vigour and physical strength which remained to him.

Struensee upon the journey had contrived to make himself indispensable to the king, partly as a physician, and partly by his skill in entertaining and occupying the mind of his majesty in various ways. When the dissolute course of life in Copenhagen was again renewed, he did not alter his behaviour\*, but continued to maintain his hold upon the mind of the monarch, whilst count Hølk was merely a dissolute companion, who ob-

\* Falkenskiöld, who had previously attached himself to Struensee, writes as follows, p. 107:—"Struensee ne se livra point aux plaisirs et aux jeux folâtres de cette jeune cour; mais il sut entretenir le roi par des lectures agréables, par une conversation variée, entremêlant quelquefois de considérations sérieuses les propos frivoles; bientôt il devint pour ce prince un homme essentiel et nécessaire." Herr Rosevinge takes it very much amiss that the author of this history should have made any use of Falkenskiöld's authority. That however has only been done with great caution; and as to his own penetration, he can only regret that he does not possess so high a reputation as the director of the university of Copenhagen.



viously abused the weakness of his master. Struensee, properly speaking, was only selected as physician for the journey, and on the king's return he should have remained behind in Holstein; but by means of some cabals, he had secured for himself the appointment of physician to the person. Hölk on the journey, but still more after his return, had drawn largely upon the treasury for the support of his unbounded expenditure and his numerous and costly amours, and count Moltke, as high-marshal of the court, had often attempted, but in vain, to procure his dismissal. Hölk ruled the king. The latter affected almost ironically the observance of a vast degree of ceremony and respect towards the queen, and kept himself apart from her society even after the birth of the crown prince, till Struensee succeeded in virtually bringing him completely into the power of her majesty.

The aristocrats at first left the care of the king's person willingly to Struensee, as long as they were suffered to retain full possession of the government. Struensee had been educated in the strictest pietism, and yet not only the whole of that orthodox adherence to church authority, but even the christian religion itself appeared to him unintelligible and absurd, and had been made intolerable by the narrow views entertained with respect to it by his father and mother. His father was one of the most distinguished clergymen in the Danish duchies, but at the same time one of the most zealous supporters of German pietism. He had sent his son to the Pædagogium at Halle, and the spirit of this pietistic institution produced the same effects on his mind as it had done on that of hundreds of others; he not only scoffed at the blind faith with which they wished to inspire him, but at religion in general. Struensee also, like hundreds of others, passed over from this blind faith to complete infidelity, and became far better acquainted with the Parisian philosophy and the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, and other celebrated French authors, than with the bible. His career, the whole of the good and the evil which he wrought in Denmark, resulted from the vanity, the sensuality and ambition of his character and the manner of his education. High principles of morality, or any feeling of inspiration for eternal blessings, were foreign to his mind; and what therefore was to guard and maintain him on the path of duty, when fortune conducted him to an elevation at which even great minds often become giddy? Simple pru-

dence alone was not sufficient, particularly since the young queen had thrown herself with passionate and incautious love into his arms.

Struensee was a man who was educated completely after Wieland's manner and taste, remarkable for his beauty of person as well as physical strength; Caroline was married to a prince who as a young man had already lost all the vigour of manhood,—who, it is true, had sense enough blindly to sign his name, to say and to do what was required of him, but was totally deficient in resolution to deny the smallest favours to those who importuned him; Struensee delivered him into the hands of the queen, and that was the beginning of the tragedy. Caroline Matilda was in her twentieth year, and possessed the manners and passions of English ladies of high rank: she was an excellent horsewoman and often rode upon a side saddle; she played the amazon; drove herself, appeared in male attire, and even founded an order when she got the king completely into her power. Struensee was not anxiously careful to preserve a reputation for chastity; on the contrary, he was so successful in his numerous gallantries, that Filosofoff, the Russian ambassador, out of vexation once spat upon him in the theatre, which at the same time presents us with an example of the manners of the time as well as of the insolence of the Russian ambassador. From all this it will appear, that many things contributed to bring the queen and Struensee upon the same path; they were daily in each other's society, and their intimacy became greater and greater when Struensee took charge of the physical and moral education of the prince. They agreed to rescue the king from the power of Hölk, who used his influence with the sovereign for the promotion of the interests and privileges of the nobility. The care and superintendence of the inoculation of the prince, which brought the queen and Struensee often and long together in his apartments, did the rest; but Struensee's vanity and the real passion of the young and vehement queen, whose conduct was in other respects irreproachable, led him too soon to forget all prudence and respect.

Immediately on his return (May 1769) Struensee was created a councillor of state, made his appearance in all the court circles as a man of importance, accompanied the court in summer to Friedrichsberg, and soon afterwards, under the title of a cabinet minister, took a considerable share in the business of the state.

From this moment forward Struensee's monarchical reforms commenced, and especially his attempts, by absolute power, to set bounds to the dominion of the nobles and the government by officials; but he speedily exhibited symptoms of great imprudence and precipitation. First of all he attacked the nobility in the person of one of its best and most distinguished members, in Bernstorff, the only one of them all who by his virtues and merits made some compensation for the evils which resulted from his love of distinction, the prejudices of rank, and his inclination to sentimental and exaggerated pietism. His proceedings against Bernstorff not only roused the indignation of all the orthodox and fanatical believers in the kingdom against Struensee, who made no secret of his infidelity, but the Russian court also, with whose brutal ambassador he had previously quarrelled, was incensed. We subjoin in a note\* the reproaches which were afterwards cast by Struensee upon Bernstorff's noble oligarchy, when he dismissed them by a cabinet order, with a view to found a really monarchical power; that is, a power, according to the Russian practice, proceeding from the *absolute will of a single individual*. It was not possible to effect the dismissal of Bernstorff and his ministry till a new companion was provided for the king instead of Hölk; and for this reason the dismissal of Bernstorff and the constitution of the new monarchical cabinet under Struensee were delayed till September 1770.

Christian VII. had now become completely imbecile; who-

\* The great changes which have taken place respecting the views entertained with regard to the advantages of birth may be learned from this, that however far the reactionary spirit of our times and the sophists who contribute to its support have gone, and however many princes and nobles may think like Frederick II., there is none of them who would now venture to say publicly or to write what Frederick von Struensee wrote: "L'accès que le médecin eut à la cour lui fit gagner imperceptiblement plus d'ascendant sur l'esprit de la reine, qu'il n'étoit convenable à un homme de cette extraction." Struensee's objections to the government of the people "*de haute extraction*" may be seen in his defence of himself: they removed the king from all public affairs; drew the whole government into the hands of the council of ministers, but controlled the king even in the most minute affairs of private life by Hölk and such other persons. In the distribution of offices everything depended upon favour and schemes. The dominion of the ministers led to anarchy, for no one confined himself to the duties of his own office, but wished for influence also in other departments; the finances were ruined by disorder and abuses; the influence of foreign courts and their ambassadors was too great and oppressive, and the money spent on foreign affairs exceeded all bounds; and the offices, titles and distinctions bestowed had become an evil which was ruinous to morals and administration.

ever was his companion could by flattery, threatening or compulsion, guide him as he pleased, and induce him to say or write whatever was prescribed to him, which he then often expressed remarkably well. In this state of affairs, every command or order to which his name was subscribed, according to the dreadful principle\* of the new constitution of Denmark, was to be regarded like a divine law in the whole circuit of the kingdom and its dependencies. From the end of the year 1769, the use of the king's name as well as the care of his person was in the power of Struensee and the queen. In January 1770 Struensee took up his residence in the castle of Christiansburg, in May he inoculated the crown prince, and under the title of queen's private secretary became her inseparable companion, however far he was from entertaining the same pure affection for the queen which she entertained towards him. Because Reverdil had formerly been reader to the king his master, Struensee took this duty also upon himself. In order to prevent the king from feeling any sense of deprivation on the dismissal of Hölk, to whose emptiness, tricks and follies he was accustomed, they sought for a substitute in the person of a man who had formerly been a page and shared in all the mischief into which the king entered along with Hölk, till the oligarchy, who wished to leave the dominion over the king's person in the hands of Hölk alone, effected his dismissal. This man was named Enewold Brandt: he had been a rival of Hölk, but wrote a most absurd letter to the king, intended to injure his rival, which not only failed in its design, but led to his own dismissal, since which time he had lived in miserable poverty. In Paris Brandt presented himself to the king in sorrowful apparel; he did not indeed gain his proper object, but succeeded in forming an intimate friendship with Struensee, who thought of him and of turning him to account as early as 1769. In this year Brandt was appointed a chamberlain, and recovered his place in the government of Oldenburg which he had formerly lost, but was not brought actually to court till the following year (1770). The whole army of the court nobility, Bernstorff also and the Hölks, migrated like a

\* This fearful regal law of Denmark, or *Kongslov*, of 1665, which has been somewhat modified in late years, in the seventh article runs literally as follows: "Omnia regni negotia, literæ atque acta nullius nisi regis nomine ejusque ob-signata sigillo publicantur, ipseque ea semper manu propria subnotato si modo legitimæ ætatis annos compleverit."

swarm of locusts to Holstein in the summer of 1770, whither Struensee and the queen dragged the king along with them, and whilst there all those steps were taken rapidly one after another by which Struensee eventually became completely master of the government. In June Brandt appeared again for the first time before the king in Gottorp, and Hölk was frightened at his appearance, although he had long ceased to be his enemy. In July Brandt was again restored to his old office at court, played his old character, resumed the charge of the king's person, and in August was also made director of the theatre and of the collections of art. Hölk was dismissed with a pension, but afterwards became a magistrate in Holstein; that is, filled a high official situation, but was no longer a courtier. He died in 1800, as chief administrator of Kiel, Bordesholm and Cronshagen.

The commencement of Struensee's cabinet-government and monarchical administration dates from the close of the year 1769, but the proper commencement of the revolution which he effected must be regarded as not having taken place till September 1770. On the 4th of this month Struensee began his reforms, as far as the state was concerned, by issuing three royal edicts. Wherever it is possible, we pass over all the mere changes which were effected in the persons of the administration, because we do not profess to write a special history, but are desirous merely of directing attention to the course of events. By the first of these edicts, the censorship of the press was abolished: this gave rise to great rejoicings throughout the whole of Europe; less because there was a prevailing conviction that complete freedom of the press was either possible or would be useful in the continental states, than because the king of Prussia and the tone-giving societies of Paris had declared themselves loudly in its favour. The second edict referred to the trade with Algiers, against the dey of which the minister had sent a costly expedition, and brought disgrace upon himself and the kingdom by an unsuccessful bombardment of this strongly fortified place. By the third edict the numerous titles and decorations of honour, which had been increased to a most ridiculous extent, were abolished. The very edicts themselves announced to the Danes, who, as is well known, entertain the most extravagant prejudices in favour of their own language and nation, that a German adventurer had gained dominion over their king; for they were written in the *German language*. This single circumstance is sufficient to prove

that Struensee was not in a position to enable him to carry through any real improvements; for in the very commencement he deprived himself of the only sure foundation of any revolution, by failing to meet the popular will and running counter to the national element. Two days after the publication of the edicts, on the 6th of September, Bernstorff was dismissed, and, accompanied by Klopstock, who was then living in his house, departed to Holstein.

From this time forward one reforming edict followed another in rapid succession, and just as it happened, sometimes good and sometimes bad, sometimes suitable and sometimes unsuitable, because no one was called in even to consultation, except those who had been previously selected by the dictator of the cabinet, because he knew their opinions were in conformity with his own. In general those edicts were all framed in the sense in which Frederick II., Voltaire and the encyclopædists expressed themselves to one another; wherefore Voltaire has celebrated in a special poem the royal commands issued on the 14th of September and directed to all the authorities on the subject of the introduction of the complete freedom of the press. Two ordinances issued in the following month of October, prove how completely regardless Struensee was of the religion of the people, or even of those ancient Lutheran usages of whose observance Denmark is even now so proud, and of all those classes of men who were most dangerous, in his hasty reforms. By one of these ordinances, three of the holidays most regarded by the people were again made working days, which caused a vehement commotion among the clergy and the people; and Struensee, because he treated Lady-day and the festival of St. John with disrespect, was execrated as an infidel. It indeed afterwards appeared that it would have been well if these days of idleness had been abolished, for they continued to be disregarded even when bigotry again assumed her rule. A second ordinance put an end to all reversions to vacant offices which had been previously granted, and this gave rise to the most vehement indignation among all the families and innumerable creatures of the oligarchical administrations.

The arbitrary will of the ministerial council up till this time, even in a country so absolutely governed as Denmark, had had to fear on the one hand public opinion, and on the other the cabinet, or, according to the ordinary phrase, the king; but since

the cabinet or the king now ruled immediately through Struensee, arbitrary pleasure was regarded as law. As early as December 1770, a so-called conference council was appointed instead of the council of ministers, which was not only a consulting but concluding authority; but no use was afterwards made even of this counselling body, although it was at first decreed that it should be made the medium through which all royal ordinances should be communicated to the different colleges. This however did not take place; Struensee never caused any of the ordinances to be translated, but sent them immediately from the cabinet to the lower authorities written in German; nay, he even required that all the reports sent from the subordinate courts and offices to the cabinet should be drawn up in the same language. Every step which he took, as well as the unconcern with which the young queen suffered herself to indulge in a passion which she regarded as permissible in the condition of her husband, or as we would say, to be palliated, were sufficient proofs of the giddiness which had robbed both him and the queen of their senses, even before he was guilty of the imprudence of having himself named as prime minister.

All relations were now altered, all institutions remodeled, a totally different set of persons placed in the offices about the court and those of the state; all confidence in continuance or fixity disappeared, although Struensee had recourse to the advice of very able men and appointed them to the higher offices. Among these may be reckoned Berger, who was appointed physician to the person, and who aided in introducing into Denmark the science of political economy, then recent even in Germany; Oeder, and Struensee's brother, the councillor of justice, whom he invited from Prussia; Oeder was called from Franconia, properly speaking as a botanist. These men endeavoured, with wisdom and caution, to introduce the theory of the French and the practice of the king of Prussia into Denmark; they destroyed the whole course of proceedings, and made an opening for clever heads and useful workers, by dismissing the old and rusty officials, who had obtained their situations either through privilege or interest. All these advantages, even after Struensee's downfall, remained to the country, which was previously half a century behind the age.

In the first royal reforms and their accomplishment by means of cabinet orders, Struensee did not act formally as minister of state, he was only called privy councillor or *maître des requêtes*, and Schumacher was obliged to draw up and sign everything he had resolved; but this also he soon felt to be inconvenient and embarrassing. He was by no means scrupulous about the means which he employed in realizing his plans, for he was a formal professor of the doctrine laid down by Helvetius, that egotism alone is consequent in its actions, which indeed is an undeniable truth, because it alone operates with all the force of instinct. He had therefore caused Ranzau Ascheberg to be recalled, who was one of the greatest scoundrels in Germany, and whom Bernstorff, to the joy of every honourable man, had previously dismissed; this very circumstance contributed no little to his fall. Ranzau had by nature talents for everything wicked, and he had perfected them by practice in Russia, where he was actively concerned in the murder of Peter III., but was soon after obliged to leave Petersburg, because he was constantly engaged in weaving new plots. Even Falkenskiöld, whom he expressly recalled from Russia to avail himself of his talents and advice, proved unable to inspire him with any notions of political prudence.

Falkenskiöld was appointed colonel of the royal horse-guards, and with Struensee and Brandt was to form a triumvirate of government; it appears however from his memoirs that he entertained a great contempt for both his companions. Even Brandt was not completely in harmony with Struensee, for it appears from the manuscript correspondence of Høst, that he was neither satisfied with the burthensome duty of amusing and tyrannizing over the king, nor contented with the measures which Struensee adopted for their common benefit. Because Struensee could not dispense with such a man as Brandt, he even submitted to a species of government by mistresses along with his own; Brandt was completely under the influence of the countess Holstein, who, as a lady of high life, made use of her dominion on every opportunity. Warnstadt and Hølk had formerly lived with the king as his equals, because he permitted them so to do; but Brandt often treated the poor imbecile even with harshness and severity; he would nevertheless willingly have relinquished the direction of the court amusements and the



oversight of the king's person to Falkenskiöld. In these duties the latter however would take no part\*, but he was a complete master in all the arts of intrigue. He had learned in Petersburg to become such an adept in the art of caballing, as to exhibit no outward appearances of the enmity which he cherished. Filossoff had suddenly departed from Copenhagen, as if attacked by a fit of madness, and Falkenskiöld contrived to prevent the court of Russia from sending a genuine Russian into Denmark, as it was at first disposed to do, to tyrannise over the Danes in their own country and capital. It was the more difficult to keep Russia in good humour, as Panin was so incensed at the influence which Ranzau Ascheberg, for whom he entertained a mortal aversion, had gained in Petersburg, as well as the nomination of count Osten to be minister of foreign affairs, that he put off all negotiations respecting Holstein-Gottorp for an indefinite time.

Struensee now began, as empirics usually do, to try all sorts of nostrums in the way of political administration and economy upon the diseased body politic of Denmark. These new sciences had lately sprung up in France and England and just been transplanted into Germany. The whole system was brought to the knowledge of the public by Struensee's experiments, which often endangered the life of his patient, and it proved almost impossible afterwards completely to retrace the steps which had been taken: it is therefore necessary here to advert to some of those things which were abolished by Struensee, although we do not look exactly for an account of the nature of political administration, but for something different in history; we shall seek in vain for any definite plan or uniform and fixed course in these events.

Under the aristocracy of the court government of successive ministries, the whole kindred, relations, and even servants of the

\* Mémoires de Falkenskiöld, p. 116 :—" Brandt, soit pour m'éprouver, soit qu'il fût de bonne foi, me proposa la place de *maréchal de la cour*; je repoussai sa proposition, qui avoit si peu de rapport avec mes goûts, mes habitudes, et le métier auquel je m'étois voué dès l'enfance. Quelque tems après, le même Brandt, ennuyé d'une fonction, dont il étoit spécialement chargé, celle d'*amuser le roi*, me proposa formellement de prendre sa place avec vingt mille écus; m'assurant que cette offre étoit agréée par Struensée, je la rejetai comme la précédente. Peut-être Struensée crut-il qu'elle auroit plus de poids dans sa bouche; et comme je lui témoignois un jour le désir de retourner à l'armée Russe, il observa, que si Brandt se retiroit comme il avoit l'apparence, j'aurois dans mon pays une place plus avantageuse que je ne pouvois espérer dans l'étranger."

ruling caste, were in possession of all the offices of the state, of which they were the farmers. This was completely changed ; all servants, retainers, and creatures—all persons who had performed any private services whatsoever, were expressly excluded from being appointed to or provided for by any public offices. Under the oligarchy of ministers selected from the nobles alone who were in possession of real estates, the whole order of the nobility had exercised a discretionary rule over their vassals, and made an almost arbitrary use of their labours. Under Struensee, all soccage, personal and other services, which the peasants were bound to render, as well as their time and duration, were definitely fixed. The colleges of justice, which had grown benumbed by a dead routine of practice, and the mechanical discharge of duties transmitted from generation to generation, were completely transformed, the amount and nature of the payments and fees altered, and it was announced from the very beginning that all monopolies, guilds, privileges and corporations should be completely abolished. The magistracy of Copenhagen, which in the Danish, Dutch, and formerly in almost all the German cities consisted of a burgher aristocracy, which was filled up as vacancies occurred out of certain families, and adhered firmly to everything ancient as worthy of traditional honour, however unsuitable it might be to the demands and necessities of the age, was also obliged to give way. But on this occasion also Struensee proved to the Danes, that all the material advantages which he was desirous of procuring for them were to be purchased by the loss of the poor remains of the ancient freedom which the citizens enjoyed. The former magistracy, however chosen or appointed, still belonged to the people, but was now replaced by a totally different form of corporation government, in which the officials and jurists of the state government were to decide, and the citizens to hear and to obey, or at most to give counsel. Count Holstein as president, two jurists and four assessors appointed by the government constituted the mayor and common council, whilst some few citizens were suffered to be present and enjoyed the privilege of offering advice, but without a right to vote. This arbitrary proceeding was moreover accompanied by injustice towards the thirty-two senators who were chosen according to long standing usage, the first burgomaster, the secretary to the council, the syndic, and the director of the police. It is true indeed that the police

after this change was much better regulated, and the crying abuses and evils which flowed from relationship were effectually remedied.

The same course was pursued with the constitution and regulations of the old universities. Whoever is acquainted with the disorders of the old institutions of learning, transmitted from the middle ages and become traditionary in the universities, how much opposed they were to the spirit of the age, the taste, and often even to the inclinations of the students who were constrained to their adoption, as well as in defiance of all laws, will readily comprehend that Struensee in this case attacked a much more furious wasp's nest than that which he encountered in the reform of the corporation. Immediately afterwards, the court and the whole system of finance were remodeled, the department of marine having before been subjected to a like operation. The whole country was pleased with the reforms which were introduced into the mode of administering justice, which could only have been carried through by the revolutionary and unsparing means to which Struensee was accustomed to resort; for by these reforms an effectual remedy was applied, and in a very discreet manner, to the crying abuses which existed in this important department of the state. True indeed all those complained who had hitherto profited by these abuses. The whole body of the nobility, and especially the great proprietors, were greatly enraged at the ordinance promulgated respecting debts, and regarded it as a violation of their hereditary privileges. Hitherto the nobility in Denmark were accustomed to neglect the payment of their debts, and it was impossible under the old system to procure any execution against them from the courts of justice; a decree was now passed by which it was ordered, that in future the same legal remedies might be applied and executions issued in cases of debt against the first persons in the kingdom as against the humblest dealers.

The various savings which were effected in the public offices and departments of the state, the abolition of the horse-guards, and other things which made a great noise, would have all been regarded as great and beneficial reforms in a country whose yearly revenues only amounted to 6,000,000 dollars, if on the other hand Struensee and Brandt had not wasted immense sums on their luxuries or splendour, and by the signature of the king bestowed upon themselves the most splendid presents. The

queen dowager Juliana, a princess of the family of Wolfenbüttel, and a woman of a wicked disposition, who was very desirous of promoting the advancement of her son Frederick, the king's stepbrother, into some situation of importance, was offended with the treatment which she received, and had entirely withdrawn from the court. The dissatisfaction of the king's stepmother appeared in some measure to be justified by the boldness of the young queen in founding the so-called order of Matilda, and by the birth of a princess which was very suspicious in the well-known condition of the king's health, whose baptism was solemnized with great rejoicing; Juliana therefore soon became the head of a union among the Danes against the persons and influence of the Germans.

In the middle of the year 1771, Struensee conceived the unfortunate thought of assuming in his own person one of those official titles which he had abolished, and by having conferred upon him the rank of high nobility, passing from the condition of a democratic reformer to that of an aristocratic lord and regent. This plan was opposed to all common sense, and impossible, because the prejudice of which he wished in this manner to avail himself did not depend upon the king, but upon the number of retainers among the blind of all ranks. Struensee had previously lived in the royal palace after a princely fashion, given royal entertainments, and received one present in money and valuables after another; in June he even converted the public treasury into a species of private cabinet stock or secret-service money, and then dealt with hundreds of thousands according to his pleasure; finally, on the 14th of July he made himself dictator. On this day he was not only invested with the title and powers of chief minister of state, but it was decreed, that all orders signed by Struensee and sealed with the cabinet seal should be regarded as equally binding and lawful as if they had been subscribed by the king's sign manual\*. During the next

\* Høst's Struensee, p. 411 :—"All the king's commands given to the minister were by him to be reduced to proper form, and after having been duly prepared, were either to be submitted to the king for signature, or to have the cabinet seal attached in the name of the king. All the orders which on the representation of one college were necessary to be given to another were to be sanctioned by him, and no longer by the despatch of a command to the college, or by communication of the departments with one another. Extracts from the cabinet orders issued were to be weekly submitted to his majesty for his approbation; and the orders so drawn up were to be regarded as of equal sufficiency and obligation as those signed by the king's own hand, and to be

week, the new cabinet minister, who had previously behaved with such severity towards the high nobility, caused himself and his friend Brandt to be elevated to the dignity of Danish counts, and it was commonly said on the occasion, that he would next, out of a number of estates, secure for himself a lordship, as a befitting accompaniment to the title. Struensee must have felt that his conduct in this affair had been precipitate, and Høst, from the manuscript correspondence of the two new counts, relates that Brandt had urged Struensee on the subject of the lordship, when the latter in his reply ironically asked him, "whether they two had really rendered such important services to Denmark."

Moreover Suhm, who is filled with feelings of national enmity, has done injustice to Struensee and the Germans whom he brought into the country, by regarding them merely in the light of plagues; but it was indeed rashness and folly for Struensee, during the short period in which he was at the head of the government, to have issued six hundred ordinances, for the most part effecting radical reforms. Among these, many were in the highest degree needed and beneficial, for we must be careful to distinguish between what was done by Struensee from the mere impulse of presumption, vanity and love of power, and what was the result of the counsels of such men as Willebrand, Berger, Oeder, Classen and Sturz\*. It is clear that such men as these,

strictly obeyed by all the colleges as well as by the inferior authorities where no ordinance or royal resolution existed to the contrary, in which case the fact was immediately to be notified to the cabinet. In every other case, the execution and contents of the order were to be reported to the king by the college, and by the inferior officers to the college to which the case belonged."

\* Falkenskiöld has given a clear and well drawn-up account of these reforms, under the title "*Des réformes entreprises par Struensee et des suites qu'elles eurent pour lui et ses partisans*," pp. 126-146; Høst enumerates these reforms chronologically, and in part ii. p. 370, he states briefly the advantages for which Denmark was indebted to Struensee's seven months' administration: the independence of the kingdom; abolition of the censorship; extension of the principles of toleration; remodeling of several of the departments of administration; consolidation of the whole system of finance; new arrangement of the post-office; improved administration of the customs; reform of the Copenhagen magistracy; founding of court and corporate tribunals; change of the high courts of Gottorp; regulation of the commission court; organization of the police; mitigation of penal laws; irremissibility of punishments; exclusion of unfit persons from public offices; greater rapidity in the execution of the public business; limitation of the expenses of the court; introduction of the principle of equality before the law and in reference to the public burthens; suppression of titles; permission for the import and prohibition of the export of corn; free trade in corn for the south of Norway;

even when acting as his counsellors, were by no means his creatures, for Sturz altogether withdrew from any intercourse with him upon the expulsion of Bernstorff, and Berger never attempted to conceal his entire dissatisfaction with Struensee from the moment in which the latter accepted or caused himself to be raised to the dignity of a count. When we add to this, that he proved himself a friend of the oppressed peasantry, caused the clever Reverdil to be brought back, whom the high nobility had dismissed, and that in his desire to improve the whole war department, he recalled but did not employ St. Germain, but entrusted the superintendence of his reforms to Falkenskiöld, we shall be convinced that he really wished to improve the condition of the country, and not merely to rule. Falkenskiöld was well acquainted with military affairs and had served in the field, but, as he himself informs us, was by no means agreed with Struensee in the modes of reform to which the latter wished to have recourse (*j'étois loin de l'encourager dans les mesures tranchantes*). Along with these able men, Struensee, who had no regard for morality or principle, at the first employed others whose characters were bad and their persons hateful, merely because he thought he saw in them able instruments for the accomplishment of his plans. These persons afterwards found themselves disappointed in their expectations, took offence, and on the first opportunity used that influence against their employer which he himself had gained for them.

Gähler, who had formerly been in the war department, and played such a disgraceful part under St. Germain, and Ranzau Ascheberg, are entitled to the first place among those persons of bad repute whom Struensee had drawn around him. Ranzau was a man capable of any crime and guilty of many. In the year 1771, at the very time in which Struensee issued a severe edict against fashionable and distinguished swindlers, he was driven to desperation by his creditors: Struensee refused to pay his debts, and he was therefore obliged to venture upon some extraordinary proceeding\*. About this time there began to be a general feeling that Struensee's position was untenable. As

preparation of a new pharmacopœia; extension of inoculation; confirmation of the freedom of the peasants; improvements in the care of the poor; providing the capital with wood; cleansing and lighting the streets, and numbering the houses.

\* Audere aliquid quod brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum.

early as February 1771 Falkenskiöld had entreated Struensee to remember that he might certainly introduce reforms, but that he never would be able to carry through a revolution in a foreign country\*. Falskenkiöld states, that he reminded him on this occasion of the dissatisfaction with which Russia must regard Ranzau Ascheberg's influence in Denmark, and the appointment of count Osten to be minister of foreign affairs; and with these things Falkenskiöld must have been fully acquainted from his intimate connexion with Russia. The English minister Keith had a double character to play: as the representative of the rigidly moral and devotedly ecclesiastical George III., he was obliged privately to blame and disapprove of the imprudence and follies of the king's sister and Struensee's gross immorality, whilst as minister of a friendly power he was obliged publicly to protect and defend Struensee and the queen. His advice was unheeded; nevertheless he would have saved Struensee shortly before the decisive moment, if the latter had not been extremely over-confident in his own security.

Struensee never suspected that Guldberg, a canting, orthodox Lutheran hypocrite, who had formerly been a candidate of theology, and contrived to obtain complete dominion over the mind of the queen dowager Juliana, could so avail himself of the name of this wicked woman and her son prince Frederick, who was in many respects still a boy, as to withdraw from him such persons as Ranzau Ascheberg and Eickstedt, and to secure them for the promotion of his own views; and that the sneaking hypocrite would prove able to deceive such experienced and arrant knaves. In the very last half-year of his public activity Struensee proved himself unequal, both bodily and mentally, to play the part which he had undertaken: his bodily energies were impaired by luxurious living, and his mental faculties weakened or blinded by unbounded presumption: he had become so overgrown in person, that at a later period the rude attorney-general, in the course of his accusation, loaded him with reproaches on that account, and was mean enough to take advantage of his position to overwhelm the accused with the most vulgar and abusive epithets. Two events which occurred in September and December proved

\* "Je représentai vivement à Struensée, qu'on alloit trop loin, qu'il falloit remédier à l'ulcération des esprits et renoncer à toute innovation, jusqu'à ce qu'on eut laissé se calmer l'impatience et le mécontentement qui se manifestoit dans toutes les classes de la société."

that he was a man whom every trifle was sufficient to discompose and upset the balance of his mind, so as to leave him incapable of forming any resolution in moments of necessity or danger. This induced the people, who had long formed a band of conspirators against his power around queen Juliana, to urge on their proceedings for his overthrow with equal rapidity and daring.

On the 16th of September 1771, a body of 300 sailors raised a tumult, such as often occurs in sea-ports, on account of some demands which were not granted to them. On this occasion the prime minister became so dreadfully alarmed that he and all the court fled from the capital, and granted to the rioters what he had refused to their peaceable petition. In the same manner he suffered himself to be compelled, eight days afterwards, (24th September) to grant some concessions to a body of journeymen silk-weavers, and was silly enough to suppose that he could obtain popularity by the promise of a holyday to the people. The court had expressed its design to be present on this festive occasion, on which the populace was entertained; but it did not appear, and every one ascribed the absence of the court to the cowardice of Struensee; and this feeling no sooner took root than he was given up. Even Brandt began to doubt of his security; for Falkenskiöld relates, that Brandt and himself had not concealed from their friend the danger of the circumstances, but that all warning and advice were lost upon him\*. Again on the 24th of December he exhibited himself in so pitiful a point of view, that every one immediately perceived how easily his overthrow would be effected, if a door were only opened to the Danes to fall upon the hated Germans. Struensee had conceived the foolish design, not of dismissing the horse-guards, or as they were also called, the Norwegian guards, which might have been prudent and wise enough, but of incorporating this privileged corps, with a loss of rank, with the other regiments: the manner in which he conducted himself, when the soldiers demanded their unconditional discharge, was a proof both of incapacity and cowardice.

The guards were guilty of a formal insurrection, ill-treated their officers, indulged in every sort of mischief, completely terrified the minister and the court, who were then in Friedrichs-

\* "Il étoit presque le seul qui ne sembla pas s'apercevoir de l'orage qui grossissoit chaque jour, on eût dit que la confiance dans ses vues pour le bien de l'état lui fascinoit les yeux."



berg, took possession of the castle of Copenhagen, and retained possession of it by force for four-and-twenty hours. The minister, instead of employing the five regiments of infantry, the squadron of cavalry, and two thousand of the artillery corps, by whom the guards were besieged in the castle, for the punishment of the offenders, not only yielded in a cowardly and terrified manner to the rebels, but made them presents into the bargain. They not only obtained the discharge which they had tumultuously demanded, but were permitted to retain their uniforms and their pay, which they had received in advance, and were presented in addition with three dollars per man\*. At this moment Keith offered him the means of deliverance from the dangers by which he was threatened from the Danes, chiefly, no doubt, with a view to protect the sister of his king from falling a sacrifice to her attachment for a man who was not worthy of her affection. On this occasion also Struensee declined the offer. Keith was probably aware, when he offered his aid, that the conspiracy for the destruction of Struensee and the queen was already formed, and that a plan had been laid to obtain possession of the king's person, in order to use his signature in the same manner as Struensee had hitherto done.

Guldberg was the soul of this conspiracy. He had at that time obtained the title of councillor of state, and is admirably described by Falkenskiöld as one of those men, multitudes of whom are now again to be found in all ends and corners of Europe, where temporal advantages are united with soundness in the faith†. To judge from the books which this cunning

\* Falkenskiöld gives a different account of the circumstances from that which is given by Høst; his views however are sound, and we therefore sub-join his account in his own words: "Ces gardes insultèrent leurs chefs et refusant de se faire incorporer ils causèrent une émeute parmi la populace de Copenhague; ils demandèrent leur congé avec beaucoup d'insolence et de menaces. Non seulement le gouvernement en fut effrayé, mais il montra qu'il avoit peur en accordant aux mutins leur demande, et en ne faisant contre eux aucune recherche. Sa faiblesse fut ainsi reconnue; on vit qu'il n'osoit se fier à aucun corps de l'armée, et l'on ne craignit plus de l'attaquer à force ouverte."

† "Guldberg, fils d'un meunier, ayant été destiné à l'état ecclésiastique, s'appliqua d'abord aux études relatives à sa vocation et se fit connoître par des ouvrages de théologie. La faveur de quelques personnes considérables le fit choisir pour être chargé de l'éducation du prince Frédéric et lui donna l'occasion de s'insinuer auprès de la reine douairière Julie-Marie, dont il gagna la confiance. Guldberg couvroit d'un extérieur pieux et du langage d'un humble prêtre une ambition profonde. Du sein de son obscurité modeste, il épioit le moment favorable pour employer Ranzau et son parti au projet qu'il méditoit de mettre les rênes de l'état dans les foibles mains du prince Frédéric et de

ecclesiastic and professor has written, who afterwards became tutor to prince Frederick and favourite of queen Juliana, we should conclude that he, like the great majority of his fraternity, notwithstanding an outward appearance of moderation and reserve, had succeeded in convincing himself of the truth of that which it was his wish and interest to believe, or at least profess. According to this creed, faith in abstruse dogmas, and the systematic and ostentatious observance of the formalities of religion make men just in the sight of God and entitled to the appellation of saints upon earth, whilst little stress is laid upon action and feeling, and having any faith in virtue is even regarded as a sin. Learned divines like Guldberg are accustomed not only to persuade themselves of the soundness of such views, but also easily to convince those like-minded, if no others, by reasons, or by modes of speech and phrases which they regard as reasons. He therefore at the same time hated Struensee, and the light which the latter had carried into the thick Lutheran darkness which overspread Denmark in the seventeenth century. Guldberg was not skilful or practised enough for the execution of his designs: persons of experience and daring were necessary for this part of the project, and those were always preferred who could not reckon on having any share in the future administration of the government. Among these, count von Ranzau Ascheberg was one of the most prominent. The hideous qualities of his mind and the results of his dissolute life were so deeply impressed on the features of this man, that at a later period, when he presented a large bill, under an assumed name, at the banking-house of Bethmann and Co. in Frankfort, they refused to give him cash till they had ascertained, by a letter of advice, that the bill really belonged to the hideous countenance by which it was presented. Ranzau had long consoled his creditors with the hope of a revolution which would enable him to discharge his obligations. Major-general von Eickstedt, commander of the Zealand regiment of dragoons, colonel Köller Banner, of the Falster regiment, and commissary-general Magnus Beringskiöld, persons who had so often shown in the course of their lives that there was no crime to which they were not ready to resort in order to promote their own interests, soon came to an understand-

Julie-Marie, d'où il les feroit aisément passer dans les siennes." Herr Rosevinge is of a very different opinion.

ing with Ranzau. Queen Juliana, who felt herself personally offended in her princely honour by Falkenskiöld, and her narrow-minded son prince Frederick, long waited with expectation for the favourable moment, and promised to come into the city to give the signal for the commencement of the revolution. Count Osten and the aged count Otto Thott remained behind the scenes, and the latter was ready upon the first hint to hasten from his estate into the city. That which was now sown by others by means of violence and force, Guldberg, by his hypocritical piety, afterwards reaped: he had to play a similar part to that which Struensee had enacted, but he was more cautious. During the time which he ruled under the names of a woman and a boy, he issued far more ordinances than ever Struensee sent forth; but he chose quite a different direction from his predecessor, and one which is always the surest. Struensee abolished abuses; Guldberg reintroduced the old and established new ones: the former adopted the cause of the people, which, unthankful and unwise as the multitude generally show themselves, rejoiced at his fall; the latter favoured the people of rank and privilege, all those who are accustomed to live sumptuously on the fat of the land, and these afterwards lent him their aid and protection\*. In the narration of the catastrophe, we think it safest to follow the account which has been given by Høst in his 'Life of Struensee,' in whose work all the particulars will be found minutely detailed.

On the evening of the 16th of January 1772, Juliana and the crown prince came to the castle of Copenhagen; Eickstedt and Köller Banner assembled their officers, and announced to them that, by command of queen Juliana and the crown prince, Struensee and Brandt were to be arrested on account of their conduct to the unfortunate king; during the night all the preparations were made with the greatest secrecy and stillness for the execution of the design.

On the morning of the 17th, Juliana, prince Frederick, Ranzau, Guldberg, Eickstedt, Köller Banner, and councillor Jessen presented themselves suddenly as early as four o'clock in the king's bedchamber. They roused him in a fright out of his sleep, and terrified him by the statement of a variety of fictitious

\* Herr Rosevinge complains that we have drawn a strong picture only of the dark side of the pure Juliana and her creatures; we have no doubt that the other side of Guldberg and his ordinances has been, and is, more than sufficiently bepraised by the newspapers and by official authors.

dangers; so that, as he had been accustomed to do, he signed everything which was laid before him. The first order signed by the king was the removal of Gude from the office of commandant of Copenhagen; the second transferred the arrangement and execution of all those military measures which might be necessary on the moment to Eickstedt and Köller Banner. These necessary orders had no sooner been obtained than the poor king was dragged into the chamber of the crown prince and compelled to sign fifteen orders for personal arrests, and to write an autograph and curious letter\* to the queen, to announce to her that she was to be arrested and conveyed to Kronenburg. A very considerable number of persons were indeed at first arrested, but twelve only were treated and abused like the lowest criminals. Among these were Struensee and Brandt, and along with them ten others, who, with the exception of two, belong to the ablest and most honourable men of that time; and, as public officers, were so distinguished by their talents and knowledge, that Prussia attached great importance to having brought Struensee's brother into its ministry†.

The execution of Guldberg's undertaking was by no means difficult, for all the Danes, all zealous Lutherans, that is to say, the great body of the people, were the more incensed against the Germans and the unbelievers, as Struensee's behaviour was in no respect edifying or exemplary. The extent of the indignation which was felt and expressed by the Danes and the pastors may be best learned from the numerous printed sermons of the latter, from the raving to which they had recourse in their pulpits, and from the libels of the two Danish historians, Suhm and Langebeck. Guldberg's jurists, into whose power Struensee had now fallen, admirably calculated their criminal proceedings to work on the character, or rather upon the want of character, of the man with whom they had to do, and whom they wished to use in order to obtain legal proofs against the queen, such as would satisfy her brother George III. The jurists to whom the criminal examination was committed had recourse to a species of moral torture, in order to induce the pusillanimous man to make

\* Høst gives a copy of the letter, which is as follows:—"Comme vous n'avez voulu suivre les bons conseils, ce n'est pas ma faute (truly not!) si je me trouve obligé de vous faire conduire à Cronembourg."

† The men of honour and ability were Struensee's brother the councillor of justice, Berger, Falkenskiöld, Oeder, Hesselberg, Hansen, Willebrandt and Sturz; the two exceptions, Gähler and Aboe.

such confessions as the Spanish Inquisition was accustomed to extort, and which, if any confidence is to be placed in the recently published prosecution of Weidig, have been applied in Darmstadt in our own times. They very wisely refrained from the employment of the usual torture, because they wished to attach a very different degree of importance to his sayings to that which they could have done if they had been extorted from him upon the rack. Immediately on being dragged from their beds, Struensee and Brandt were treated rather like wild beasts than human beings, with respect to their food, the absence of comforts, the horrible nature of their prison, their beds, the unexampled burthen of their chains, and the strictness of their guards. These criminal tormentors understood admirably the manner in which men's hearts and spirits are broken, and they therefore left them for five weeks without a hearing or interrogation in this dreadful condition, till they must have become terrified at their own aspect, because they were not suffered in all that time to enjoy the luxuries of cleanliness or even to shave. A commission\* was at length appointed, against whose members in general nothing could be said, for this must always be conceded when no proof to the contrary can be produced; among whom, nevertheless, Kofod Ancher, Sevel, and the sneaking hypocritical Guldberg have fixed an indelible stain upon their memories by their conduct in this prosecution. The accused were brought out for examination for the first time on the 20th of February 1772; Struensee was completely bowed together; and when the fetters which had been removed before the first hearing were put on again, he trembled in every limb, and the iron penetrated his soul: this alone can explain his conduct, this alone could have led such a man as he was,—insolent in prosperity, cowardly in danger, and terrified in misfortune,—to have followed the first hints of the commission, and to have pursued the course which they wished him to take. As early as the 21st of February they drew from him a confession implicating the queen, who on her part, with manlike firmness, persisted in re-

\* The commission consisted of privy councillor Juel Wind, Braem, Stampe, Lüxdorph, Carstens; councillors of state Kofod Ancher, Sevel and Guldberg, and finally commissary-general Schmidt. Herr Rosevinge, himself a jurist, which the author is not, defends the judgment and the judges with great zeal. We make this remark in this place, because we cannot change our views respecting Guldberg and Guizot, and for that very reason most willingly refer others to those places and persons where and by whom they can find them magnified and defended.

fusing to admit any accusation of criminality which could affect either him or herself. How must she have been overwhelmed with shame and filled with feelings of contempt, when the miserable and cowardly participator in her criminality not only repeated his confession on the 25th of February, but affirmed, explained and authorized its use by his signature ! If the mean-spirited coward thought to escape the fate which from that moment he deserved, by defaming and forsaking a young, loving and passionate woman, he little knew the Danes who were his persecutors. Brandt conducted himself with incomparably greater resolution and manliness.

The jurists speedily brought the case to a conclusion, after they had drawn forth from Struensee a confession affecting the queen. On the 25th of April sentence was pronounced upon Struensee and Brandt, and on the 28th it was carried into execution ; the executioner first cut off their hands and afterwards beheaded them. We do not venture to say how it was that Brandt before his end was converted, as the phrase is, by the good and simple-minded pastor Hee (if he did not at last play a comedy with the worthy man) ; in the case of Struensee it will be easily comprehended, from the account which has been given of his character and conduct. One point, however, requires to be noticed, because this conversion was announced as a triumph which the chief pastors, the Julianas and Guldbergs of Europe, had gained over philosophy. The licentious philosophy of the Parisian saloons, their prattlers and sophists, could not indeed receive any strength or support from the miserable spirit of Struensee, contemptible in suffering and death ; for in the life which he had led he had gained nothing else but the wisdom of Helvetius, and he therefore passed, as all weak minds do, from the infidelity of Voltaire and Diderot, to the faith of those who, like his mother, his father the superintendent, and his brother, who afterwards, along with Wöllner in Prussia, raved like a maniac in favour of that faith which insults and degrades reason,—regard virtue itself, without its form of belief, as nothing better than ungodliness. Balthasar Münter, therefore, became the apostle of Struensee ; and as an evidence of his own triumph, as well as the victory of faith, published a detailed history of the conversion, in the same manner and precisely for the same reasons, as the vain Zimmermann in Hanover published his conversations with Frederick the Great.

The other ten persons, who had been arrested on the 17th of January, were long kept in close imprisonment, loaded with chains and treated like the lowest criminals; at length, however, the majority of the judges were honest enough to declare von Gähler, Struensee's brother, and Falkenskiöld alone to be guilty. On this occasion Falkenskiöld was treated with greater severity than the others, in consequence of petty feelings of vengeance and personal dislike which were cherished towards him by prince Frederick. He was cruelly dragged away to Norway, and condemned to spend the miserable remnant of life upon the solitary rock of Munkholm, which may be said to lie at the very end of the world, and had only an allowance of half a dollar a day for his support: Russia, however, interfered on his behalf. His punishment was remitted as early as 1777, and he was afterwards indemnified for his sufferings\*. Frederick II. of Prussia took up the cause of Struensee's brother, the councillor of justice, and succeeded in obtaining permission for him to resume his duties as a professor in Liegnitz in June 1772: he was afterwards appointed minister of justice in Prussia. Von Gähler also was set at liberty and allowed to go to Jutland.

The queen, as was afterwards made publicly known, was convicted upon the confessions of Struensee alone, although the ladies of her court, old and young, were not ashamed to report transactions and circumstances, the knowledge of which could only have been obtained by an eager prying after things which they should have blushed to have witnessed, and whose recital was more dishonouring to themselves than to the queen; but the honour and power of England were concerned in the affair. Juliana could not venture, moreover, to entertain any hopes with respect to the succession of her son Frederick, for the crown prince had been born before Struensee's acquaintance with the

\* All the documents connected with these prosecutions are to be found in French translations, accompanied by notes, in the 'Mémoires de Falkenskiöld,' in which those here last mentioned are the most interesting:—1. Struensee's justification of himself; 2. the charges against him; 3. Uldal's defence; 4. the judgment *in extenso*. Further,—1. charges against Brandt; 2. Bang's defence; 3. the judgment. Further,—1. accusation against the queen, preceded by Struensee's confession; then the loathsome and repugnant confessions of the queen's ladies of the bedchamber; then the treacherous betrayal of her confidante, Miss von Eglén, &c.; 2. Uldal's defence of the queen, preceded by her recall of the confession which she had subscribed. The most interesting articles are the "Précis de procédure commencée contre M. de Falkenskiöld en 1771, et des suites qu'elle a eue jusqu'en 1788." This piece gives a detailed account of his trial, sentence and confinement in Munkholm.

queen, and the king, weak-minded as he was, laid claim also to the princess, born in 1771, as his daughter. In her case the legal maxim must be allowed to stand good (*Alia est, quam nuptiæ declarant*), and therefore it became the more necessary to convict the queen of adultery. This could not be legally effected without her own confession, and that alone would satisfy George III.; in order to obtain this, two old and knavish ministers were employed. The aged count Thott and Schack-Rathlow persuaded the young queen to subscribe her name to an acknowledgment necessary for a divorce; she shrunk back in terror from the malicious countenance of Schack-Rathlow when she had written the first letters of her name; he seized her hand and compelled her to complete what she had already begun. This having been accomplished on the 8th of March 1772, no further difficulties stood in the way of a divorce. About this time the unfortunate princess lost her mother, and was obliged to separate even from her young child; she was, however, beloved and honoured by all those who knew her whilst she lived in the castle of Celle, and died there three years afterwards (in 1775) of a broken heart.

The Danes soon perceived that a return to genuine Lutheranism and to aristocratic government was by no means likely to realize for the people any of those advantages which, in the first exuberance of their joy, they had expected. Guldberg was indeed a theological writer, and wrote history also after the fashion of Guizot, but the Danish people gained as little under his administration as the French have done under that of the latter. Of all those who had contributed to secure the victory for him and Juliana, or who trumpeted it forth as the triumph of the faithful over the infidels, the pastors alone were fully satisfied. The ancient faith and all the former ecclesiastical abuses were again rife. Hee and Balthasar Münter were greeted with smooth words by queen Juliana, overloaded with commendations, and presented each with a snuff-box. Guldberg, with all courtliness, sought to keep the leading persons apart from the court who had given proofs of their activity on the 17th of January. Ranzau Ascheberg indeed received considerable sums of money, but he was hated and shunned by every one as a scoundrel, and ended his life as an exile at Orange in the south of France. Bering-skiöld was, it is true, also rewarded, and received a chamberlain's place, which was afterwards taken from him, then restored, and again finally taken away, so that at last he died as a prisoner.



Köller Banner also received money, but obtained no place of influence, and died despised in Altona in 1811. Eickstedt was appointed tutor to the crown prince, who, as soon as he had got rid of his stepmother, dismissed him in a polite and honourable manner.

The same course of events took place in Denmark with respect to Struensee's revolutionary measures and the return to the old system of government which occurred in Germany in 1814. It was seen that many things had been effected in two years, under Struensee's government, which were in the highest degree salutary, and had become indispensable in the then existing state of affairs; those who again resumed power contrived to abolish merely what was disadvantageous to the rulers, and to introduce again only those portions of the old regime which promoted the views of the ruling powers; the people in both cases were grievously deceived. The history of the internal administration of Denmark, an account of the destinies of individuals, or the enumeration of those innumerable ordinances which Guldberg issued, would carry us beyond the limits of this work. Guldberg ruled for twelve years under the modest title of secretary to the cabinet, and promulgated an immense number of royal decrees through the several administrative departments, which decrees had all the force of laws. We shall merely advert to one point which affects or is connected with the history of the whole of Europe. This point is the labours and influence of the younger Bernstorff, one of the wisest, most benevolent and intelligent diplomatists of the latter half of the eighteenth century;—a statesman who, as such, deserves to have his name associated with that of Pitt; for if the field was smaller which lay open to his sphere of operations, the position of his small kingdom rendered them the more difficult, and particularly because he understood how to combine honesty and integrity with politics, which diplomatists elsewhere regard as imprudent and narrow-minded.

The aged Hartwig von Bernstorff was dead at the time in which Juliana and Guldberg thought it advisable to restore the guidance of the various departments of the state to the superintendence of the aristocracy, whom they designed to use as a screen for their own autocracy; Peter Andreas von Bernstorff, the nephew of the late minister, was therefore called to Copenhagen, because he was regarded as the man most capable of renewing the negotiations with Russia, and hopes were entertained

of bringing them to a successful issue through his instrumentality. He was first appointed second director of the college of finance, but as early as April 1772 count Osten was obliged to resign in his favour the department of foreign affairs; and in the following month of May the grand-duke of Russia, as reigning duke of Holstein-Gottorp, confirmed the treaty which had previously been concluded in his name, by which Oldenburg and Delmenhorst were ceded to him in exchange for his possessions in Holstein and Sleswick. These provinces were then only lordships, but the emperor was to confer upon them the title and privileges of a duchy. As early as July the grand-duke ceded the new duchy to Frederick Augustus, prince bishop of Lubeck, who came to Oldenburg in December in company with his son Frederick William, in order to receive the homage of the state. The relations of Denmark to Russia and Sweden, or rather the situation of Denmark between these powers, had been rendered very difficult and perplexing by the character of Gustavus III. The position of the kingdom again as regarded England and Russia, in the time of the North American war, was not less critical; but Bernstorff, in the midst of these difficulties, steered his political course with the greatest skill and discretion; he also therefore became too great for the queen and Guldberg, and was obliged for two years to retire from the ministry.

After Bernstorff's withdrawal from the ministry, Guldberg filled all the high offices of the state with his own creatures, and governed the kingdom as absolutely as ever it had been ruled by Struensee. At length he conceived he might take the young crown prince also under his wing, although the latter had been fully informed of all the proceedings which had been taken against his mother, and of the course which would have been taken with himself also had it been possible. The crown prince had been confirmed, and was subject to the oversight and authority of his unfortunate father alone; but, notwithstanding, an attempt was made on the 4th of April 1784, by the appointment of Ove Hoegh Guldberg to the office of minister of state, to establish a regent of the kingdom, who was to rule for Juliana and her weak-minded son. They had however altogether mistaken the temper and talents of the crown prince, and the kingdom continued only for ten days longer subject to the malicious Juliana and her new minister of state. On the 14th of April 1784 the crown prince got possession of his father, or rather of the privilege and use of

his signature, which was the means of ruling Denmark, and Bernstorff was recalled. His second ministerial rule began about the same time as Pitt was called to the helm of affairs in England; Guldberg, Juliana and all her creatures were removed. It is quite true, as was to be expected in the circumstances of the country, that Bernstorff, as well as the crown prince, showed all possible regard to Juliana and Guldberg. That, however, cannot be considered as any honourable testimony in favour of the latter.

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## § II.

### SWEDEN.

In that part of the Swedish history which has been already given in this work, it has been shown that Sweden was governed from the year 1723 till 1762, or till the conclusion of the peace with Prussia, by the nobility and council of the kingdom; that from year to year the circle of the oligarchy of nobles became less and less, and was limited to a very small number of families, whilst the king became a shadow and the assembly of the estates a mere bugbear. The execution of the decrees of the council was left to the various colleges of the kingdom, which were composed of the nobility, and having a colonel for their president who belonged to the council of state, he commanded them like a regiment of infantry, and constrained them to march according to the route prescribed by the council; the council, however, issued their decrees in the king's name. The signature of the king was an empty form, for the council, as well as the executive colleges, had the king's seal and stamp in their keeping and used them without asking his advice or consent. The council of state and the presidents of the respective colleges were for the most part heads of certain families, of whom one party sold themselves to Russia or England and another to France. The history of the period which has just been referred to called for the incidental mention of kings only, whose names were merely used to mark its various divisions, the characteristics of which would however be much better described if they were arranged according to the alternating victories and defeats which the Russian party (the Caps) or the French party (the Hats)

gained or suffered in the assemblies of the estates. The meetings of these diets were therefore days of battle, because, according to the form of the constitution, all determinations respecting supreme legislation, the government of the kingdom, and the constituents of the council, must be determined by the estates, that is, by deputies from the nobles, clergy, citizens and peasants, called together from time to time.

The power had continued in the hands of the families who constituted the party of the *Hats*, with the exception of a very small interval, from the year 1738, viz. the time of the choice of the prince of Holstein to be the successor of the aged king Frederick of Hesse Cassel; they lost their power by the manner in which, for the sake of some contemptible gains, they plunged the kingdom into the ruinous seven years' war. When, however, the *Caps* gained the ascendancy and came into power, on the conclusion of the peace, as little was gained by the great mass of the people as the English nation gains when either of the two great parties replaces the other, when the Whigs triumph for a season over the Tories, or the Tories over the Whigs. The state of affairs had reached such a point in Sweden as was the case in Denmark in 1660: the two lower estates were so oppressed by the nobles and the oligarchy, that they had no other hope of deliverance than by conferring the power of a dictator upon the king; Adolphus Frederick, however, was not born to be the dictator of a free state. Arndt has described the oppression and mischief perpetrated by the oligarchy of Sweden in the commencing pages of his history of that kingdom under Gustavus IV. with great correctness and an intimate knowledge of the subject\*. The author of this history refers with the greater satisfaction to this description, and to the poetical representation of the pleasures of the nobility, of the royal arts and amusements, as he once chose the thankless office of defending the prose of poverty, which nowhere finds defenders, against the

\* Posselt, in his 'History of Gustavus III.,' has given a very lively description of the condition of Sweden previous to the year 1772, in the first sixty pages of his book, and accompanied it by a reference to the sources from whence he has drawn his materials. He describes affairs from a different point of view and in a very different manner from that of Arndt. A Swedish count and member of the estates has communicated to the author a variety of manuscript observations upon Arndt's book, and the character of Gustavus III., as well as upon his morals and what he calls his Machiavelianism, which the author, although he fully agrees in opinion with the writer, will not communicate to the public, because the world will neither hear nor believe the simple truth, but wishes to be deceived.

numerous poetical eulogists of the arts of wealth. It will be in vain therefore in this work to seek for the praise of polished aristocratic manners, a description of knightly pomp and tasteful fashionable elegance, or eulogies bestowed upon the splendid feasts and gorgeous festivities of the high nobility, as well as the plays, operas, balls and tournaments of Gustavus, because all these have already received their meed of commendation from Arndt. We can take no pleasure in the expenditure of great sums for the promotion of any arts foreign to the taste and condition of the North, and which require that kind of wealth for their successful cultivation which is inseparable from unbounded poverty. We shall leave the praise of all such things to the '*Revue de deux Mondes*,' or to the Hanoverian newspapers\*. We do not even rejoice in the inventive powers exhibited by Gustavus, although they were quite in place in the frivolities of a court and in the midst of a species of taste to which the works of nature appear too common.

The Hats had exercised dominion in Sweden during the whole period of the seven years' war, but when the peace was concluded with Prussia in May 1762, by the intervention of the queen, who was the sister of Frederick II., the general voice was completely turned against them; the assembly of the estates continued its sittings for twenty months, the Caps gained the ascendancy and played the despot, like their predecessors. In the following assembly, 1765–1767, which prolonged its sittings for eighteen months, the revolution (for such we must call it) was completed, and the Hats were completely driven from power. The party of the Caps alone had now full possession of the council, but by this change neither the people nor the king gained anything: the latter was merely handed over from the power of one part of the oligarchy to that of another.

The heads of the opposite party were at that time completely .

\* Among the objections and reproaches which have been made to the author, arising probably from an intentional misunderstanding of this history, is that of a want of love for the arts. His readers, however, are not to judge of the author's general opinions upon this point, as Herr Rosevinge and others have done, from the mode in which he has expressed himself respecting the nature of that protection extended to the arts by Gustavus, or king Stanislaus, or Catharine III., or as they are now protected and promoted in Munich. That would be as reasonable as to conclude that the author was an enemy to the sciences because he altogether disapproves of the learned missions of the doctrinaires, their printing numerous books and documents, and the species of protection which they extend to literati.

driven out of the council of state by their victorious antagonists, many of its members prosecuted, all of them more or less offended and harassed, and afterwards the triumphant oligarchical Caps exercised the greatest tyranny over the peasants and the whole trading community. The peasants were at length excited to such a degree that they had recourse to violence, collected in masses, and manifested an intention of marching upon Stockholm; on this occasion two of the ringleaders were executed and thirty-eight of them condemned to hard labour. The merchants and traders were reduced to despair and ruined by the measures adopted in the financial and banking departments by the council of state, which was selected from the party of the Caps. Embarrassments became at length so great, and bankruptcies so numerous, that the king in February, with a degree of earnest impressiveness which was quite unexpected from him, called upon the council not to wait for the regular assembling of the diet of 1774, but immediately to convoke an extraordinary meeting. On this occasion the crown prince, now twenty-two years of age, first appeared in a political character: he was endowed by nature with splendid princely talents, and possessed all those qualities which charm the multitude; but he was totally deficient in earnestness, perseverance and frugality, and unable to control the workings of a mind fertile in dreams of fancy. From his very boyhood he had been trained to be a courtier, sophist and rhetorician by lieutenant-general Scheffer, as the correspondence of tutor and pupil, which has been published, abundantly proves. His facility of speech, the agreeableness and amiability of his conversation, his superficial acquaintance with languages, arts and sciences, delighted citizens, literati and artisans, who feel themselves honoured by royal notice, are covetous of gifts, and willing to take the word for the deed. He was however doubly dear, and with justice, to the Swedes, because he was the first king who had been born in the country since the time of Charles XII., and spoke their language with correctness and purity.

Upon his journey through the kingdom he had seen with his own eyes the evils which oppressed the people, and became acquainted with the causes from which they sprung: he was therefore no sooner delivered from the tyranny of the council than he determined to remove them; and so conducted affairs, that the first eight years of his absolute rule were extremely

beneficial to the country. On this journey he was beset on all hands with complaints against the council; petitions were presented to him from all quarters, and the party which had been driven from power offered him their aid if he would drive the domineering party from the rudder of the state: this however is merely the usual course pursued whenever a political party is completely put down. Those who were in power then availed themselves of the king to regain the ascendant, but they had no sooner seized upon the reins of authority, than they proved as inimical to the sovereign as the defeated party had been, and domineered over the people in the same reckless spirit as their predecessors. The general opinion of the kingdom was not unknown to the council of state; the Caps were aware that the calling of an assembly of the states would lead to their overthrow, and therefore the council resisted the will of the king and refused to convoke an extraordinary diet, because, as they affirmed, they had already anticipated all those evils respecting which complaints would be made, and felt assured that they might be eased or remedied till the ordinary meeting of the diet in 1774.

The king insisted upon compliance with his demand and the council refused to acquiesce, and from this moment a contest commenced, which, in the present state of excitement among the public and in the situation of affairs, of which the crown prince became aware on his journey, reduced the ruling party to the greatest perplexity. The king would have yielded, but the crown prince, who assumed the character of a defender of the people against the oppressive measures of the oligarchy, came boldly and actively forward to sustain their cause, and the contest was prolonged for a whole year. During this time Gustavus was the representative of his father. The whole of Europe was filled with accounts of the ability, eloquence and firmness which at that time was exhibited by the nephew of Frederick II. of Prussia in this contest between the Swedish council of state and his father: this, however, only contributed to make the council of state more obstinate. The crown prince on this occasion would have gone much further had he been his own master, but the anxious and narrow religious views of his father could not be brought into harmony with his æsthetic, poetical and philosophical education and his modes of thought, which were drawn from the works of the renowned Frenchmen of the time; he was

therefore only allowed to proceed to a certain point, and that he did, on the part of his father, with courage, skill and resolution. On the 12th of December 1768 the prince appeared in the council with a paper signed by his father, and which he himself dictated in the assembly that it might be entered on their minutes, in which the king declared, that if the council did not resolve within three days upon summoning a meeting of the diet, he would lay down the government till the assembly was summoned, and require them to give up the royal seal and stamp, on which alone the continuance of their assumed power was based.

The council, on the termination of this interval, begged for an extension of the time, but the crown prince again presented himself on the 15th, and now demanded from the oligarchy the actual restoration of those symbols of the royal authority. The council did not indeed comply with the demand, but the crown prince afterwards proceeded to all the high offices of state and repeated the same demand, and in all cases with success, except in that of the town council of Stockholm. The council of state became alarmed; they at first resolved to summon the diet for the 15th of April 1769, but on the following day they had recourse to another device. These nobles conceived the plan of proposing to the country an aristocratic oligarchical government without a king, and they therefore propounded a formal question to the presidents of the colleges of the kingdom, who belonged to their caste and party, to the following purport: Whether they would not think themselves bound, according to the law of the diet of 1756, to obey the orders of the council of state, even although the king took no share in the government? The presidents would willingly have given an affirmative answer, but the assessors of the respective colleges declared, that all their decrees without the seal and stamp of the royal authority would be null and void, and the bank refused any longer to provide double pay for the garrison of the capital, which was under the control of the council of state. In the meantime, admiral Falkengreen and generals Ehrenswaerd and Fersen had doubled the sentinels: the council wished to avail themselves of this, to maintain themselves by force of arms; the officers, however, declared that they had not taken this step from obedience to the council, who were incapable of issuing any legal commands without the royal seal, but on their own responsibility, in order to provide for the pub-



lic safety. The adherence of the town council of Stockholm could afford the council of state but little support, because the great body of the citizens were decidedly favourable to the king; the obstinate oligarchs were therefore obliged on the 19th to yield to the king's demand.

The council thus compelled convoked the diet of the kingdom for the 28th of April 1769; but in spite of every effort on the part of the king, they adopted all possible measures to maintain their dominion not only during the sitting of the diet but for the future. The diet was summoned to meet, not in Stockholm, but in Norrköping; and it was resolved that only one part of the council should accompany the king to that city, whilst the rest remained in the capital to conduct the administration of the government. In the prevailing state of public opinion, such a step could only tend to hasten the overthrow of the faction of the Caps. By such a course the kingdom would have gained nothing, because the victorious party would not have proved less oligarchical than their antagonists. In May, shortly after the opening of the diet, the whole council was obliged to come to Norrköping, and those councillors who had attempted to govern without the king were removed; thanks were voted to his majesty by the diet, and therefore from the whole nation, and the sittings of the assembly were transferred to Stockholm. The triumph of the Hats, however, was yet by no means complete.

In consequence of the victory of the Russians over the Turks, and the events which had taken place in Poland, France had a great political interest in the suppression of the Russian influence in Sweden, and as the sittings of the diet were prolonged, every possible influence was used to induce the aged king to put an end to the whole oligarchy. The favour of the marshal of the diet was secured, and considerable subsidies were offered by France, if the king, by the instrumentality of the diet, would effect the abolition of all those limitations which had been placed upon the absolute power of the monarch since the year 1723; the aged and indolent king, however, was partly constrained by some scruples about his oath, concerning which his son felt no compunction, and the plan was partly obstructed because colonel Pechlin, to whom the military part of the *coup-de-main* was entrusted, had been gained over by the Russians by means which we shall here pass over. The history, there-

fore, of the diet may be comprised in a single sentence: the crown prince wished for a revolution, which, however, in no place or time, has been effected without violence and recourse to means absolutely immoral; such means Adolphus Frederick, from a love of peace and justice, could not resolve to adopt, and therefore Gustavus was obliged "to bide his time."

The conduct of that party of the nobility which had hitherto been favourable to the king soon proved clearly enough to the other estates, that there was nothing to hope from the nobles, either for themselves or the king, without the restoration of the weight of the monarchical element in the constitution. Everything which emanated from the court was suspected by the ruling party, of which there was evidence enough in this diet; but it was also clear, that the nation looked for protection and deliverance to the crown prince. In the course of the diet, the subject of the propriety of allowing the young princes to travel was discussed and met with opposition. As, however, it was found impossible to prevent the design, the express condition was attempted to be attached to the concession, that the crown prince should not be allowed to travel in any country in which an absolute monarchical government and constitution existed; and when even this condition could not be obtained, they insisted at least that all the three princes should not be permitted to travel together. A considerable sum was afterwards appropriated for the travelling expenses of the princes in foreign countries; and upon the motion of the Hats, at the conclusion of the diet on the 30th of January 1770, thanks were returned to the king for his care and prudence in causing an extraordinary meeting of the diet to be convoked, under the difficult circumstances in which the kingdom was then placed.

Prince Charles first set out upon his travels, and the crown prince and his youngest brother Adolphus Frederick, according to the resolution of the diet, waited till his return in the end of the year 1770 before they entered upon theirs. According to the universal custom of the rich and fashionable, the nobility and princes of that time, Paris was the first object of the traveller, which, in consequence of being then the principal seat of the fashionable literature of the age,—now as much execrated as it was then extolled,—was called the metropolis of European civilization. The future king of Sweden, notwithstanding his numerous and distinguished talents and capa-

cities and the many services which he had rendered to Sweden, was afterwards abused by the French as the Don Quixote of the North. This prince, who, according to the descriptions of his admirers, and especially of Arndt, was possessed of all those splendid and princely qualities which his uncle, Frederick the Great, despised, and no one of those by which the latter rendered himself immortal through the services which he rendered to mankind, was suddenly plunged into the midst of the splendour, luxury and immorality of a most immoral court! He arrived in Paris precisely at the time in which the small remnant of shame and regard to propriety which had been preserved under Pompadour had wholly disappeared under Du Barry; he therefore had an opportunity of witnessing the very highest pitch of that dissolute extravagance which none but fools can admire, was present at the scandalous celebration of festive orgies, and admired the knightly insolence, amusements and play by which at that time the French princes and nobility were disgraced, and became only too apt an imitator of his French teachers and models. There indeed he formed connexions and entered into agreements which proved useful to him in Sweden, but there also he made acquaintance with the brothers of the dauphin, afterwards Louis XVI., and with their associates, which only two years before his death made him ridiculous and an object of contempt throughout all Europe, because he proposed, in the spirit of a knight errant, to enter upon a crusade in favour of the French nobility and of those corrupt princes who were accused by the whole world as having given immediate occasion to the revolution.

It is easy to comprehend how the Parisians should have admired and been astonished at the knightly qualities, the gallant and polite manners of a prince, who appeared to have been a French chevalier born in Sweden. This appears most fully from the accounts of his latest eulogist, who at the same time was himself one of the bitterest enemies of the French. It must be admitted too that his splendid qualities, the false glitter of a borrowed splendour and hollow phrases, assisted him to realize objects there and to procure means which a more serious and moral man would never have attained\*. He devised

\* The Swedish count, to whose manuscript remarks upon Arndt's book we have previously referred, writes in the following strain respecting Gustavus' revolution:—"The Swedish nobility, it is true, were insolent and domineer-

and agreed upon a plan in Paris with persons, who were masters in every department of political and diplomatic chicanery, for the solution of the difficult problem which he had proposed to himself—to drive the Hats from power, who after the diet ruled in as aristocratic and domineering a spirit as their opponents, without giving the power into the hands of the Caps, who now adopted the defence and maintenance of the democratic elements of the constitution against their opponents. He was still in Paris when the death of his father suddenly took place, and he became king of Sweden under the name of Gustavus III.

The new king would have been immediately reduced to perplexities, had he not even then attained that high distinction in diplomacy which he retained during the whole course of his life, the characteristic of which is, that no mere citizenlike or vulgar scruple of conscience ever touches or affects the equanimity of the mind. He was about to enter into two solemn engagements which were directly inconsistent with one another; to confirm the one by his oath and signature, and the other by his hand and seal. On the one hand, according to Sheridan, who gives the most trustworthy account of the Swedish revolution, he entered into a firm agreement with the French ministry to change the existing constitution of Sweden in a monarchical direction; and on the other, lieutenant-general Scheffer, who brought him an account of his father's death to Paris, laid before him, in the name of the council, a declaratory act which he was to accept and sign together with the oath which was attached. This declaratory act contained a solemn promise, that, immediately on his return to Sweden, he would swear to be faithful to the constitution of 1720, and would regard all those, who either secretly or openly should endeavour to bring about the restoration of absolute monarchical power, as the worst enemies of himself and

ing, but there were few rascals among them or licentious scoundrels such as those whom Gustavus employed; they possessed all the knowledge and dignity which were then possible. Their scandalous transactions with foreign countries were only rendered possible by the nature of their constitution and division into four estates; it was however beneficial that the oligarchy was utterly destroyed. As means for the accomplishment of his plans, Gustavus had recourse to hypocrisy with the peasants, and bribery with the citizens, especially the inhabitants of Stockholm; he allured the sons of the nobility, youths of from sixteen to eighteen years of age, to the court, and corrupted them as well as the whole nation by his licentious behaviour, his sinful and foolish conduct. Sodomy was unknown in Sweden till the time of Gustavus," &c. These are the words of a Swede, and not my opinion.

the kingdom and as traitors to their country. He never hesitated for a moment to subscribe his name, which was to serve for the time instead of an oath, and at the same moment he changed those negotiations which he had been carrying on for the overthrow of the constitution into a binding contract.

The duke d'Aiguillon, who, with the exception of cardinal Dubois, was one of the most contemptible and corrupt men who have ever been at the helm of affairs even in France, became somewhat later, in the month of June, minister of foreign affairs, and did more for the promotion of Gustavus' object than the treaty which had been signed in Paris before his time required. By this contract, the money necessary for the young king to enable him to effect a monarchical revolution was promised by France. He was promised the payment of the 1,500,000 livres (according to Flassan, vii. 57, 400,000 crowns) for which Sweden alleged she had claims on France from the time of the seven years' war; the one half immediately in Paris, and the other to be paid in Sweden as soon as the young king was prepared to employ it for the purpose stated in the agreement. In addition to this, considerable yearly subsidies were promised. All the absolute monarchs, except the emperor of Russia, who had political reasons for uniting with England to maintain the power of the Swedish aristocracy, regarded the cause of Gustavus as their own, and promoted it by word and deed. Even king Frederick II., the uncle of the young king, who travelled back to Stockholm by Berlin and consulted with his uncle upon the condition of affairs in Sweden, was very favourably impressed with his nephew, and in a letter to d'Alembert speaks with hope of his expectations from him, and regards it as a dreadful thing to be king of Sweden in the then existing circumstances of that country. The French ministry, to please the young king, sent the count de Vergennes to Sweden, who was one of their best diplomatists,—a man who was well known in the whole of Europe as a statesman and distinguished diplomatist. The object of his mission was to render the king assistance and advice in the revolution, or, according to Flassan, to moderate his warmth. It would almost appear as if the deep-thinking Vergennes had perceived, that it would not be quite prudent to give the party hitherto in the interest of France unconditionally into the king's hands, as Aiguillon wished, who only thought of autocracy and not of politics. The discrepancies therefore may be easily ex-

plained which exist with regard to Vergennes' conduct on this occasion, and what is stated by the printed sources of authority may be consistent with his subsequent conduct. It is said that Vergennes was the man who pointed out to the king the favourable moment, and gave the signal for the revolution by the word—tomorrow, and the statement is made in a manuscript letter that Vergennes left the country precisely in the decisive moment. A note written by the king to Vergennes on the preceding evening, which we give below\*, is a sufficient proof of the share which he took in the event. The Spaniards also, among whom Florida Blanca then had the conduct of foreign affairs, were no sooner called upon by the duke d'Aiguillon, than, true to the family compact, they sent a representative immediately to Sweden, in order to promote the monarchical, and therefore the loyal conspiracy.

The first appearance of the young king in Sweden gave rise to great rejoicings: his talents, qualities and education were such as were admirably calculated to dazzle the multitude, who never and nowhere have formed a correct estimate of solid worth and genuine merit. The results of his first undertakings were so beneficial to the country, that even if his talents had been more solid, his qualities of genuine worth, and his education better than they really were, it would have been difficult for him to have met the expectations which were entertained of him in the year 1772, and the exaggerated eulogies which were heaped upon him by his admirers or flatterers. Gustavus' tutor himself, in his letters to the young king, which are written in the smoothest and most polished style, and couched in phraseology fragrant with incense, informed his pupil, that much greater evils were to be apprehended from the splendid qualities than from the honourable and sincere mediocrity of a ruler. These letters of lieutenant Scheffer to his pupil, which were published in French and German the very year of the revolution (1772), but had been previously written, are indeed so full of didactic, eulogistic,

\* Stockholm, August 18th, 1772: the evening before the revolution the king writes as follows:—"Je vous prie de témoigner au roi votre maître, ma reconnaissance de l'amitié constante qu'il me témoigne; et de lui dire que j'espère me montrer demain digne d'un ami si fidèle. Ma bonne cause et la protection divine me soutiendront; mais si je succombe, j'espère que son amitié s'étendra sur les restes que je laisse après moi, et qu'un frère dont le courage et l'attachement se sont montrés d'une manière si éclatante et les braves sujets qui auront tout sacrifié pour moi et pour leur patrie ne seront point abandonnés par le plus fidèle et le plus ancien ami de ma couronne."

polished and so-called academical phrases, that it is often by no means easy to discover amidst all this elaborate courtly language what the meaning of the author really is; but those who are accustomed to decipher and explain such phraseology might interpret these long discourses of Scheffer in the following brief sentence:—"He was afraid that the good qualities of the prince, in consequence of his vanity, his ambition and his want of firmness, might prove more injurious to his people and kingdom than the greatest incapacity." This was made evident enough ten years afterwards: in the first year of his reign, and even for some years subsequent, he gave such proofs of his ability as an orator and statesman, that the secretary of the English embassy (Sheridan), who, in combination with the Russians, was at that time obliged to counteract his plans, and who has written an account of the revolution, alleges that Gustavus had far exceeded the splendid expectations which were entertained of him.

The French money was applied to gain the favour of the soldiers, and the king availed himself of the disputes among the estates, with all that talent for intrigues with women and after female fashion, which he had received from nature and perfected by practice in Stockholm and Paris. The bitterness of the party of the Caps against their opponents, the ruling party, in like manner promoted the king's designs; for neither the Swedes nor the French, who were also deceived on the occasion, entertained the least suspicion, that the whole would end with the proclamation of a species of absolute royal power, for the use of which the king was to be answerable to the estates alone.

Gustavus no sooner returned to Sweden than a meeting of the diet was convoked for May 1771, in order to arrange the king's coronation, but as usual disputes arose among the different estates, and especially respecting the declaratory act which the king was to subscribe before his coronation. The council had previously caused him to sign an assurance in Paris, that he would faithfully maintain the constitution of 1720; the estates however required him to sign another, and could not come to an understanding with regard to the privileges which each of the estates should obtain for itself. In this affair the nobles appeared more favourable to the kingly dignity and claims than the other three estates. The nobles were desirous that no other limitations and definitions of the royal power should be received into the declaratory act than those which had been signed by

Adolphus Frederick at his coronation in March 1751; but the other estates insisted upon the introduction of other limits which had been subsequently set to the extent of the king's prerogatives. There was, besides this, a dispute upon another point among the estates, and particularly with the council, which will furnish the best means of judging of the character of the Swedish nobility and of the existing constitution of that kingdom. It had hitherto without doubt been the custom and hereditary usage in Sweden, as it was at that time in France, Prussia, and other nations also, that all the highest offices of the state should be filled by members of the nobility alone; but on a late occasion, the vacancy of the office of president of one of the colleges, the council of the state had proposed to give the force of a positive law to what had been only a usage, and to that the other estates were, as may be supposed, by no means disposed to submit.

These disputes were prolonged almost to the close of the year (1771), and were highly favourable to the views of the young king, who during their continuance played his part in a manner which would have done honour to a Fouché. He was kind and courteous to all; he expressed himself with all the facility of a diplomatist in such a stream of well-arranged phrases, as the multitude call eloquence, never was deficient in the most solemn and sacred assurances of his entire readiness to undertake all those obligations, which he had long resolved never to fulfil, and habitually exhibited all that apparent moderation, condescension and hypocrisy which the world is accustomed to call prudence and the golden mean. In all this however he never went a step further than it is permissible to go without being exposed to the danger of public contempt,—an art which belongs only to those who are masters in the science of politics and of courtly sneaking. He had indeed the aid and advice of a Spanish and of a French minister, the latter of whom had had great experience in the schools of Constantinople and Petersburg! The king having for months played the part of an impartial spectator and a friend of freedom, at length exhibited quite a masterpiece of art in November: he sent for the grand marshal of the kingdom and the presidents of the three other estates, and addressed them in well-set phrases which flowed like honey from his mouth. It will readily be supposed that these scenes were most copiously described and affectingly emblazoned in all the newspapers of Europe, which were subject



to the keenest monarchical censorship, and that the king was extolled as a second Solomon\*.

In his address the king offered his services as a mediator; he might have been able to deceive the great body of the citizens and peasants, but the oligarchs were too well acquainted with these arts and had too long practised them themselves to be so easily ensnared. At their instigation, the estates gave proofs of their great dissatisfaction with the eloquence of their king, who was by far too intermeddling for their taste. They caused an examination to be instituted with regard to the court auditor, who had published the royal speech, and gave the council of state a sharp reproof for not having prevented the whole exhibition and its consequent notoriety. The debates and disputes continued till the following year, and there was no agreement as to the terms of the declaratory oath to be taken by the king till March 1772. The king then carried on the comedy with the estates to an extent at which the affair at length became quite a burlesque. On signing the act he was not ashamed to say, that he attached his name to this sacred and binding declaration without ever having read it, in order to show how full and complete his confidence was in the estates. But what is still worse than this, is, that at the very moment he was about to take this oath, on the principle of jesuitical morality, with a mental reservation, because he regarded it as extorted from him by force, he added the following words, which no person or circumstances compelled him to use: "He was in hopes, that in the drawing up of this act the good of the country had been carefully kept in view, and that for his own part he had long since taken the oath in his heart which was now required from him."

In the contest respecting the terms of the declaratory act, the

\* "If," (said he in ornamental language and with apparent magnanimity,) "if my views were less pure and less honourable than they are; if my heart were not full of the tenderest love for my country, for its constitution, freedom and glory, I might, like some of my predecessors, have calmly waited the course of events, and taken advantage of the disputes of my subjects at the cost of their freedom and the laws. But I am so far from being desirous of pursuing this course, that nothing could be more agreeable to my feelings than that the estates should select me as a mediator, for which I now offer myself. They may do this with the greater propriety, as I am contented with the rights which they themselves think it right to secure me, and seek nothing for myself." Such was his language—his words were believed by all (except Russia and England),—and receive the commendation of Arndt; yet at this time the whole plan of the revolution had been long determined upon!! Why do legitimists and monarchs speak with such indignation of the faithlessness of democratic demagogues?

three lower estates had been victorious, the nobility was discontented, and besides, a new and violent change of the oligarchical government was to be effected, because the three estates had resolved to set aside the whole body of the council of state. Notwithstanding these pending difficulties, the coronation was performed in May with absurd and almost fabulous pomp, because the nobility willingly made an exhibition of their pride, and the king was eager to display all the paraphernalia of majesty; for both parties knew that the people are delighted with what excites their wonder and admiration, and never think till it is too late how dearly they are obliged to pay for the parade, ostentation and luxury which others exhibit at their expense. Complaints were heard on all sides of confusion and disorder in every description of business, of the oppressive burthens of taxation and debts, and yet these burthens and debts were increased by a most absurd and unbecoming expenditure upon mere ostentation. The whole yearly income of the kingdom of Denmark was at that time officially estimated at 6,000,000 of dollars, by which it may be seen of what consequence it was that 2,700,000 dollars should be spent in Sweden upon the expenses of this mad coronation. The people were at that time as much dissatisfied with the estates, who suffered themselves to be guided by persons in the pay of the Russians or English, as they were with the council of government; they looked for aid and deliverance from the young king, who however carefully concealed his views. He assumed the appearance of a complete freedom from care, visited his country palaces, encouraged the arts, as it is called, and cultivated that kind of *belles lettres* of which we may see examples in his printed writings. The party of the Hats, or more properly speaking their chiefs, who were now persecuted and driven completely out of the council, as well as the people, looked for protection from the king alone. This however was of no advantage to the king, because it was impossible for him to take any step in co-operation with either of the old aristocratic parties; in the meantime however a third or court party had already been formed.

One of the most distinguished members of this so-called court party was Sinclair, who was a councillor of state, and even before the coronation had made a proposal to his former party (the Hats) to increase the prerogatives of the crown, and thereby to prevent the young king from thinking of the restoration of

absolute sovereignty. He now represented to his friends, that in the present distracted state of the kingdom, which no one could deny, sovereignty was the only hope of its safety (these were his words), and that it would not hesitate the very first opportunity to liberate the young king from the chains in which he was now bound. Many now immediately joined the court party, and others only gave in their adherence when the opposite party compelled them to the adoption of extreme measures. By means of intrigues and the free expenditure of money by French emissaries, the king's adherents were soon after increased, one while by justifiable, and at another by wholly unjustifiable means. The co-operation of the people properly so called was soon secured, and the kernel of a party was formed; but before any proposal could be laid before the people, or even before the whole body of the diet, the government or the council must first be overturned. This could only be effected by military force, and not till the garrison of Stockholm, which was in the receipt of double pay from the council of administration, could be either won over to the royal cause, or rendered innocuous. For this purpose the king's brothers were to work upon the regiments which they respectively commanded; colonel Sprengporten, before he was sent to Finland, had gained over a number of officers belonging to the garrison of Stockholm, whom he then brought into close connexion with the king. The king pretended to have a desire to be present at the military exercises of these officers, but availed himself of this excuse merely in order to have frequent meetings with them without awakening suspicion. At this time, that is, immediately after the coronation, three different forms of a constitution were already projected, for the king took good care to let it be known that he wished for no constitution at all; and all the other preparations were made.

The first object was now to withdraw all attention from what was going on in the capital; and pretended disturbances were excited in distant parts of the kingdom, in order to draw off some of the regiments and commanders who were not to be relied upon, and especially those of Upland and Södermanland. The famine which prevailed in many neighbourhoods was also used as a means of promoting the king's views. The diet had caused corn to be purchased, but the court party contrived to prevent its distribution; and at the same time a report was industriously put in circulation, that the famine was wholly to be attributed to the diet, which still continued to hold its sittings:

this report found its way into print, and in thousands of copies was scattered over the whole country. In Stockholm itself placards were publicly stuck upon the walls, in which the people were earnestly invited at length to put an end to this ruinous hydra-headed government and universal anarchy. This was followed by general commotions in all the provinces in 1772, which filled the council with great anxiety. The council immediately despatched the chiefs and most trustworthy adherents of the oligarchy to those places in which the dangers were most threatening. Rudbeck was obliged to set out for Gothenburg and Carlsrona, and Pechlin was appointed governor of Stockholm, whilst other officers were sent off to Dalecarlia, Nerike and Wärmeland; Rudbeck met with resistance even on the way to his destination, and returned in August with the news that a formal rebellion against the council had broken out, and that he, as the plenipotentiary of the government, had not been allowed to enter the small fortress of Christianstadt. This was the result of those measures which the king had adopted in concert with his brothers.

The council of administration had no sooner sent colonel Sprengporten, of whom the king was sure, into Finland, than the princes, Frederick Adolphus in East Gothland and Charles in Schonen, were obliged to put their regiments in motion. In order to furnish them with an excuse for this step, it was arranged that Hellichius, who lay in Christianstadt with 300 men belonging to prince Charles's regiment, should issue a manifesto in which he should renounce obedience to the council, and invite the Swedes to join him in transferring the government wholly into the hands of the king\*. The princes apparently concentrated their scattered regiments merely for the purpose of repressing this rebellion and maintaining the public quiet. The council however saw through their designs, and on their part ventured also to overstep the limits of the constitution and to

\* In this manifesto he renounces in his own name and that of his 300 soldiers, all respect and obedience (as he expresses himself) to the so-called estates of the kingdom, because they had torn asunder all the bonds of justice and reason; because they had taken no measures to provide against the ravages of famine, by which most of the provinces were desolated; because under them the productions of the country, trade, and the circulation of money had fallen off; because they had invaded public and personal security, and had treated the majesty of the king with contempt. The document continues: "The war is now opened, brave Swedes! and until the king and our country receive the respect and services which are their due, each of us will rather die than lay down his arms. Join us, be convinced of the honesty of our views, and then make common cause with us for the benefit of our common country."

furnish the king with well-founded reasons of complaint. The council conferred upon Funk, who was one of their body, the power of a dictator and appointed him governor of Schonen; it then chose councillor Kalling as governor of Stockholm, and required the king to recall his brothers; all this was strictly within the powers of the constitution: but on the 19th of August the council had recourse to a measure which its office conferred upon it no right to adopt; it forbade the king to leave the city, and even gave commands to the guards on duty at the gates to detain him if he attempted to go out: this was nothing less than a formal declaration of war.

On this occasion, as well as in the period immediately following, Gustavus III. indisputably proved himself to be a master of all the arts of popular deception. For years he contrived to combine and play the character of a friend and protector of his country together with that of an intriguer and an insipid courtier. His eulogists have praised him without any reason, on account of the most unworthy character which he played in the whole of these serious transactions. But what will not the servile souls of rhetoricians and sophists praise, when their eulogies bring them either honours or advantage? They represent him as having exhibited so much coolness, or having assumed its appearance, on the 18th of August, as to have employed himself in drawing patterns for embroidery for the ladies, among whom he played the part of a gallant knight. How little did it become the dignity of a king to amuse himself in his inmost chambers, and to engage in such an occupation at such a time! Such an ostentation of indifference or frivolity, on an occasion in which the fortune of the kingdom was staked upon the cast, was cold-blooded and detestable.

Like all the other revolutions of the eighteenth century, especially the monarchical ones, the Swedish revolution also was decided by officers and soldiers, money and orders. Everything was prepared on the 18th of August. On the 19th (1772) the king, who had been in some measure placed under the ban by the council, went at ten o'clock in the morning into their hall of assembly, and addressed to them the most bitter and vehement reproaches. From the council-chamber he proceeded directly to the court of the arsenal, and there detained the guard, which was about to leave duty, by putting them through a variety of exercises, till those officers whom he had previously won over to his cause were assembled around him. He wished besides to

unite the relieving guard with the one which was about to be relieved, and to use both for the promotion of his object. The officers who were his friends no sooner arrived than he mounted his horse and led the guard which had just been relieved to that which had entered on duty, and which was drawn up in the court of the palace, and called the superior and inferior officers into a lower chamber. There he gave a new proof of his popular eloquence, but at the same time also proved that he was utterly untrustworthy and unfaithful to his word and his oath. In order not to offend or alarm the Swedes, whose love of freedom he knew, with an open development of his own views and pre-determinations, he gave them the most solemn assurances that he did not entertain the slightest idea of aiming at the establishment of absolute power, but that he only wished to avail himself of their aid to overthrow an insolent and domineering aristocracy, who, as he added, had hitherto traded in the resources and blood of their country. After having deceived the officers belonging to the nobility by his speech, he proposed to them to take a new oath, the form of which had been previously drawn up in secret by those who were in his confidence, by which they should be bound in their allegiance to the king alone instead of to the council of state. This form of oath was submitted to them for immediate signature. All present put their names to the declaration except major Cederström who had the chief command, count von Hessenstein who was in command of the guard on duty, and a single captain. Whilst this was passing within the palace, and the soldiers were drawn up in the outer court, Kalling the governor-general of Stockholm appeared; he was not however admitted, but directed to proceed to the council-chamber, whither the king was immediately about to proceed. The soldiers, who were drawn up in the open court, till this moment knew nothing of what was going on in the palace between the king and their officers; the resolution, however, had no sooner been determined on than the king himself went through their ranks and addressed them on the subject of his design. In the meantime, the report that the king had been arrested by the council of state set all Stockholm in motion, and the citizens rushed in crowds to the court of the palace.

Encouraged by the applauding shouts of the soldiers and of the assembled population of the capital, the king first took possession of all the accesses to the place in which the council of state was assembled; the members, it is true, made an attempt

to retire in solemn procession ; but in spite of all their protestations, they were prevented, by thirty grenadiers who had forced their way into the council-chamber and closed the door behind them. The council had no sooner been thus imprisoned than the king caused sentinels to be placed over the chamber and put the key in his pocket ; he then rode through the city, announced in person the overthrow of the oligarchy, and made such admirable use of his dramatic talents, of what is called his eloquence, and of his gentlemanly and courtly address, that both citizens and soldiers broke out in loud shouts of rejoicing at the fall of the oligarchical despotism, and at the prospect of their long-desired freedom. Rudbeck, who was the proper commander of the town and garrison, rode through the streets in vain, in vain he summoned the people to arms ; the sole effect of his conduct was, that he and provost Kröger were the only persons who were arrested on the occasion of the revolution, upon whom, however, no further punishment was inflicted. By five o'clock in the afternoon the king had gained complete command of the capital, and had adopted all the necessary measures to prevent the entrance into the city of those two regiments which were ready to fight for the cause of the council. These regiments had been previously recalled in all haste by the council, and the regiment of Upland was on its return, not more than four hours' march from the capital.

The king forthwith bound all the soldiers who were in the city by a new oath to the monarchy which was about to be erected, and to a constitution in which the army was to be immediately under the command of the king. He afterwards gave orders for the distribution of powder and balls, for bringing the cannon out of the arsenal and planting them on the bridges, in the squares, and other suitable places. The guns were served, an artilleryman stood by each with a lighted match, and all the approaches to the city were occupied, should the Upland regiment venture to come to the aid of the diet and the council. The king, having sent to inform his brothers, who were at the head of their regiments, of what had taken place in Stockholm, required the same oath to be taken by the members of the town council which had been already sworn by the soldiers ; the members, however, took the oath unwillingly. The admiralty, without being required so to do, had already sworn allegiance to the new monarchical government, and the heads of the other departments and colleges of administration followed their ex-

ample without delay. The regiments of Upland and Södermanland received orders immediately to return to their headquarters, and their commander, one of the Cederströms, who were previously persons of great influence, was summoned to the capital. Pechlin, who had previously been sent off by the council to relieve the princes of their commands, was arrested, because he would not obey the officer who had been sent after him by the king to command his return.

When all the necessary precautions had been adopted on the 19th, and the council had been completely deprived of their power, its members were allowed to return to their own homes; but they as well as the other members of the diet who were then in Stockholm were placed under a species of house arrest. With respect to the affair of the constitution, the king addressed himself to the people and assured them that he laid no claim to the absolute power which had been conferred upon Charles XI. from the year 1680, but to the rights of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles X. With this design, he called together the citizens and military in the great square, and on the 20th, inspired the multitude by his personal appearance and his declamation on ancient Swedish nationality and privileges, which had precisely the same sort of value as much of the boasting and declamation among us respecting German nationality. He therefore caused an oath to be administered, by which both parties bound themselves to be faithful to the *ancient* Swedish constitution, and he gave the people the most sacred assurances of his being true to his oath. The exchange of these solemn oaths between him and the people was followed by the reception of his brothers in all the towns of the provinces; the comedy which Hellichius had played in Christianstadt against the constitution, and the king's brothers in its favour, had now reached its *dénouement*, and prince Charles marched into Christianstadt. Pechlin, who had been sent by the council to relieve the princes of their command and been arrested, was conveyed to Gripsholm, and the revolution, which had been completely effected without the shedding of blood, only awaited the acceptance of the new form of government by the diet which was still sitting.

In order to obtain the consent and approbation of the diet, the king immediately sent heralds into all parts of the city to summon a general meeting (*plenum plenorum*) of all the members of the diet who were then in the capital, to be held on the next day (the 21st). Threats were added to this solemn invitation to



a general assembly, and it was proclaimed that every member who did not attend would be regarded as a traitor to his country. The drama which was acted on this occasion in Stockholm was very similar to the French plays which were several times got up by Buonaparte in Paris, in its royal pomp, imposture and sophistry of speech and action, as well as by the manner in which the people were intoxicated and deceived. No one was allowed to leave the city without a pass signed by the king himself, and a report had been expressly circulated that several bodies of troops were still in array against the revolution. The whole garrison surrounded the hall in which the diet was assembled, the artillery was pointed against the building, and the president's chair in the assembly was not occupied as usual by the marshal of the kingdom, but by Gustavus himself, surrounded by all the ensigns of royal dignity, and with the very hammer in his hand which had been used by the great Gustavus Adolphus when he wished to call silence or order. On this occasion also the king did not fail to give some splendid examples of his oratorical talents. Whoever is desirous of forming an opinion of this royal orator at a time when he had not sunk down to the character of a mere common-place rhetorician and sophist, such as Fontanes or Gentz, will find the best specimen of his style in the speech delivered on this occasion, which may be found at length in the Swedish anecdotes, and copious extracts from it in Posselt's '*Life of Gustavus III.*' (p. 188, &c.)

The whole of the following scenes, and especially the religious ceremonial by which this regal comedy was concluded, are sufficient proofs, that the shameless and ridiculous are never absent wherever there is a want of honesty and truth; and that the Lutheran orthodoxy of the Swedes could be just as well used for purposes of fraud and delusion as the popery of the Portuguese. At the very moment in which the king was violating the constitution, which had been established since 1723, he took a new and solemn oath to observe the constitution which had been in force previous to 1680; and at the same time he did not bring the records of this old constitution with him into the assembly, but one containing entirely new principles and details, to which the estates were to bind themselves. This draft\* was

\* This document may be seen at full length in the Swedish anecdotes, and copious extracts from it in Canzler's '*Swedish Reports*'; the substance of it was as follows:—That the council should be named by the king, and their duty should be to consult and advise, but not to determine; that its members should be bound in allegiance and obedience to the king alone. The estates of the

divided into fifty-seven articles, which the king caused to be read at length in the assembly, and then for mere form's sake he asked the members, whose sitting was held in a hall surrounded by troops, and against which loaded cannon were pointed with an artilleryman ready to discharge them upon the first signal, whether they were satisfied with the proposed constitution? The answer, as might be expected, was a unanimous assent. It would have been of no use to have brought forward any objections; for when a member of the first estate ventured to propose some modification of a single point, the marshal of the kingdom refused even to put the question to the assembly. We have denominated the termination of this scene nothing less than blasphemous, because the four presidents of the respective estates had no sooner signed this act, under compulsion and fear of violence, than the king compelled the assembled diet to express aloud their thanks to God for the humiliation which both the diet and the council had just endured. The king, who had put a psalm-book in his pocket for the occasion, drew it out at the conclusion, read the psalm *Te Deum laudamus*, "We praise thee, O Lord," &c. (Herr Gott dich loben wir), and all the members of the assembly were compelled to sing it along with him.

Immediately afterwards the king dismissed the old council, which was not dependent upon him, but derived its authority from the estates, and appointed seventeen noblemen, who were to form the new council, which was to be dependent on him alone. In this way he retained a remnant of the old constitution around him; and even this, if we may judge from subsequent events, was the result of impudence or precipitation. His eulogist Arndt reproaches him with good reason for having retained any fragments of the old constitution, which he was desirous of abolishing altogether. He retained four points, which were afterwards taken advantage of by the malcontents in order to accuse him with justice of violating a constitution of his own choice and recommendation. These points were:—

kingdom were to be retained, and in connexion with the king to be the organ of legislation. The king to have the power to call them together as often and at whatever places he pleased: the diet not to have permission to debate or advise upon any subjects except such as should be laid before them by the king, and not to be allowed to prolong their sittings beyond three months. The king alone to have the power of making and declaring war and forming alliances, and also of carrying on a defensive war; but to an offensive war he must have the consent of the estates. The old taxes to remain until new are arranged. The king alone to have the appointment to all offices, and the chief command by sea and land.

1. That the king must necessarily consult his council of seventeen respecting all his decisions.

2. That it should not be lawful for him to commence a war without the consent of this council and the diet.

3. That the council should retain the right of recommending certain persons to fill all vacant places, of whom the king should choose one.

4. That it should not be competent for the king to dismiss any one from a high office without a judicial investigation.

It was to be expected that the king would have dismissed the diet also, which however did not take place, although for the honour of the Swedes it might be wished that it had occurred. The diet was summoned to a new sitting on the 25th, and remained together till the 9th of September.

The declarations and resolutions of the members of this assembly, who but a month before the revolution were so jealous of the king, are at this period full of the most fulsome flattery and of the meanest fawning. The members seemed to emulate each other in their zeal for the extension of the royal prerogatives, and none among them all was more flattering and zealous than the marshal of the kingdom. It must however be admitted that there were men, and not a few, who attempted to stem the torrent of public degradation and to swim against the stream of enthusiasm; but they had great difficulty in obtaining permission to express their opinions. A member of the knightly order, for example, made a motion to grant the king a yearly budget only; but the meeting was so far from concurring in this proposition, or from making the taxes dependent on an annual vote of the diet, that they completely relinquished this most valuable privilege of the estates, and threw the whole power over the resources of the country into the hands of a young and extravagant prince. A secret committee of the estates was nominated, which was however completely dependent upon the king, with whose consent the king was not only empowered to raise *extraordinary* levies in cases of necessity, but also to determine the nature of the imposts and the mode of their collection. The king and the estates emulated each other in hypocritical speeches, exaggeration or sounding phraseology, untruthfulness and positive falsehood. Those who are desirous of examining this point may convince themselves of its truth by reading the account of the closing of the diet on the 9th of September, as narrated in She-

ridan's 'History of the Swedish Revolution\*.' The substance of the matter may be also found in Posselt's 'Life of Gustavus III.'

In November of the same year, the king, always affecting the character of the ancient Swede, and playing his knightly game, made a royal progress through the kingdom in company with his brother Frederick Adolphus, and Scheffer and Liewen, two of his councillors of state. It is alleged that he then entertained heroic thoughts, and wished to threaten the Danes, who had made some military demonstrations on the frontiers. Denmark was not in a condition to entertain any thoughts of war, and returned a friendly answer to the Swedish king: but besides this, Russia and Prussia kept the heroic sword of the knightly king in its scabbard, by giving him to understand, that in case of any hostile attempts on his part they would support the cause of the weak Danes. The king was first obliged to direct his attention to the internal administration, and entitled himself to great praise by the abolition of the numerous abuses of the aristocratic government. The nation was so completely carried away by its feelings of gratitude and admiration for the services which the king rendered in the commencement of his reign, that they only became convinced ten years afterwards, into what a fearful condition their enthusiasm had led and would lead them.

The bad economy of the Swedish oligarchs may be learned from a description of the state of the Swedish finances in the year 1772, of which Schlözer has given an admirable summary in a few pages†. The king's administration therefore and his vain personal character are carefully to be distinguished, and it would

\* "This happy revolution has, under the direction of Providence, applied an immediate remedy to all the evils which have harassed the kingdom for upwards of a century. A nation, before torn by dissensions, it has rendered a united, free, powerful and independent people, zealous for their country's good. It is thus circumstanced that the government of the kingdom passes from your hands into mine. Liberty is confirmed; the laws are fixed; concord is restored.

"That courage, that attachment towards their king and country, which once distinguished the Swedish nobles, have been revived and have supported me by the most vigorous exertions. The submission of the clergy to the decrees of Providence, their zeal for the glory of God, their obedience to superiors, their love of concord and of the public good have re-appeared. Be attentive to inspire your absent brethren with the same sentiments.....

"I separate myself therefore from you with a heart filled with gratitude and joy: after you have concurred with me to re-establish upon the most solid foundations the ancient Swedish liberty; after you have regulated a form of government which favours it; after being united to me by the strongest ties, you may hope for times more fortunate."—Hist. of the late Revolution in Sweden, &c., by Charles Francis Sheridan, pp. 335, 336. London 1778.

† Schlözer's Correspondence, No. 5 (1776), Part I. pp. 277-288.

be in the highest degree unjust not to admit, that by his means order and justice were again restored to Sweden. This however is true of the first ten years of his reign only; for it will appear that in the later periods of his rule, to which we shall advert in the next period, his poor subjects were obliged to pay too dearly for the king's services by the new form and splendour which was given to court life. We leave it to those who take an interest in such subjects to eulogise the king's great knowledge of architecture and the arts, operas and balls, pomp and tournaments, music and writing after the French manner and style; we merely observe, that at first the king really entitled himself to commendation of a much higher character, although in his general habits and feelings he belonged undoubtedly to that very numerous class of princes of modern times, who lay far more stress upon the praise of the learned, artists and courtiers, than upon the blessing of the people.

In reference to the substantial advantages of the people, the king himself took care that Sweden and the whole world should certainly know and admit, that for the first six years after the revolution the people in fact reaped the fruits of those projects which the king appeared to have entered into for his own benefit alone. In 1778 an official report was published in Stockholm under the following title: '*Gustavus III.'s report to his people, explanatory of the manner in which, during the past six years, (from August 1772 till October 1778,) he has conscientiously and faithfully administered the office of ruler of the state entrusted to him by God and his people.*' We only refer in this place incidentally to the subject of the administration of the state, and cannot therefore furnish extracts from this document, which is mainly important as regards the administration of the state and the results of the monarchical revolution in Sweden; an extract however may be seen in the 22nd number of Schlözer's Correspondence, art. 4, under the head of "Authentic Chronicles of Sweden." The other side of this monarchical revolution is indeed much less agreeable to contemplate, but it is nevertheless much more important for the object of this work, which is to point out the monarchical spirit of those times. In the first ten years of the king's reign this side was too much overlooked, and he was therefore made the subject of exaggerated praise and admiration; and consequently the illusion was no sooner dispelled, and the glory with which he was surrounded dissipated, than he was obliged to learn the disagreeable lesson of experience, that unreasonable

hatred is a necessary consequence of foolish and exaggerated admiration, and that a reputation which is merely founded upon sophists and newspapers is always unstable. Gustavus' revolution was only to be a restoration; as such therefore it belonged to the seventeenth century, and stood opposed to the whole spirit of the eighteenth, which demanded innovations, and consequently in the progress of his reign he was always more and more obviously placed in a condition of opposition to both.

Under the preceding constitution of 1766, the freedom of the press was introduced into Sweden in such a manner and on so grand a scale, in the spirit and according to the demands of the eighteenth century, that the whole of Europe was filled with wonder and astonishment; but the law-courts, immediately after the revolution, began to feel some difficulties as to the extent to which the freedom of the press could be allowed to subsist together with the laws of the free constitution of 1766, consistently with the monarchy of 1772. Many of the judges and lawyers were of opinion, that all the decrees which had been issued since 1720, which stood in any connexion whatever with the constitution, had become null and void since the 19th of August, and the restoration of the constitution which had been established previous to 1680. At length the supreme court committed the investigation of the subject to assessor Estenberg in 1773, requesting him to draw up a full report upon the subject; this he did, and his report was favourable to complete freedom. It was found necessary, however, in the following year to regulate the whole matter anew by passing a new law, upon the tenor and terms of which the council was required to consult. Gustavus took Estenberg's report as the basis of these consultations, and in the council-chamber dictated in person, and caused to be entered upon the minutes of the council, the freest and most liberal declarations. His words were forthwith transferred to the columns of the newspapers, for they then breathed the spirit of the times, and the world rejoiced at the determinations of this liberal-minded king; but the first look at the ordinance published on the 26th of April 1774, and drawn up according to the dictation of the king, and which was apparently so full of freedom, or in other words, the law respecting the freedom of the press, convinces us, that the spirit of the constitution, which the king had restored, was in complete contradiction to the spirit of the eighteenth century, and to the captivating but delusive phrases in which the king had announced it.

In the very second paragraph of this decree, it is declared to be *high treason* for any one to write against the fundamental laws or the king's prerogatives. This might appear admissible; but Schlözer, from whom we borrow this remark, and who was himself in Sweden and had the best correspondents there, has added:—the circumstances and the king's influence upon the courts of law in Sweden were of such a kind, that no prudent native writer would expose himself to the danger of an inquiry, whether he had written *against* or only *concerning* such points. The same thing which occurred respecting freedom on this point took place also with regard to the frugality and savings of the renovated monarchy of ancient times, as soon as the mere cloud of words was dissipated, which served only as a cloak for the facts. Gustavus' mind was full of knightly fancies, and although he did not think of imitating the conduct of Charles XII., he kept Charles X. always in his eye, and never suspected that there was any real difference between playing the knight upon the theatre, among the ladies, or in a court tournament, and leading an army into the field. He amused himself with soldiers in a manner which was wholly inconsistent both with the extent of his kingdom and the poverty of its inhabitants. His heroic dreams and follies alone cost more money than he was able to save by the abolition of old abuses, and he wasted the money of his nation and people in many ways besides. He was also addicted to indulgence in royal humours, and imitated the life and expenditure of the French *roués* and princes. Gustavus was an admirer of the manners, language and customs of the French aristocracy, who were corrupt and wicked beyond all conception; and this admiration proved ruinous to the poor Swedes.

Gustavus' tournaments, every time they were held, swallowed up great sums of money, and plunged individual members of the court nobility into heavy debts. The tilting-matches of the royal knight were however far from being the most expensive part of the princely splendour of a court, of which the extravagant brothers of Louis XVI. constituted the models, and with whose principles and tendencies Gustavus most heartily agreed. We may form some idea of the vast sums which were expended by the king on these tournaments from the fact, that the celebrated tilting-match of 1776 cost 400,000 dollars [£5000], copper currency, and notwithstanding this, a similar entertainment was given in the next year. For the maintenance of this Asiatic

pomp and Asiatic expenditure, the king was indeed obliged to have recourse to Asiatic or Sclavonian means of raising the necessary supplies. We direct attention particularly to this point, because the taxes which were imposed by Gustavus, as the restorer of the old monarchical system, were entirely opposed to the spirit of the new political economy of the eighteenth century, and furnished a proof that all the fine phrases of which he was so liberal were practical lies. This new tax also shows, that three years had scarcely elapsed after the revolution, till Gustavus, if he did not expressly violate the new constitution, adopted irresponsible measures which were calculated to undermine it.

King Gustavus perceived, as early as the year 1775, that the ordinary revenues of the kingdom were insufficient to meet the expenditure, but he did not wish to call the estates together so soon for the purpose of laying on new taxes; he therefore had recourse to the Russian principle respecting the distillation of spirits, and introduced it into Sweden. In this affair he did not expressly violate the constitution in words, for he imposed no *new tax*; but the violation of its spirit was the more shameful, inasmuch as the king founded his income upon a monopoly. This new privilege proved ruinous to the country, because the income of the monarch increased just in proportion as the morality, health and prosperity of the people declined. The ruin and corruption of a nation, which had been for ages distinguished for the vigour and simplicity of its people, were effected by converting the corn necessary for their subsistence, and which was even partly imported, into liquid poison, and that too to increase the revenues of the crown. Imitating the example of the Russian government, Gustavus, on the 17th of May 1775, declared that the distillation of spirits was a crown privilege, but that, in the commencement of its exercise, he was desirous of farming this right. A license was to be granted for converting 300,000 tons of corn yearly into spirits, on condition that ten dollars, (6s. 10d.,) silver currency, per ton were paid to the crown. This would be very easy and convenient, but the measure proved incapable of being carried into execution. As early as April 1776, the crown itself was compelled to annul the contract, and to take into its own hands the whole direction of the affair, and the management of that burthensome system of police which was necessarily connected with the carrying out of such a privilege in



such a country as Sweden. Every one was henceforth obliged to purchase his spirits from the crown at a fixed but arbitrary price (four Swedish dollars four oers, copper currency\*, the quart). The king and his advisers hoped by this means to realize 1,500,000 dollars, silver currency, yearly for the royal treasury.

The struggle which now arose at the end of seven years, between the king and the estates, belongs to Swedish history alone; the estates began to perceive that the king's design was to establish a Russian autocracy by means of soldiers, in the same manner as he claimed Russian prerogatives and lived in all the splendour of the Russian court. We therefore pass over this portion of the history, which does not again assume a general European importance till the years from 1786-1791. This later period is closely connected with Potemkin's undertakings against the Turks and Tatars, and will be treated of in connexion with the war which Catharine II. and Joseph II. began with the Turks.

### CHAPTER III.

#### SECOND DIVISION OF THE NORTHERN STATES.—POLAND.— PRUSSIA.—RUSSIA TILL 1768.

##### § I.

#### RUSSIA AND POLAND TILL THE CONFEDERATION OF BARR AND THE WAR WITH THE TURKS.

MACHIAVELLI, who was a great diplomatist, politician, historian and master of antiquity, has laid it down as a maxim, that "Providence is always favourable to the powerful, who possess neither shame nor conscience, and withholds its protection from the weak:" an apparently very evident proof of the truth of this dreadful proposition may be deduced from the history of Russia from the time of Peter the Great. This principle however would only hold good in those great diplomatic and state affairs in which such men as the Orloffs, Potemkins, the Fouchés and Talleyrands, and the Cæsar Borgias, have been concerned and conversant from the beginning of the world till the present day,

\* [Swedish rix-dollar = 4s. 7½d.; a dollar, silver currency, = 9½d.; dollar, copper currency, = 3d. by the law of 1777.—TRANS.]

and to whom Machiavelli ascribes the possession of the highest and most commendable political wisdom. How many eulogists has not Mehemet Ali found in our own days among those to whom the means adopted for the attainment of splendid results are matters of indifference, and the suffering and oppressed people merely regarded as a rabble, of whose interests or feelings no account is to be taken !

It excites therefore no surprise that Voltaire, Diderot, d'Alembert and the whole body of the French sophists have extolled Catharine II. to heaven, or that a coxcomb like Segür, in one and the same volume of his memoirs of Lafayette, who was his relation, should have praised the North Americans and their democracy, and Catharine and Potemkin. Hippel too, who was very desirous of wearing the mantle of piety, and who contrived in his memoirs and other affectedly pious books to deceive the world respecting his gross immorality, which first became known after his death, has represented Catharine II. as the very model of distinguished women ! We must go still further, and observe, that even men, such as Schlözer and Büsching, who had been in Russia, and were well acquainted with the fact, that much was there committed to paper which was never carried into execution, who knew how short-lived all such resolutions are, and how even the best intentions of a ruler are frustrated by that genial contempt for morality which proceeds from the example of the higher powers,—even these men have praised the Semiramis of the North. We cannot venture to oppose our opinion to the general voice, as it will appear in this and the following volumes, that all the other states afterwards sunk in importance, whilst Russia attained an incredible power and greatness ; we cannot however be silent as to the means by which this was effected, and must mention the men who arrived at such high distinction by the instrumentality of Catharine II. We omit all further reference to the women by whom she was aided and surrounded ; for the character of Daschkoff will be splendidly enough delineated by referring to the institutions in the interior of the kingdom, and the decrees and ordinances which excited the admiration of Schlözer, Büsching, and the French philosophers. The same clever Daschkoff, who had been active in promoting the emperor's death, was placed at the head of those pompous and ostentatiously learned institutions, which, since the time of Louis XIV., have been denominated academies.

Inasmuch as we merely relate the facts of history, we must refer our readers who wish to examine all these decrees and institutions in detail to an account of them whose correctness may be confidently relied upon\*. It is evident from the eulogies which were heaped upon Catharine II. by the philosophical jesuits of the eighteenth century, that she acted quite in the spirit of the age and of those sophists by whom freedom of thinking and believing were regarded as nothing, unless those who adopted this principle believed and thought precisely like themselves; she acted however also in the spirit of Peter the Great. Peter's principle, like that of Mehemet Ali, was to sacrifice individual persons or things for the attainment of a general object; and for the promotion of the views of the ruling powers, he availed himself of the uncorrupted vigour of a people, not yet rendered effeminate by civilization, whom he converted into an admirable machine by means of the services of foreigners and the introduction of the arts of civilized life. Catharine followed precisely the same course; and the organization of her armies, her artillery and engineer corps, as well as of her cabinet, was admirable. In other countries, in which there also existed much ability and experience, some questions at least were asked upon the subject of morality; this however was by no means the case in Russia, and there consequently genius found an asylum and a welcome. When Catharine made herself mistress of the government in 1762, the circumstances were very favourable for enabling her to dazzle the whole of Europe by her splendid reputation as a philosophic lady, and by issuing her commands to the governments of Copenhagen, Stockholm and Warsaw as she would have done to the governors of so many Russian provinces.

Denmark had been threatened with war by Peter III., and by the negotiations as well as by the treaty which had been concluded respecting Holstein-Gottorp; it now became wholly dependent upon Catharine. The execution of this treaty was not only delayed by the minority of the grand-duke, but also because Struensee was found to be less tractable than Bernstorff had been, wherefore also Catharine kept no minister at the court of Denmark after Filosoffof left Copenhagen in anger. At the very time in which Catharine had become secure

\* A work often previously mentioned: 'Wichmann's Chronological View of Russian History, &c.,' completed by Eisenbach. Leipzig, 1825. 4to.

upon her throne, Russia again obtained great influence in Sweden, but lost it afterwards through the revolution effected by Gustavus, at least as far as any influence was directly exercised. Even as early as the time of Peter the Great, Poland was dependent upon Russia; and after the death of king Augustus II., even the appearance of the political independence of a kingdom which was sold by its nobles wholly disappeared; under Augustus III. however, no Russian minister brutally tyrannized over the Polish nation; for Kayserling, who held that office, was too much of a lawyer and diplomatist to fall into that error. The case of Courland first furnished the empress with an opportunity of dealing with Poland, in the midst of peace, and with the whole body of the Courland nobility, in the same manner as we have seen the English treat the people and provinces of India in our own times. This will be best seen by casting a glance at the course which had been pursued with Courland from the times of Peter the Great, who ordered it to be taken possession of by Russian troops in the name of Anne his niece.

We pass over the history of the last miserable descendants of Gotthold Kettler, the first protestant duke of Courland, the essential parts of which have been already related, and shall merely advert to the manner in which the Russian military dominion was first introduced into this aristocratic republic. When the family of the dukes of the race of Kettler was drawing near its extinction, the Poles first began to take measures for uniting the duchy with their kingdom, as had been previously settled by express treaties. In the sixteenth century the Poles recognised the secularization of the ecclesiastical estates and foundations in Courland and the change of the spiritual lords into a temporal aristocracy, and guaranteed their protection to Gotthold Kettler as duke and feudatory of Poland only on condition that, in case of the extinction of the house of Kettler, the duchy should be incorporated with their kingdom, and be divided into palatinates like Poland. When their last duke forsook his religion and his country, and the whole race was on the eve of extinction, the Courland nobles were anxious to escape from the terms of the bond. With this view they called in the natural son of king Augustus II. to their aid, who became afterwards so renowned as a French marshal. Count Maurice of Saxony was acknowledged by the Poles and the Courlanders, but was pre-

vented by the Russians from taking possession of the duchy destined for him, and the Russian troops kept possession of the territory which had been formerly governed by Peter's niece as the widow of the last duke. This duchess Anne no sooner became empress of Russia, than the republic of Poland and their king Augustus or his minister Brühl were compelled to recognise the Russian power as a right.

The empress continued to annoy and harass the nobility of Courland for such a time, that notwithstanding their determined opposition, they were at length constrained to elect her favourite Biron as their duke: this choice was also sanctioned by Augustus III. after the death of the last of the Kettlers. The Poles entirely gave up all claims to the incorporation of Courland with their kingdom, and only required that the duke who had been elected, or more properly speaking, appointed by Russia, should receive the territory as a fief of Poland. Biron accordingly, by his plenipotentiary, sought and obtained the investment in Warsaw in June 1739. His overthrow, which took place shortly afterwards, and his cruel exile at Pelim in Siberia, could not deprive him of his right to an independent duchy, which was even acknowledged as a fief of Poland by the Russians themselves; but to this they paid no attention whatever. His effects in Mittau, Libau and Windau were sealed up, and his feudal superior Augustus III. interested himself in his favour in vain. The guardians of the unfortunate Iwan III., whom Anne had appointed her heir, and especially Anthony Ulrich of Brunswick, were determined to force prince Louis of Brunswick upon the acceptance of the Courlanders,—the same who was afterwards called the Brunswick monster in Holland, whither he fled. This plan was frustrated by the revolution of November 1741, by which Elizabeth was raised to the throne. This empress for a long time gave no indication of her views respecting Courland, but there was nothing whatever said of Biron, even although Elizabeth suffered him to go from Pelim to Jaroslav. The Russian troops continued to retain possession of Courland, and the government of the duchy received their commands directly from Petersburg. The revenues were one while the prey of the Russian officials, and at another were sent to Russia under pretence of liquidating Biron's debts; at length it appeared as if Elizabeth was desirous of leaving her share of the spoil to the family of king Augustus III., although she had hitherto paid not the slightest attention to the

application of the king of Poland and the petitions of the Courlanders in favour of Biron\*.

In the commencement of the seven years' war, king Augustus III. had sent his third son prince Charles of Saxony to Petersburg. The empress was very much pleased with the young prince, and in order to show her favourable disposition towards him, caused it to be made publicly known that Biron should never again be recognised as duke of Courland. She herself then requested the king of Poland to invest his son Charles with the fief of the duchy, and her ministers Gross and Simolin, in November 1758, urged the senate of Poland to support their king in this affair. Prince Charles was in fact invested with the duchy with the full consent of the senate; but neither the grand-duke, who was heir to the throne, nor his wife, acknowledged the legality of the investment. The grand-duke, who only thought of Holstein, when he became Peter III. was anxious to confer the duchy upon one of his own relations, a prince of the Holstein family: prince Charles however was now in actual possession of the territory. He therefore caused Biron to be recalled from Jaroslav and brought to the court, and restored him all that was still remaining of his vast wealth, but at the same time declared to him expressly, that he would never replace him in possession of Courland. He gave him indeed a promise of compensation. Peter III.'s wife, Catharine, however no sooner came to the throne than she declared herself favourable to Biron's claims, and as Rulhière with great justice remarks, founded her support upon the personal declaration of king Augustus at the investment of his son. King Augustus, instead of following the counsel of 128 senators and appealing to the constitution of 1736, which conferred on him the privilege of nominating the duke of Courland, rested his decision solely upon the Russian exclusion of Biron, whose right moreover he acknowledged†.

\* As early as the year 1754, king Augustus had allowed the Courlanders to send an embassy to the empress herself, to obtain if possible Biron's liberation. Heyking, who was at the head of the deputation, was not however received.

† Rulhière, *Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne*, vol. i. p. 295:—"Trois sénateurs de la famille Czartorinski et deux des partisans du chancelier de Lithuanie Michel Czartorinski se joignirent à son opinion; tous les autres sénateurs, au nombre de cent vingt-huit, opinèrent que la constitution de 1736 ayant laissé au roi le libre choix d'un nouveau duc de Courlande, et depuis cette époque toutes les assemblées de la nation ayant été rompues, le roi avoit

Catharine was in a condition to give complete effect to her wishes without having recourse to any extraordinary means ; for the Russians had still kept possession of Courland, and had even regarded the whole of Poland as a Russian province during the seven years' war. The whole administration of the country had been usurped by the Russians, who quartered their armies upon the people, entered into contracts and raised contributions, and remained there even after the conclusion of the peace. Two thousand men stationed at Graudenz held the Poles in awe, and fifteen thousand marched to Courland, to drive out prince Charles, if necessary, by force of arms. Prince Charles had proceeded from Warsaw to Mittau, where the same Simolin who had been previously mainly instrumental, under the empress's command, in effecting his investment, was now commissioned to compel his expulsion. The treasuries were sealed up, all payments prevented, and all the public offices taken possession of, and the duke, cut off from all resources and supplies, was besieged in his own house as if it had been a fortress. Charles however, relying upon Polish protection and support, continued in Mittau, with a view to call together the nobility of the duchy, when Biron came to Riga, in order from that city to summon an assembly of the estates. On this occasion every legal and diplomatic form was carefully observed, in order that at least that might not have the appearance of being done which was done in reality. Kayserling was first directed to employ every possible means, as he went through Mittau to Warsaw, to induce prince Charles to give way ; the estates of his partisans were next seized upon, and his own archives, houses and stores were occupied by soldiers, whilst the Courlanders endeavoured to shelter themselves under the form, that the decree for summoning the estates could only be issued from some place within the territory itself, and not from Riga, where Biron was then staying. This objection, however, was removed by Biron's coming to Mittau, although Charles still remained in the city, and from thence issuing the summonses, on the 25th of January 1763, for a general assembly of the estates.

toujours cette constitution pour règle. Il accorda donc au prince Charles les diplômes et l'investiture de ce duché ; mais soit légèreté soit fausse prudence et dessein d'intéresser la Russie elle-même à soutenir cette nouvelle investiture, il reconnut dans ses écrits les droits du duc de Biron comme légitimes et donna pour fondement aux droits du duc Charles la seule déclaration de l'impératrice que personne de la famille de Biron ne serait jamais relâchée."

The estates accordingly met; Charles, who was in some measure a prisoner in his own house in Mittau, insisted that his father, who had invested him with the duchy, was the only person who had the right to recall the grant; Simolin, however, commanded the estates to administer the public affairs in Biron's name. There were now two dukes residing in Mittau at the same time, one under the protection and the other as a prisoner of the Russians; and the estates of the country, as well as the Polish senators who had been sent for Charles's protection, found themselves in a very singular position. The Russians, who were in fact and by force of arms masters of the country, commanded the estates to acknowledge Biron alone as duke; whilst the Poles, to whom the feudal supremacy belonged both by right and agreement, forbade them to recognise Biron's claim, and to maintain that of prince Charles. The king of Poland, it is true, was desirous of summoning an extraordinary diet; but this project was prevented by Kayserling's intrigues among the venal Polish magnates, and the threat of ordering still larger bodies of Russian troops to march into the duchy. Nothing however was really effected on the part of the Saxon prince, and the sickly king and his minister Brühl even took their departure from Warsaw to go to Dresden, whilst Courland fell a prey to the tyrannical domination of Biron. Biron had ceded a portion of his Silesian possessions to the king of Prussia, and Frederick also had therefore recognised his title to Courland. The Polish deputies, who had been sent in the name of the senate to Charles, gave proofs of their attachment and courage, and were ready to draw their swords in his cause, but all was of no avail. The amount of the Russian forces in the country was continually increased, and as king Augustus' health became more and more uncertain, they made preparations for advancing into Lithuania also, and the king therefore at length recalled his son from Mittau. Biron, whose mode of government was exactly like that of an Indian nabob or rajah, was looked upon by the Russians precisely in the same light as the English view their vassal kings in India; he tyrannized under their protection. In this way he prepared the Courlanders for their approaching annexation to Russia; who had in fact nothing to lose, but must necessarily gain by this event.

Whilst Russia thus reduced Courland in some measure to a Russian province, and quartered and supported its army upon



Polish ground, king Frederick II. had recourse to every imaginable kind of oppression and vexation in Polish Prussia. We must not dwell at any length upon the description of these annoyances and vexations, which mostly regarded things of but small importance in themselves, by which sometimes the ill-paid Prussian officials were enriched and sometimes insignificant sums were to be drawn into the royal treasury, which were serviceable to the king, who at this very time was employing large sums of money for the promotion of the noblest purpose,—the amelioration of the sufferings of the people and of the country. It was his constant and unwearying endeavour to apply to the aid of his country, and his subjects who had been ruined by war, everything which he could save, by the abolition of all useless pomp and splendour, and by the diminution of the pay of the higher officers of the state, who were then often starving, but are now rioting in luxury. The poor Poles were placed in a sad dilemma, between their miserable constitution, their luxurious and venal waiwodes and starosts, their king and Brühl, on the one hand, and Prussian bayonets on the other. If they applied to king Frederick II., which they really did when the Prussians were behaving in their neighbouring province as the French were accustomed to do under Louis XIV. and Buonaparte, he pretended to have no knowledge of those things which were done in his name; if they applied to their own king, Brühl, who was by no means well-disposed to the nobles, whose properties were chiefly affected by these vexatious oppressions, returned them a contemptuous answer.

Poland was completely ruled by the Russian minister Kayserling in Warsaw. Kayserling was a man advanced in life, thoroughly acquainted with all the chicanery of the law, which he had deeply studied; with all the tricks of diplomatists, to whose body he himself belonged; with the extraordinary constitutional privileges of the Poles and their sources; with the vanity, venality, parties and factions of the nobility. As long as the sophistry of the law, refined cunning, chicanery and bribery,—that is, all such political arts as an ambassador could put in practice,—were alone required, Kayserling needed no assistance; but when rudeness and brutality were to be called into use, Repnin was immediately employed. Repnin was Panin's nephew, and afterwards gained a considerable military reputation. During the seven years' war, when he acted as the military representative com-

missioned by the Russian government, he usually spent the summer in the French camp and passed the winter in Paris, where he had been fully initiated into all the corruptions and licentiousness of the times of Pompadour and Du Barry. His uncle Panin, although he had been favoured by Peter III., and appointed chief tutor to his son, had nevertheless taken part in the conspiracy against the emperor, and afterwards been appointed minister of foreign affairs by Catharine II. In this office he gained great renown, although it is said his knowledge was very limited. His integrity, prudence, politeness and *amabilité* have been highly praised, but he has been accused of being idle, indolent and weak; a man of more determined character would probably have been unable to hold his position, when so much depended upon the influence of well-known favourites. In the time of the terrible Orloffs, Panin endeavoured to cover the numerous faults of the empress with the tinsel of glory, and Frederick II. anxiously sought for one power in Europe which would enter into a close alliance with himself; these two circumstances brought Russia and Prussia half-way towards a good mutual understanding.

Frederick II. looked for a support in Russia against the hatred of Louis XV., the ill-temper of George III. and lord Bute, and the disinclination of the empress Maria Theresa, who could never forget Silesia, and he was ready to sacrifice Poland for a Russian alliance. Frederick by no means fell in with Catharine's views respecting mere splendour and colossal greatness, but sought to strengthen one military power, with whose internal weakness he had become acquainted in the last years of the seven years' war, by an alliance with another military power; and this alliance was promoted by the views of Russia respecting Poland and the continual disputes which were carried on among the Polish magnates. The contests among the great Polish families and their connexion with foreign princes had never ceased; but after the death of king Augustus III. the Poles, who were supported by the French on the one side, and those who were purchased by and in the pay of the Russians on the other, carried on an open war. The Czartorinskis, Oginskis and Poniatowskis were in the Russian interest, the Radzivils and Branitzkis in that of France; and the two parties, supported by regular armies, took the field against each other. At this time the Russians were in Courland, had a small garrison in Graudenz, and

shortly before the king's death they collected another army on the frontiers of Poland. The king's death, which took place in October 1763, was followed by a whole year of complete anarchy in Poland, for it is impossible to give any other name to the intermediate government which professed to rule the country from the death of one king till the election of a successor. Even the election of a new sovereign would necessarily prove insufficient to stay this anarchy if he were a man without seriousness, dignity, wealth, and a great number of partisans in the kingdom; and such a man the Russians were desirous of placing upon the throne of Poland. It was flattering to the pride of the empress, that one of her old personal favourites and the most insipid of them all should be elected. This was also quite in accordance with the policy of her minister, since his love for his empress had long since been changed into contempt, and this event would furnish him with an opportunity of showing that the empress could make her creatures kings, and by his future unbecoming treatment of the new sovereign, of proving that a Russian minister was a more powerful man than a king of Poland.

Stanislaus Poniatowski was the suitor for the throne whom the Russians favoured, and it was at that time generally believed that this favour was shown because, when he was formerly in Petersburg, he had engaged in some scandalous adventures on account of the empress, then grand-duchess; but it soon appeared that he was elected because he was an accomplished courtier, and neither a statesman nor a warrior. Stanislaus was born to be a high chamberlain or court marshal, or to fill some such office, but he possessed none of the befitting qualities of a king. He had studied all the frivolousness, but at the same time all the knowledge and dexterity of court life, had made himself master of all the arts and details of ceremony and levees, and was able to converse in various languages, with the purity and accent of a native, upon what was called poetry and the arts in the saloons; but he was completely destitute of all sincerity or depth. He was able to converse most admirably upon the newest and most fashionable music, the poets or artists who were in vogue, upon decorations, operas, plays and actresses, and even to deceive a George Forster; but every manly virtue, every thought worthy of a noble mind, was foreign to his nature. Segür, who had good reasons for forming a very different opinion from that of the severe judge of the higher classes of society

whose name we have mentioned, with respect to those splendid qualities which are destitute of solidity and the description of talent which is available at courts, has notwithstanding said of Stanislaus Augustus, that he was alternately tyrannized over by his people and his neighbours. He may, it is true, have possessed much penetration but little power, and have therefore foreseen many of those evils which he was neither able to ward off nor to resist. Oginski in his memoirs ascribes to him a great share in the bloom of literature and the arts in Poland, which he afterwards establishes by the declarations of individuals who were at that time highly distinguished. "Stanislaus," he says, "honestly wished to promote what was good; he was well-informed, and devoted every moment, which he could spare from public business without disadvantage, to the advancement of literature, arts and sciences. He drew around him men of well-informed minds and distinguished talents, whom he magnificently rewarded, and was anxious to diffuse enlightenment over the country."

In reference to the chief point with which we are at present concerned, Oginski's judgment coincides with that of Segür. He was looked upon in general as a mere instrument for carrying out the designs of the Russians, to whom he was indebted for the throne, and did not therefore enjoy the public confidence to such an extent as to enable him to offer any firm resistance in cases in which his own honour and that of the nation called for the exercise of courage, activity, and a complete devotedness to the cause.

In order to secure the election of Stanislaus, Catharine at length made approaches to an understanding with the king of Prussia, with whom, up till this time, she had shown a disinclination to enter into any close alliance. Frederick immediately recalled his minister Golz from Petersburg, because he did not possess the confidence either of Catharine or Panin, and sent count Solms in his stead, who concluded what is called a defensive alliance between Russia and Prussia for eight years, and which Catharine II., after she had attained her object; was with great difficulty prevailed upon to renew for a similar period. This was that unholy alliance which, from 1764 till the present day, has proved the source of all the misfortunes of the European nations, because it has served as a model for all the treaties which have been since concluded, by means of which the fate and in-

ternal administration of the weaker states have become wholly dependent on the compacts, arms and diplomatists of powerful foreign nations. This first treaty was against the Poles; and those by which it has been followed, and which have been drawn up after its model, have been concluded against the liberties of the nations; and in this way the seeds of discontent and discord between the governed and those who govern have continued to grow and fructify till the present day. As soon as the rights of the bayonet were once made good against Poland and Turkey, it was also regarded as good against the freedom and rights of the people. The oppressed have gnashed their teeth in despair and waited for the visitations of the divine vengeance, which has followed close upon the footsteps of those insolent and tyrannical oppressors for five-and-twenty years, and will one day overtake them, as sure as the world is under the superintendence of an overruling Providence.

The public conditions of the treaty concluded between Russia and Prussia in April 1764 contained nothing surprising or offensive; the two parties mutually pledged themselves to maintain each other in the possession of their present territories (which was very important for Prussia with respect to Silesia), and agreed, in case of an attack upon either, reciprocally to furnish 10,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry as auxiliaries. In case Russia should be attacked by the Turks, or Prussia by the French, a yearly contribution in money was to be substituted for the auxiliary troops. The chief reason for which we have called this treaty a Pandora's box, from which all the evils sprung that have afflicted and desolated Europe from that time till the present day, is pressed into a secret article, which we subjoin in a note\*,

\* Secret article of the treaty signed in Petersburg 11th April 1764:—  
" Comme il est de l'intérêt de S. M. le roi de Prusse et de S. M. l'impératrice de toutes les Russies, d'employer tous leurs soins et tous leurs efforts pour que la république de Pologne soit maintenue dans son état de libre élection, et qu'il ne soit permis à personne de rendre le dit royaume héréditaire dans sa famille, ou de s'y rendre absolu, sa majesté le roi de Prusse et sa majesté impériale ont promis et se sont engagés mutuellement et de la manière la plus forte, par cet article secret, non-seulement à ne point permettre que qui que ce soit entreprenne de dépouiller la république de son droit de libre élection, de rendre le royaume héréditaire ou de s'y rendre absolu, dans tous les cas où cela pourroit arriver; mais encore à prévenir et à anéantir par tous les moyens possibles et d'un commun accord les vues et les desseins qui pourroient tendre à ce but, aussitôt qu'on les aura découverts et à avoir même en cas de besoin recours à la force des armes pour garantir la république du renversement de sa constitution et de ses loix fondamentales. Ce présent article aura la même

because it is couched in sophistical expressions and phrases which point beforehand to the downfall of Poland. The king, whose election had been promoted by this treaty, had no other dependence for his support than a reliance upon foreign aid ; for he was held in no estimation by the Polish nobility, who constituted what they denominated the republic. The Polish nobles were divided into four classes, the highest of which was composed of the first families, who were in possession of principalities and had the right of maintaining a standing army ; the second class possessed waiwodeships, starosties and bishoprics ; the third, castles and special jurisdictions ; and the fourth, which was very numerous, was proud, but in a servile condition, dependent, and partly as poor as beggars.

Stanislaus Poniatowski was indebted for the distinction which he enjoyed to a fortunate marriage which his father had contracted, by means of which he became nephew to the high chancellor Czartorinski, who, together with his nephew of the same name, stood at the head of the Polish government. The high chancellor was moreover in doubt, whether he should decide in favour of his son-in-law Oginski or his nephew Poniatowski, but in both cases the government must continue to remain in the hands of the two Czartorinskis, because, although Oginski and Poniatowski, according to Rulhière's\* account, emulated each other in the practice of court intrigues, yet neither the one nor the other was capable of performing any other services to the state either in peace or in war.

The immediate and necessary consequence of the alliance be-

force et vigueur que s'il étoit inséré mot pour mot dans le traité principal d'alliance défensive signé aujourd'hui et sera ratifié en même tems. En foi de quoi," &c. &c.

\* We use Rulhière's work with *great caution*, and only in cases in which we entertain no doubt of the facts from other authorities (see a brief but striking notice of Rulhière in Flassan's ' Histoire de la Diplomatie Française,' vol. vi. 2de edit. p. 523). We extract a passage here, merely with a view of showing what miserable wights these two candidates for the throne of Poland were, one of whom was son-in-law and the other nephew to the high chancellor Czartorinski :—" Les succès du comte Oginski dans tous les arts, de la poésie, la musique, la peinture, inspiroient à Poniatowski toutes les fureurs de la jalousie. Un tableau, une sonate, un madrigal étoient entre eux de fréquentes occasions de brouilleries ; mais d'un autre côté, les soins que le grand chancelier donnait de préférence à Poniatowski, son neveu, pour le former aux affaires inspiroient non moins de jalousie au comte Oginski son gendre ; celui-ci, pour me servir de ses propres expressions, ne reconnoissoit dans son cousin que l'esprit de ces subalternes fourbes, intéressés et flatteurs, qui parviennent à plaire quoiqu'on s'en défie."

tween Russia and Prussia was the maintenance of the old constitution, whose unholy nature will be most readily learned by referring to a few of its leading features\*. There was first of all no tribunal in Poland which could enforce its decisions against those who might be accused, or treat all men as equal before the law; the whole course of legislation might be effectually impeded by a single voice, which right was denominated the *liberum veto*. No systematic arrangement of the finances was possible; from which it follows, without assigning further reasons, that the standing army, in its constitution and discipline, could not be brought into a condition corresponding to the demands of the time. The whole trade of the community was carried on by Jews, whilst the mass of the population was poor and miserable, neither obedient to the king nor the law, but rendering a slavish service to some licentious and corrupt magnate, or to some contemptible and rude nobleman. The nobles consisted of some hundred thousand families, who were partly miserably poor and partly dependent on a few; these men, although always boasting of freedom, were yet haughty and imperious, and both unworthy and incapable of exercising the legislative functions which they enjoyed. Supported by foreign aid and foreign money, they were ready at any instant to draw their swords and enter into the most desperate and bloody feuds for the possession of the highest places of honour and distinction in the kingdom. These grandees possessed lordships and principalities, had millions of revenue and thousands of other nobles in their service under the most various titles and pretences, were suffered to maintain troops, and, in consequence, were for the most part deeply involved in debt;—men, opinions, right and justice were all openly venal.

On the king's death, a republican administration of the kingdom continued from October 1763 till September 1764; and

\* The threatening representations of Prussia and Russia prevented the estates from venturing to alter even those glaring defects concerning which all parties were agreed. We shall merely adduce one or two of these points as examples;—a single dissentient voice was sufficient to obstruct the determinations of all the rest of the assembly—this they called the *liberum veto*. Further, the army was completely under the control of the commander-in-chief, the administration of justice under that of the high chancellor, the administration of the public monies under that of the grand treasurer, and the whole regulation of the police in the hands of the grand marshal; and none of these parties could be called to any account by the king, or receive any orders from the head of the state. What remained to the king as his prerogative?

this, as may be supposed, led to a complete dissolution of all the bonds of order and law. The son of the late king, who might have been brought forward in opposition to the Russian favourite Stanislaus Poniatowski, died soon after his father, so that Stanislaus was the only person who had any views to the throne; but he had determined and vigorous opponents in the Radzivils and others, who at length ventured to have recourse to arms, and sword in hand to attack the Russians who were in the country. As early as March 1764, the Radzivils, and Branitzki the commander-in-chief, took the field at the head of an army and drove the Russian general Chmutof and his troops out of Graudenz. This furnished the Russians with an opportunity and pretence for intermeddling in the dispute, which, according to Polish custom, could only be decided by force of arms, because it was usual in Poland, in all cases of political contest, to form bodies named confederations, in which the *liberum veto* was not held good, but everything was determined by majority of votes, and whose chiefs wielded military power. These chiefs made good their cause by the power of the sword, so that whoever was vanquished in the field was adjudged to be in the wrong. The only means, therefore, of restoring peace to the whole kingdom was to form a general confederation, whose chief should exercise a species of military dictatorship, and be able to root out all other confederations.

The two Czartorinskis adopted this course in order to promote the cause of their relation Stanislaus. Supported by the Russians, they first defeated Radzivil and his confederates in July, then Branitzki and the army of the crown, and finally compelled them to take refuge in the Turkish dominions. This was no sooner effected than Stanislaus Poniatowski was elected king in September 1764, under the protection of the Russians and of the Czartorinskis, who were at the head of the general confederation. The main instruments however in the affair were Russian troops and Russian money. Although neither Catharine, Panin, nor the king of Prussia were at all unacquainted with the miserable character of the newly elected sovereign, nevertheless Frederick himself addressed him in an uncommonly well-composed letter of congratulation, which was paraded in all the newspapers. The newspaper scribes and the panegyrists of the gallant king, as well as the king himself, made the same use of the polite phrases of Frederick the Great as pitiful writers do of the



words of their good friends the reviewers, or the authority of an extract from Göthe or Johannes von Müller. The effect of all this was to expose Stanislaus to the great contempt of all persons of judgement and merit. The two Czartorinskis at the head of the general confederation, which conferred upon them a military power, would have succeeded in putting a stop to the prevailing anarchy and in organizing a government for the king, had Repnin, who after Kayserling's death at that time ruled alone in Warsaw, suffered the general confederation or military union to be employed for the protection of the laws and the constitution. Repnin did not directly intermeddle with the affairs of the confederation, but, supported by Prussia, he made demands which of themselves would necessarily lead to its dissolution, however earnestly the Czartorinskis might have desired to keep the confederation together even after the dissolution of the diet at the close of the year 1764.

Repnin made three demands of the new government, or more properly speaking, of the Czartorinskis; these were drawn up with such malicious ingenuity, that whether they were granted or refused they would certainly give rise to vehement disputes between the king and either the Russians or the Poles, would involve the Poles in disagreements with one another, and make the mutual hatred of political parties irreconcilable by kindling the passions of religious fanaticism. Repnin first promised the Czartorinskis the sanction and support of Russia for the organization of a regular Polish army of 50,000, the cost of whose maintenance was to be raised from the kingdom at large; to this promise however he annexed the condition, that Poland should conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia. The views of Russia and the disadvantages which would result to Poland from such a treaty were so obvious, that the Czartorinskis could not possibly accede to such a proposal; they were however ultimately obliged to accept a defensive alliance. The second demand was unconditionally enforced. A map was presented, on which the boundaries were marked which Russia, at the expense of Poland, insisted upon, with a view to round off the territories of the empire, and the Poles were compelled to cede all those districts which the Russians under this pretence appropriated to themselves. The third demand related to those who were dissidents in religion, or to those Poles who did not profess the Catholic faith; the demand was obviously made with

one view both by Russia and Prussia, a view which no one at that time suspected, but which soon afterwards was clear enough to all. The pretence which on this occasion was employed for the oppression and ill-treatment of the Poles was not one founded on an autocratic or hierarchical system, or opposed to the spirit of the age, but, on the contrary, conceived completely in the spirit of the prevailing French philosophy, of which both Catharine and Frederick were admirers and partisans. Those writers who were unfavourable to ancient and servile usages rejoiced on this occasion at the intervention of the powers; public opinion was loudly declared in favour of the oppressors and against the oppressed, because the latter were fanatics, raged against their opponents and in favour of their faith, and absolutely renounced that toleration on which Catharine and Frederick insisted.

In this dispute respecting the dissidents, or the demand of conceding the same civil rights and privileges to that portion of the nobility which did not profess the Catholic religion as to their Catholic countrymen, the newspapers and the philosophers confounded the political with the religious part of the demand. Even the fanatical Poles did not refuse to tolerate the Protestants and members of the Greek church in the exercise of their religious observances, but they were unwilling to allow them any participation in the affairs of the government, to enjoy any place, or fill any public office. This was however altogether unjust; for the resolutions of 1717 and 1736, to which an appeal was made, were contradictory to the ancient rights of the kingdom and to the peace of Oliva. The question of toleration however would never have brought the cosacks into Poland, if the Russians had not been desirous of checking the majority of the Poles by supporting the cause of the minority, which had been most brutally oppressed by the jesuits and papists. In the sixteenth century, all those nobles who professed the Protestant faith, or who belonged to the party of the Socinians (*fratres Poloni*), who were at that time particularly numerous in Poland, or were members of the Greek church, to which several very distinguished families belonged, enjoyed the same rights and privileges as their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, and were eligible to all public offices of trust and authority. In the course of the seventeenth century, the jesuits and the influence of the papal nuncio had succeeded in effecting their suppression, or at least their partial exclusion; the consequence was, that at the peace of Oliva

(1660), England, Brandenburg and Denmark guaranteed the possession and exercise of their civil rights to the dissident Poles, in order to protect the minority of the Poles from further violence and oppression on the part of the majority. The jesuits, ever fertile in cunning and casuistry, were clever enough to have the following equivocal words introduced into the treaty: "They shall continue to enjoy all the rights and privileges which they possessed previous to the Swedish war." This furnished the French with an opportunity of interfering, and of working out the state of oppression which ensued from the year 1620 till 1654, as the condition which existed before the war. The jesuits and papists among the Catholics contrived to induce their brethren in the faith who suspected no evil design to follow their example. They first availed themselves of the dislike which was felt by the members of the Greek church and the orthodox dogmatic Protestants to their brethren the Socinians, who were distinguished by their freedom of thought, in order to annoy and oppress this liberal party: the dissidents thus furnished an example which was next speedily turned against themselves.

The jesuits were not satisfied with urging on the two Saxon Augustuses, who were completely under their guidance and lent them all the aid in their power to injure and oppress the dissidents; they were not contented by seducing and forcing many of them back into the bosom of the church by cabals, malice, worldly means of all sorts, and even by power; but in 1736 they succeeded in obtaining a formal decree of the kingdom, whereby dissidents of whatever kind were excluded from all offices of the state and national assemblies. In order to guard against the interference of any of those powers who had become guarantees to the peace of Oliva, they passed a decree at the same time, that any appeal to any foreign power whatsoever, with respect to the internal affairs of the kingdom, should be regarded and punished as high treason. From this time forward internal disquiets never ceased; but in the year 1764 the dissidents for the first time seriously renewed their protestations against this injustice, and, without any solicitation on their own part, they were supported not only by Russia and Prussia, but also by Denmark. The petitions of the dissidents were presented to the new king merely for form's sake; properly speaking, it was the Czartorinskis who conducted the whole affairs of the kingdom in the name of a sovereign who was more deeply read in the

*belles lettres* than in political economy. The chancellor and his nephew in reality attempted to bring their fanatical fellow-countrymen to reason, and to induce them so to act as to deprive the Russians and Prussians of all pretence for interfering. The Poliah diet, however, was quite inaccessible to the counsels of reason or experience; every question among them was settled either by the fear or the threats of the sword. The Czartorinskis submitted a proposition in favour of the dissidents to the diet, which was to be closed on the 10th of December 1764, but the proposal gave rise to a dreadful uproar in the assembly. The secretary was cried down and prevented from reading the paper; the deputies even threatened him with their drawn swords. The consequence was, that a violent and tumultuary resolution was passed, which was precisely of such a character as was best suited for the promotion of the Russian and Prussian policy. The oppressive constitutions of 1717 and 1736 were not only renewed, but the tribunals were enjoined to put the law vigorously in execution against all offenders.

This laid the foundation for the interference of the foreign powers, if, as was to be presumed, the diet which was to be held in the year 1766 should adhere to and maintain the resolution which had been passed in 1764. The dissidents, who had been secretly encouraged in their course, appealed in the meantime to the powers which had guaranteed the exercise of their rights, made further representations respecting their condition, and the Russians assembled a new army on the frontiers. The condition of Poland at that time was such, as in some measure to call for interference; for, in reference to the object for which governments are chosen and men form themselves into societies, it might almost appear as if Russia and Prussia interfered on grounds of pure justice and humanity, and acted in the name of a people who were unable to help themselves. We would not however wish to pledge ourselves, as Dohm has done, that king Frederick had not, as early as the time in question, entertained the idea of the possibility of gaining a portion of the Polish territory on this pretence\*. This was a thing probable in itself,

\* We do not profess to write the history of *secret* policy, and do not wish even to recognise it, but only that of *public* events; the reader, however, who wishes to investigate the question of "Who first entertained the idea of the partition of Poland?" will find materials in the first part of Dohm's *Memoirs*; and I may add, that Dohm was an honourable, worthy and learned man.

but it soon became more so, by the king's keeping Danzig in a state of continual anxiety and alarm, drawing troops together on the frontiers, and causing them to be maintained at the expense of his neighbours. Stanislaus continued to sink deeper and deeper; Catharine therefore sent Saldern, who was admirably suited to cooperate with Repnin, and was acquainted with all the legal refinements and quirks of which the latter was ignorant, in order to assist Repnin with his knowledge and experience in Warsaw, before he proceeded to Copenhagen. The two, when united, by defiance and threats\*, extorted a promise from the government that they would acquiesce in the demands of the other powers on the next assembling of the diet. It was however easy to foresee that the government was in no condition to fulfil this promise, for the opponents of the Czartorinskis, and especially the two chiefs of the confederation which was formed to oppose the election of Stanislaus, were by no means reconciled to the king. Radzivil had proceeded from Turkey to Dresden, and there met with a very favourable reception; Branitzki had returned to his estates in Bialystock without even having paid his respects at the court.

In compliance with Saldern's advice, the Russians, by a military demonstration, overawed the diet which was summoned for September 1766 even before it met, and promoted the great cause of toleration, as it was called in the whole of Europe, by the bayonets of 20,000 Russians, who were marched into Poland. The other powers were still dissatisfied with the manner in which Stanislaus' election had been effected, and had no ambassadors in Warsaw; king Frederick allowed Repnin, aided by his own ambassador, to carry out the whole plan, to which he was fully equal, and with great caution and prudence left the use of military force as well as of the whole of the brutality to the Russians alone.

Upon Repnin's command, some of the colonels belonging to the Russian regiments which were then lying in Poland travelled over the whole country, waited on the bishops, and threatened not only to plunder and lay their estates desolate, but even to carry themselves out of the country if, in the approaching diet, they dared to make any complaints on the subjects of the

\* Rulhière first praises Saldern very highly as a man of business, and then adds: "dépourvu de tout usage du monde, il joignit la grossièreté d'un paysan Holstenois à la pédanterie d'un professeur Allemand."

stay of the Russians in Poland, the unjustifiable manner in which portions of territory had been wrested from their kingdom under pretence of giving uniformity to the frontiers of Russia, or to oppose the case of the dissidents. The king conducted himself miserably, and the French, whose king at that time pursued a secret policy which was opposed to the policy of his ministers, and had established a system of espionage and bribery which was different and sometimes opposed to theirs, paid an opposition in Poland, consisting of persons who were in reality no better than the Russian party. Soltik bishop of Cracow was a man who had grown gray in intrigues, and now supported by French money, he issued a pastoral letter full of fanaticism, which was precisely such as might have been desired by the Russians and Prussians, who on this occasion, as the champions of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, employed the dumb eloquence of the bayonet to promote its cause.

The diet was no sooner opened on the 1st of September 1766, than at length the Russian and Prussian ambassadors came forward officially and publicly, and first demanded the abolition of everything which had been done by the Czartorinskis. The latter, by certain changes in the existing constitution, had introduced some order into the government and administration of this unfortunate kingdom, and were desirous of rendering it possible to adopt resolutions calculated to facilitate the introduction of laws and the progress of administration, which should be passed by a majority of votes, and could not be prevented by the exercise of the *liberum veto*. The dissolution of the general confederation was therefore the chief demand of the powers, and this was incidentally accompanied with the security of their rights and privileges to the dissidents. In order to make head against the powers and to resist their threatening demands, the Poles who were in collusion with France, and especially Soltik, used all the means in their power to rouse and stimulate the fanaticism of their countrymen, and with this view had recourse to the assistance of the pope, whose nuncio again played an important character in the diet. The circumstance of the pope's interference compelled the English and Danish ambassadors, although against their inclination, to join with Russia and Prussia at least on one point. The nuncio made a speech to the diet, full of all those well-known phrases of ecclesiastical unction which descended from the middle ages and were employed by the curia

in public affairs, in which he formally protested against the concession of those rights and privileges to the heretics which had been guaranteed to them by the powers at the peace of Oliva.

Rome unfortunately gained her object and sealed the doom of Poland; Soltysk's party proved victorious. The diet, which terminated on the 24th of December 1766, like its predecessor, refused all concessions to the dissidents. Although the majority of the Poles were opposed to the foreign powers on this point, they heartily agreed with them respecting the maintenance of anarchy in the kingdom. In spite of the power and influence of the Czartorinskis, the diet restored everything which they had abolished with a view to put a check to anarchy, at least in some points. The general confederation was dissolved, and what were called the rights of the nation, but which in reality were scandalous abuses, were re-established. The Czartorinskis only succeeded with great difficulty in persuading the diet not to re-establish the four great dignities of the kingdom which had been abolished, and to retain the four newly-instituted colleges, by virtue of which the king was to obtain a nearer connexion with and a greater influence over the affairs of the state than had been enjoyed by his predecessors. An essential improvement was introduced with respect to the most unjust and unholy principle of the *liberum veto*. The necessity of a complete unanimity was still retained, indeed, in the resolutions of the general assembly; but it was agreed that in future a majority of voices would be regarded as decisive in the meetings of all the provincial assemblies.

In the following year Russia and Prussia opposed the resolutions of the diet, not in their own names, but as allies of the numerous confederation of Poles who had been won over to their cause, and as guarantees for the demands of the dissidents. The latter, with a view of being able to claim the right of maintaining their cause by force of arms, had also recourse to confederations, although, properly speaking, this name was only conceded to the associations of the nobles, but few of whom belonged to the party of the dissidents. Two confederations of dissidents were formed as early as March 1767, one of which was under Russian protection and had its head-quarters at Gluck in Lithuania, and the other under Prussian, at Thorn in Polish Prussia. The former entered into a union with the duke of Courland, and by a special act of accession the latter was joined

by the cities of Thorn, Elbing and Danzig. The number of catholics who united in confederations against the resolutions of the diet, at the same time as the dissidents, is a convincing proof that Poland continued to be in a condition in which rights were only maintained or pretensions justified by the law of the strongest. As early as the beginning of the year 1767, twenty-four such confederations were formed for the maintenance of this law, and in May their number had increased to one hundred and seventy-eight; the declared object of them all was the same—by the assistance of the Russians and Prussians to abolish and defeat all those institutions which had been introduced by the Czartorinskis in order to give the government more influence and power. In the meantime the Russians had continued to pour new troops into the country, and made a public declaration that they would treat all who opposed them as enemies; but they had need of a catholic to act in favour of their confederations of dissidents around whom his fellow-believers might rally, and who must be a magnate of such distinguished rank, as to form a counterpoise to the dignity of the king and the exalted position of the Czartorinskis. Branitzki wished to remain quiet; an application was therefore made to Radzivil, who had been judicially condemned in Poland, but whose restoration was eagerly desired by his Lithuanians. He was at that time still residing in Dresden; the Russians caused a hint to be given him, which he the more readily took, as he longed to indulge his own feelings of revenge upon the government party, who, according to the terms of the sentence pronounced upon him, had laid waste his estates and destroyed his castles. He immediately proceeded to Danzig, and from thence under a guard of cosacks to Wilna. The universal confusion in Poland now furnished the Russians and Prussians with the desired pretence for entering anew into a secret treaty on the 23rd of April 1767, which was to be apparently concluded with a view to secure the rights and maintain the cause of the dissidents, but whose secret articles had a very different object. Stanislaus was completely forsaken in Warsaw, because every one belonged to the one confederation or the other. In this way the times of ancient barbarism were brought back into Poland by the philosophical king of Prussia and Catharine II., who devoted so much of her thoughts to legislation and was so anxious about the education and training of her grandson, that she herself composed some affecting pieces for



this purpose; and this barbarism was introduced because the savage Poles were not disposed to submit to be trained and made tolerant by the instrumentality of the sword. The Poles who were struggling for their freedom were moreover nothing better than their brethren who were sold to the Russians, as they showed by the revolting cruelties to which they had recourse, on the occasion of the bloody engagement which was fought between them and the dissidents in May at Kalisch.

Radzivil having placed himself at the head of the Lithuanian confederacy, the aged Branitzki soon afterwards gave in his adhesion, and on the 28rd of June a general assembly was held at Radom, in order to form a general confederation, by which, according to the law of the Polish constitution, which properly speaking was no constitution, the king and every species of government were in some measure suspended\*. The catholics who joined the confederation of Radom were shamefully deceived, for being shut up and threatened by Russian troops, they were compelled to take part in a general confederation in favour of the dissidents, with whom they had not the slightest desire to make common cause. Branitzki therefore no sooner became aware of the views entertained by the Russians, than he gave up his journey to Warsaw and sought to withdraw from these suspicious transactions; Radzivil, on the contrary, suffered himself to be made the tool of the Russians, was placed at the head of the general confederation, and as a reward for his compliance, received in October the order of St. Andrew, which he was not ashamed to wear in presence of his countrymen. When the place of meeting of the general confederation was removed from Radom to Warsaw, Radzivil too perceived, that he as well as the king was deceived, and that both were in fact in some measure prisoners in the hands of the Russians; he was nevertheless compelled, contrary to his wish, to cause the union of the dissi-

\* According to the usages of the extraordinary constitution of Poland, when a general confederation was formed to which the king did not accede, his power was absolutely null as long as the confederation was in existence; the chief of the confederation was a dictator. Such an association was no sooner established than all the authorities and courts of law ceased to exercise their functions, and the whole republic was subject to the confederated nobility. The king, the high officers of state and of the law became responsible to the confederation for their administration, and whoever failed to take part in such a general confederation, by his refusal forfeited all the privileges which he enjoyed as a nobleman, and his estates.

dents with his general confederation to be proclaimed in Warsaw on the 15th of September. For this service he received the order of St. Andrew on the 1st of October, on the 5th of which month the diet was to be opened. Radzivil however tried to put off this decisive sitting till the 12th, in hopes that in the meantime they should find means to terrify Soltyk and his fanatical and clamorous adherents. In fact Repnin declared, in the manner in which he then despotically and brutally governed in Warsaw, that every one who did not unconditionally acquiesce in the demands which he preferred through Radzivil should be carried off by his Russians, even from the midst of Warsaw itself, and transported to Siberia. On the other hand, the papal nuncio again appeared on the stage, aided and supported by Soltyk, who, like many people of his stamp in our own days, wished for the honour of martyrdom, however little in other respects he had anything of a martyr in him.

The whole party to which Soltyk belonged, in the most vehement, and under existing circumstances, in the most incautious manner, rejected the proposal which was made on the 12th to comply with the demands of the Russians, by whose troops the assembly was surrounded, and it was only with great difficulty that the assembly agreed to allow the question to be again brought forward and discussed on the 16th. In the meantime Repnin was to proceed to deal with the most obstinate among the leaders of the opposite party after his own fashion, and in such a way as to strike terror into the remainder. John Andrew Zaluski, the learned bishop of Kiev, was among the leaders and tone-giving speakers of the fanatical and anti-Russian patriotic party which had combined to raise a determined and violent opposition to the measures proposed on the 12th. Zaluski was referendary of the kingdom, and has entitled himself to immortal honour from his country on account of his learned historical investigations, but still more by having applied his great wealth for the collection of a library of 200,000 volumes which contained 20,000 volumes in the Polish language, and which was opened for the use of the public in Warsaw in 1747, and finally destroyed by Suwarrow's cosacks in 1795. This celebrated man had now for twenty years applied all the vast acquirements of his learning and all the influence of his patriotism to the support of the jesuitical party, and in opposition to the demands and spirit of the age; all argument and reason-

ing with such a man was useless and vain; and so thought Repnin. As early as 1721, Zaluski published a quarto volume respecting the ceremony of consecrating the sword and hat, and the two quarto volumes which he published in 1731 against the rights of the dissidents (*duo gladii adversus dissidentes*) had no small influence in leading to those severe determinations respecting them which were adopted in the diet of 1736. Zaluski was a sincere and honest fanatic, and besides him in this case, Krasinski, bishop of Kaminiec, Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, who was supported by the French, and longing for the honours of martyrdom, and the two Rzewuskys, the one waiwode of Cracow, and the other starost of Dolina, may be regarded as the heads and leaders of the anti-Russian party. Repnin, without any feeling of respect or shame, caused these men, with the exception of Krasinski, who escaped, to be seized upon in the residence of their king and before the eyes of the whole body of the nobility, so proud of their freedom, to be carried off out of their country, and to be detained as prisoners in East Russia. There is however something still more remarkable in reference to the principles which hold good in Russia, and on which Repnin acted in Poland, than even this act of brutal violence upon free men, and that is a letter which Repnin wrote to the general confederation, in which he gives a full account of what, according to him, was the true rule by which their conduct should be regulated; we shall therefore give this curious document in his own words\*.

\* Rulhière, who in general has described all the cabals, acts of oppression and intrigues with more fullness than adherence to truth, has not communicated this letter, which we shall therefore furnish at length. Warsaw, Oct. 14th, 1767. He writes as follows: "Les troupes de S. M. I. ma souveraine, amies et alliées de la république confédérée, ont arrêtées l'évêque de Cracovie, l'évêque de Kiovie, et le staroste Dolinski pour avoir manqué par leur conduite à la dignité de S. M. I. en attaquant la pureté de ses intentions salutaires, désintéressées et amicales pour la république. L'illustre confédération générale de la république, de la couronne et de la Lithuanie, étant sous la protection de S. M. I., le sousigné lui en fait part avec les assurances positives et solennelles de la continuation de cette haute protection, et de l'assistance et soutien de S. M. I. à la confédération générale réunie pour la conservation des loix et des libertés Polonoises avec le redressement de tous les abus qui se sont glissés dans le gouvernement contraires aux loix fondamentales du pays. S. M. I. ne veut que le bien-être de la république, et ne discontinuera pas de lui accorder ses secours pour atteindre à ce but, sans aucun intérêt, ni salaire, n'en voulant d'autres que la sûreté, le bonheur, la liberté de la nation Polonoise, comme cela est déjà clairement exprimé dans les déclarations de S. M. I. qui garantissent à la république ses possessions actuelles, ainsi que ses loix, sa forme de gouvernement et les prérogatives d'un chacun. Fait à Warsovie," &c.

From this moment Repnin ruled openly in Warsaw: he and his Russians sold or made presents of all public offices and livings in Poland, whilst Stanislaus Augustus amused himself with the mere tinsel of his kingly office, which contributed to make him still more contemptible than before. At the very time in which the most important interests of the nation were at stake, he sought for his honour and took delight in the practice and observance of the most miserable courtly acts and ceremonies. The Russians formed a perfectly correct judgement of the king and his uncle; their behaviour was mean and contemptible in the fourth solemn meeting of the diet, held on the 16th of October, in which the case of the dissidents was to be finally decided; Radzivil also played a most singular part. Notwithstanding the extensive means of terror which had been employed, and because he dare not venture to be openly favourable to Russia, he found himself unable to carry through any satisfactory measures in the stormy and raging assembly of the 16th, but on the 17th he found ways and means of success. The diet in the meantime gave full powers to a committee who were authorized to lay down the main principles of a law or laws favourable to the dissidents, which were afterwards to be laid before a *plenum* to be summoned to a new sitting after an adjournment of some weeks, and to be by them fully confirmed.

This committee, which at first consisted of fourteen, was afterwards increased to sixteen members; it had not even the appearance of freedom in its discussions and decisions, because it was alternately held in the house of the primate and of the Russian ambassador. It was necessary for fourteen members to be present, among whom all resolutions were decided by a majority of votes. The committee was attended by seven deputies from the body of dissidents, and by the Prussian, English and Danish ambassadors. Repnin, in the tone of a dictator, prescribed every resolution which the committee was to adopt; and these affected not only the case of the dissidents, but especially the re-establishment of all those abuses which in latter times had been abolished with a view to be able to introduce and maintain order, at least in some departments of the government. The consultations of the committee furnished a melancholy spectacle, for the vehement and free-minded Poles were sometimes eager to express their opinions, which however Repnin would not allow. No one dared even to quote the well-known and publicly ex-

pressed opinions of the empress of Russia as his own. If any one attempted so to do, Repnin commanded silence, and said, "It is my office alone to explain the true sense of any declarations of the empress; here I suffer neither reasoning nor objections, but require absolute submission to her will." It will excite no surprise, that in this fashion, after the course of a month, the committee was prepared to lay before the general assembly a scheme which was based upon the most liberal dispositions towards the dissidents. This act of toleration, which was passed by the committee on the 19th of November 1767, was greeted with loud rejoicings throughout the whole of Europe, and the theatrical scene which was exhibited at its signing was a presage of the dissolution of the kingdom of Poland and its incorporation in the Russian empire. The Russian troops were under arms and completely surrounded the meeting, which held its sittings in one of the large saloons of Repnin's house; there hung the portrait of the empress, and under that portrait the resolution of the committee was signed. According to the terms of this special act, the diet was freely to grant the use of all those privileges to the dissidents which were enjoyed by other Poles, and they were to be regarded as eligible to all public offices, with the exception of that of king, which was to be bestowed exclusively upon persons who were of the Roman catholic faith.

The committee having brought their consultations respecting this special act in favour of the dissidents to a conclusion, proceeded to deliberate on those points which Russia and Prussia wished to establish in favour of anarchy and its continuing influence. By means of this plenipotentiary committee of the estates, the expectation was entertained of settling the Polish constitution and administration in the shortest way, in a manner most advantageous to the Russians; the resolutions adopted by the committee were afterwards to be laid before a full assembly of the diet, and by it to be summarily accepted. Repnin dictated these determinations also in a similar manner to the preceding ones. The most scandalous thing for the nation, its king, Radzivil, and all those haughty magnates who dazzled the people by their splendour, was, that they allowed themselves to be enriched at the expense of the poverty of the people, who were completely plundered by the confederation and the Russians, under the

command of Repnin, colonels Carr and Igelström, whom he used as his instruments of terror, and in those times of misery scandalously profited by the resources of the treasury for the maintenance of their pomp and extravagance\*.

The wisest thing which they could do under the circumstances was to submit to the will of the Russians and to await the impending war with Turkey, in order again to overthrow everything. Russia was in fact so certain of accomplishing her ends, that notwithstanding the numerous protestations which were made against what was going forward in Warsaw, and in contempt of the armed confederations which were on foot in all parts of the kingdom, she suffered a portion of her troops to be withdrawn, because the diet had agreed to all her demands. The diet was now drawing to a close; it had adopted all the proposals of the committee, recognised the rights of the dissidents, re-established the old constitution and all its abuses, and also, on the 28th of February 1768, sanctioned the treaty by virtue of which Poland was for ever placed under the guardianship of Russia. This took place by means of what was called the friendly agreement with Russia, by virtue of which Russia was recognised as the guarantee of the Polish constitution, and therefore justified in interfering with all the internal affairs of the kingdom, whilst neither the diets of the provinces nor of the kingdom could come to any binding resolution without the sanction of Russia. This last determination roused the spirit of the patriots, and made an easy game to the fanatics who formed the confederation of Barr. Krasinski had first excited

\* The proposal to compensate each of the three grand marshals of the two confederations for the expenses to which they had been put in order to maintain the dignity of their office, by a present of 100,000 florins, was, it is true, declined by these nobles in a magnanimous speech; but still worse than this happened: colonels Carr and Igelström, who had carried all Repnin's plans of injustice and violence into execution, and were the instruments of all the measures by which the diet was compelled to adopt the resolutions prescribed, received estates and were incorporated into the Polish nobility without any inquiries being instituted as to their noble descent. A sum of 1,500,000 florins was voted to the king as a yearly income. Radzivil received the sum of 600,000 florins a year as a compensation for his losses and for the 3,000,000 which the republic was indebted to his family; the sum of 120,000 florins which the high treasurer had drawn was increased to 200,000 florins; and the high treasurer of Lithuania also received an addition to his income of 40,000. Count Fleming, the bishop of Wilda, and others received proportionable sums; and the two princes of Saxony an appanage of 12,000 Polish ducats.

the fanatics among the catholics to resist the extension of new rights to the dissidents, and then Pulawski and Potocki united these malcontents into a new confederation opposed to the general confederation of the diet.

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§ II.

THE WAR IN TURKEY TILL THE TIME OF THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND.

The ambassadors of the different courts who had been recalled from Warsaw when Russia compelled the Poles to elect a new king by force of arms, returned afterwards to their posts. Denmark, Sweden, Prussia and England no longer afforded any guarantee for the restoration of those old Polish abuses which had been re-established by carrying away and holding in duress the most distinguished members of the diet, but they did guarantee the fulfilment of those determinations which had been made by the diet in favour of the dissidents; a very different feeling was entertained on this point both in France and Spain. This feeling was connected with the political changes in France; the duke of Choiseul had undertaken the department of foreign affairs in 1766, which was resigned by the duke de Praslin. The latter had very wisely given up all costly interference in Polish affairs, but Choiseul as well as the Spaniards declared themselves opponents of the cause of the dissidents, and promised to supply Krasinski's party not only with money but even with troops. Krasinski, bishop of Kaminiac, who was to have been arrested together with Soltyk, had been fortunate enough to save himself by flight, and was now organizing a rebellion which was to break out as soon as the Russians had withdrawn their troops from Poland; contrary to his expectations and wishes however, it broke out too soon. At the same time as this plot was being laid and matured in Poland, Choiseul was endeavouring to employ the Turks as an instrument of his diplomacy. Whoever can properly estimate Von Hammer's admirable observations as to the manner in which the Turks interested themselves respecting Polish affairs, will scarcely be able to comprehend how Choiseul could engage in the affair with them at all\*.

\* We cannot furnish a better account of the manner in which the intercourse respecting these affairs was carried on than in the words of Von

The persons who united in this new attempt were by no means fit leaders for such an undertaking; they promoted the cause of the Russians, and did them a pleasure by arming their partisans and forming a confederation some five days before the dissolution of the diet, at whose termination the Russians, in compliance with the commands which they received, were to evacuate the country. The leaders of this movement were men in every respect insignificant; they did not belong to the class of Polish magnates. Pulawski and Krasinski, the brother of the bishop of the same name who had fled from the country and was afterwards supported by France, assembled a dozen of persons around them, who, together with them, proclaimed the confederation at Barr in Podolia, a town five hours from Kaminiac and about seven from the Turkish borders. This would have been in the highest degree absurd, had they not known that Radzivil was dissatisfied with the character he had been obliged to play in the case of the dissidents, notwithstanding his acceptance of an order and a large sum of money as a reward. The Podolian confederation therefore declared itself to be merely a simple renewal of the confederation of Radom in Lithuania, as it had existed before the accession of the dissidents under Radzivil and Branitzki. This confederation had no sooner been proclaimed than bishop Krasinski came to Teschen in Austrian Silesia with French bills, emissaries and officers, and from thence roused up the Poles in every direction; Maria Theresa, from an ardent zeal for catholicism as well as on political grounds, secretly favoured his plans. The Russians attached very little importance to the confederation of Barr; the government of Warsaw therefore and the Russians in its name issued some threatening proclamations against the confederates. In these the confederates

Hammer himself. The Turks were in no condition to enter the lists against the unwearied activity of the Russians, and the numerous spies, intriguers and adventurers who were in their pay. "The exchange of notes between the Turkish, Prussian and Russian ministers on the affairs of Poland till January 1768, is a singular proof of the simplicity of the Osman diplomacy, and of the duplicity of that of Russia and Prussia at this epoch. The Turkish government, through their interpreters, continued from time to time to put the most pressing questions to the ministers of these courts, seeking for an explanation of the deeds of violence which were taking place in Poland. The Russian resident always pretended that he had heard nothing of such events, or declared that these were merely measures for the protection of the freedom of the republic and for the maintenance of solemn engagements. The questions and surmises which were put to the Prussian minister are still more ridiculous than those which were directed to the Russian representative."—*Osmantische Geschichte*, 8r Th. s. 310.



were denounced as rebels, because in fact there was no single member of any distinguished family to be found among them, and the Russian troops were hastening to shut them in on all sides, when Potocki, who was husband of the niece and heiress of the aged hereditary marshal of the kingdom, Branitzki, joined the confederation. Potocki was grand cup-bearer of Lithuania; he organized his confederation in the districts of Cracow, Lublin, &c., from whence he had easy means of communication with Teachen. The confederation of Barr appointed Potocki to be one of its high officers, and unfortunate Poland was wasted by the Russians with fire and sword for many months, because undisciplined crowds of nobles flew to arms sometimes in one place and sometimes in another. The government in Warsaw being wholly dependent on Repnin, was able to calculate on the Russians alone, because no Pole placed the slightest confidence in the administration. Even the Polish diet, and therefore the nation, formally called in the aid of the Russians, at the end of March, to assist in putting down the confederates, who were designated as rebels; this step was taken in consequence of the confederates having at length made themselves masters of the fortress of Barr, the town having been already long in their power. In order to meet this demand, a new Russian army under Soltikoff advanced into Poland.

The support which the Poles received from France, the emissaries and secret messengers of Louis XV. and his ministers, both of whom were intriguing on their own accounts and without connexion with one another, contributed largely to the misfortunes of their country. In serious engagements the Poles were always defeated, and the Russians avenged their guerilla warfare by cruelties, devastation, burning and murder. Potocki was named standard-bearer of the confederation, a title (*gonfaloniere*) formerly used in Italy to designate a generalissimo; he was however unable to make head against his opponents; in May 1768 he was completely vanquished in the field and obliged to take refuge in the Turkish territory beyond the Dniester. This occurred at the time in which the comte de Vergennes, one of the ablest of the French diplomatists, filled the post of minister in Constantinople, and by Choiseul's command, he lost no opportunity of encouraging and urging the Turks to support the cause of the Poles. The Turks were no longer to be dreaded on account of their regular armies, but they had very numerous vas-

sals in the nomadic Tatars, who inhabited the Crimea and the desert countries lying northward of the peninsula, the banks of the Dnieper and Dniester, and the countries even as far as the Pruth. The Budschak Tatars, as well as those of the Tauric peninsula, were subject to the rule of a khan, who was a vassal of the grand sultan, appointed by the Porte and removeable at its pleasure. These Tatars were very dangerous to the Russians from their number as well as their wandering and predatory habits; the whole Ukraine was exposed to their incursions. Repnin therefore by concessions and conciliation sought to satisfy and quiet the Tatars and Turks, enraged at the violation of their territory by colonel Weissmann, who, having beaten the Poles under Potocki, suffered his cosacks to pursue and attack them upon Turkish ground. He ventured to adopt this course in reliance upon the good disposition of the mufti and the grand vizier, who would rather accept Russian than French money; but at the same time Repnin ordered the residents in Moldavia and Wallachia formally to express their disapprobation of Weissmann's conduct. The Turks would have been easily appeased, had it not immediately afterwards appeared that these diplomatic excuses were by no means serious.

Potocki collected a number of the scattered Poles on the Turkish territory, marched across Moldavia, and then crossed the Dniester at a place where he might come on the rear of the Russians and open up communications with the confederates in Podolia, from whom he had previously been separated. The Turks had long observed with great jealousy that the Poles were more and more driven upon their territories, and that one place after another was seized upon and occupied by the threatening Russians; and when at last, in June 1768, the Russians took possession of Biala and Sulatsch, they declared to the Prussian minister their determination to render assistance to the oppressed Poles and to summon the Tatars to arms. The Russians now began to see that a war with Turkey was unavoidable, and they therefore sought to put an end to the Polish war before a new one should commence, by attacking the confederates with double forces, and by the destruction of men and cities. They sent considerable reinforcements to their army in Poland, and issued orders for the reduction of Barr and Cracow, the two bulwarks of the confederation, at any cost, and without regard to the loss of men. Barr was taken by storm at the end of July,

4000 Poles were cut down on the occasion, and the treasures which had been brought from a distance into this place of security were seized upon and plundered; both Krasinski and Potocki had the good fortune to escape. They at first took refuge in Mohilew, but immediately afterwards found it advisable to seek the protection of the Turks in Choczim. Many of the scattered Poles followed the example of their leaders and assembled in Moldavia, especially in that part of it which lay near the Polish frontiers and was under the dominion of the khan of the Tatars. The small town of Balta was situated in this district, which on the one side touched upon Bessarabia, and on the other was separated from the Ukraine only by a small brook. The destruction of this little town first gave occasion to the war with the Turks, and afterwards to the fall of the Tatar power.

The Tatar commander in Balta not only received the fugitive Poles into the town, but he suffered them, after the Tatar fashion, to make predatory incursions into the Polish territory. The same colonel Weissmann who had previously violated the Turkish soil, caused these confederated Poles to be cut down by hundreds, wherever he could meet with them; he then followed them across the Turkish frontiers, conquered and plundered the small town of Balta, and laid it in ashes. The news of this daring violation reached Constantinople on the 13th-14th of July 1768, when the mufti at length granted the ecclesiastical sanction (Fetwa) for the commencement of war, which had been long sought from him in vain; the grand vizier was removed from his office, and orders were issued to the Tatar khan. The miserable Turkish government however allowed six weeks to elapse before the war was actually commenced, and the Russians availed themselves of the interval to reduce Cracow, where indeed they met with a more determined resistance than before Barr. Cracow was besieged by Apraxin, whose army was considerably reinforced after the declaration of war by Turkey, and Repnin issued his commands to reduce the city at all hazards, regardless of the loss of troops, which he could afterwards replace. In consequence of these commands, general Bock received orders to take the city by a storm, in which he must necessarily sacrifice the lives of thousands of men; the attack however proved successful; Cracow was taken on the 19th of August, and the capture accompanied and followed by dreadful massacre, cruelty and plunder. The Poles now continued to carry on a

war of devastation and murder with the Russians and with their countrymen who adhered to the government, so that this miserable country was wasted in all directions by fire and sword, and cruelties of the most shocking description were practised by the Russians, to whom the confederates were unable to offer any opposition in the field. At length the Turks appeared on the stage.

The Turks had given the Russians time enough to prepare for the war, for they delayed their declaration from July till October: they calculated particularly upon the services of the Nogaic Tatars, whose khan however the Turks distrusted; he was therefore deposed and another named in his stead. Krimgerai, who was appointed as the new khan, was an able general, whom the Russians both feared and hated. His investment took place in the sultan's serai, where he was presented with a sword and girdle, a bow and quiver, a plume and a stately charger, before he took his departure for his own country. The whole burthen of the war soon fell upon the Turks, who had ceased to be a military nation, and despised the improvements of the age in the departments of discipline and implements of warfare, whilst the Russian peasants had been forcibly drilled by the government into a regular military machine, and their artillery corps, as well as their whole army, had been organized and trained by the most distinguished men both of their own and of foreign countries. In this respect Russia eagerly adopted every improvement which the time produced, and would have made a continuous and irresistible progress, had not that genial contempt for all principles of morality, justice and honour, which prevailed among all her leaders, favourites and instruments, internally weakened this vast outwardly colossal power. Proofs of this last remark are furnished by the history of the Turkish war; Falkenskiöld, who must have been thoroughly acquainted with all these matters from his own observation, informs us, that the colossal plans of the year 1770 were only calculated for newspaper effect, but were ridiculous in the eyes of every man acquainted with military operations. We shall afterwards see, that if Gallizin had left the whole execution of the affair to general Bauer and to Weissmann, if Romanzoff had never made his appearance, and the Orloffs had had no command, time, men and immense treasures would have been spared, and the goal much more quickly attained.

The European powers at that time gave the Russians free course, for in England the king and his ministers were hated and suspected; lord North and the earl of Sandwich were accused of allowing everything to go to ruin merely for the promotion of party objects and the advancement of their creatures, and even of neglecting the naval interests of the country. The Prussians coincided with the Russians in their plans; and the French, without any advantage to the Poles, supported the confederates by sending people such as Dumourier to aid them by intrigues and money, and even with the sword, for they brought officers and soldiers from France. This merely weakened France without being of any service to the Poles; but Choiseul dare not openly render any assistance either to the Poles or the Turks for fear of the English. Austria also looked quietly on, whilst first the Poles, then the Tatars of the Dnieper and Dniester, and finally the Turks, became the prey of the Russians. It may be easily proved from the report given by Von Hammer\* of the events immediately preceding the commencement of the war, that Austria from the very first was fully acquainted with the views of Russia and Prussia respecting Poland, and in general acquiesced in their plans. The French, who were then in close alliance with Austria, drew the same conclusions from her refusal, in compliance with the solicitations and demands of France, actively to interfere on behalf of the Poles.

Hostilities between the Turks and Russians had been commenced in October and November, long before the actual declarations of war were promulgated, and hordes of Tatars had carried away thousands of the colonists who were settled in New Servia, before they were driven back into their steppes (in January 1769) by the Russians under Isakoff. In this year the Russians set on foot three armies; the one in Podolia under prince Alexander Michailowitsch Gallizin was to take Choczim

\* The eighth part of Von Hammer's history contains such a number of reports derived from the best sources, and the other authorities respecting the war in Turkey are so numerous and rich in materials, that it would be very easy to give a complete history of the war; we must however leave this to others, in order to keep our work within as moderate limits as possible. We have very full information respecting the Nogaic Tatars, and their share as well as that of their khan in the war, in the three volumes of the well-known 'Mémoires du Baron de Tott.' Tott's father belonged to the Hungarians who took refuge with Ragotzki in Turkey; he himself found an asylum in France, and was the most distinguished among the numerous emissaries and officers whom Choiseul sent into Turkey. We shall, at a later period, take a very short view of Turkish affairs.

and then occupy Moldavia: this general however was unequal to the task. The second, under Peter Alexandrowitch Romanzoff, was to cover and protect the frontiers of Russia between the Dnieper and the sea of Azof against the incursions of the Tatars, and to restore the fortresses of Azof and Taganrock, which had been surrendered by the terms of the peace agreed upon on the Pruth and in Belgrade. The third, under general Weissmann, was destined to act against the Poles; and at the same time, in order to prevent other Poles who were now quiet from joining their countrymen in arms, Repnin was recalled from Warsaw, and Wolkonsky, a man of milder character, was sent thither in his stead. If we may judge from the description given by the baron de Tott in his memoirs, of the absurd and perverse arrangements which were made and measures which were taken on the part of those to whom he had been sent as an auxiliary by France, and whom he aided by his distinguished talents as an officer and engineer, Gallizin's failure must necessarily be attributed wholly to himself. The Turkish army advanced with great boasting, and accompanied by innumerable multitudes of people; but it was far more destructive to Moldavia and Wallachia than dangerous to the enemy. Gallizin's failure, therefore, in his first attack upon Choczim must be attributed, not to his opponents, but to his own incapacity; and as early as the beginning of May (1769) he was again obliged to retreat beyond the Dniester.

The only able man among the Turks and Tatars was Krimgerai, the new khan; Tott was in his suite, and acknowledges that he was possessed of all those qualities which fitted him for a distinguished general; but he died suddenly, just as the Turkish army was advancing which he was to join. Tott had long before put him on his guard against his Greek physician and foretold his fate, which after his death was ascribed to this physician. The grand vizier was no better general than Gallizin, but he knew his deficiency and the nature of his army, he therefore hesitated and avoided all the risks of a battle. In other respects he left the whole direction of the army to Chalil Pasha, the seraskier of Roumelia and Choczim, and to the pasha Moldawandschi, who exhibited all the appearance of a man of adventurous courage. Gallizin drew together large reinforcements in Podolia, and passed the Dniester a second time in the same year, 1769. He closely blockaded Choczim, and many bloody

engagements were fought in this neighbourhood between the two armies without coming to a decisive battle. In these numerous skirmishes the Russians were almost always victorious, but the grand vizier succeeded in avoiding a regular battle. In consequence of this harassing warfare, Gallizin, after having lost great numbers of his troops, notwithstanding his victories, was again obliged to retire behind the Dniester.

This campaign was equally inglorious and hurtful to the Turks and the Russians, and both the grand vizier and Gallizin were removed from their respective commands; their fate, however, was very different. Gallizin was created a field-marshal, because, a few days before his departure from the army, one of his subordinate generals had gained some splendid victories, after he himself had lost a whole year in marching hither and thither, twice passed and repassed the Dniester to no purpose, and sacrificed 20,000 men; the grand vizier, on the other hand, because he had wisely spared his people and gained greater advantages by his delays than he could have secured by a decisive engagement, was beheaded in Adrianople immediately after his deposition. The pasha Moldawandschi was then appointed grand vizier; this man had formerly been a gardener and then a chamberlain. By his fool-hardy bravery he furnished prince Gallizin, or rather general Weissmann, with an opportunity which enabled him to attain what he had sought for a whole year in vain, before he gave up the command to Romanzoff. Weissmann's services were placed to the account of the prince, and were rewarded by the elevation of the latter to the dignity of a field-marshal, together with other advantages.

Romanzoff appeared on the 27th of September to relieve Gallizin of his command, but in the beginning of the month the fortune of war had already decided in favour of the Russians. The new vizier had most inconsiderately followed the Russians across the Dniester, which brought him into contact with general Weissmann. This able commander allowed one division of the Turkish army after another to cross the river without molestation on the third and the following days, but they had no sooner reached the further bank than he attacked and defeated them. Their bridge was afterwards carried away by the stream, when Weissmann annihilated the whole body of the Turks who were on this side the river. Having defeated the enemy in two pitched battles, he destroyed 30,000 Turks in a series of engage-

ments, which were always favourable to the Russians. A still greater number, particularly of Asiatics, forsook their colours in autumn, according to the Turkish custom, and retired to their homes for the winter. The Russians pursued the fugitives on the farther side of the river, and were astonished beyond measure as they approached Chocsim to find that the whole garrison of this important fortress had been seized with a panic and fled, and that on the 20th of September they were suffered to march into and take possession of this frontier fortress without the slightest opposition. This occurred seven days before Gallizin surrendered his command into the hands of Romanzoff.

Romanzoff, who now relieved Gallizin of his command on the 27th of September, had been previously employed against the Tatars at Bender and Oczakow, in which service he was succeeded by Panin; and Chalil Pasha, seraskier of Roumelia and Chocsim, who had been removed by the late vizier on account of his incapacity, was nominated in his stead. Moldawandachi had only remained four months in his exalted situation. Chalil Pasha was a man of good family, which is seldom the case in the East, but totally unequal to the circumstances in which he was placed. The best description of Romanzoff has been given by Falkenskiöld in his 'Memoirs,' who, on Kutusoff's departure and before his own journey to join Struensee in Denmark, commanded the engineer corps in Romanzoff's army. The latter remained with the main body of the troops behind the Dniester, and despatched separate divisions into Moldavia and Wallachia, in order to take possession of the respective capitals and fortresses of these provinces before the end of the year 1769. Although Romanzoff never left his quarters during the winter, he ridiculed general Stoffeln on account of his tardy operations, in order afterwards to appropriate his merits to himself\*. Stoffeln had previously done all that could possibly be expected of him in the condition of the roads, and the want of supplies of all sorts, which Romanzoff himself had pleaded as an excuse for re-

\* Falkenskiöld says in his 'Mémoires,' p. 64, "Le comte se plaignoit du peu d'activité du général Stoffeln et le tournoit en ridicule devant les officiers du quartier général, qui composoient sa petite cour. Il est certain néanmoins que Stoffeln fit pendant tout l'hiver une guerre très-active, et que le commandant en chef ne quitta pas une seule fois le quartier général, sans avoir fait la visite des quartiers de l'armée et la revue des troupes, et sans qu'aucun bataillon eût été exercé en sa présence. Je puis attester tout cela, parceque je restai pendant l'hiver au quartier général."



maining behind in Poland. Before the end of the year both Jassy and Bucharest were occupied, and the Hospodar carried away captive. Colonel Fabrician, with 1500 men, first scattered 10,000 to 15,000 Turks by storming their batteries, and then took the fortress of Gallatsch on the Pruth. This feat was so astonishing, that the empress immediately rewarded the colonel by conferring upon him the order of St. George, which had just then been founded, and added, that she and the colonel were as yet the only persons who had worn it. Brailow was not destroyed till the commencement of the following year. Panin was less fortunate, for he had made an unsuccessful attempt to reduce Bender before he took up his winter-quarters in the Ukraine.

In the following year also (1770) Stoffeln had finished a campaign before Romanzoff commenced his in May. The grand vizier had made his appearance on the Danube in winter, and sent divisions of his army into Moldavia and Wallachia, but Stoffeln gained several victories over him in the field, whereupon the Turks retired. The Russians followed them, burnt down the towns of Dshurshevo and Brailow, but proved unable to reduce the fortress of the latter, and returned to Bucharest on the 27th of February. Romanzoff at length crossed the Dniester in May, in order to march upon the Pruth, whilst Panin sent one division of his army against Bender, and a second against Oczakow. Whilst the grand vizier still delayed on the further side of the Danube, Romanzoff directed his forces first against the new Tatar khan, who had advanced to the Pruth at the head of a combined army of Turks and Tatars. At this time there were two generals of division in the Russian army who had studied military tactics in the seven years' war: Romanzoff had conducted the siege of Colberg, and Repnin served under the French on the Rhine; the third division was commanded by the able general Bauer. He was the man who, without loss or almost trouble, took the khan's camp by storm on the 17th of July on the banks of the Larga or Kulmas. The Turks and Tatars fled on this occasion with such precipitation, that scarcely a single man was taken prisoner; and Bauer, at the head of the grenadier company which formed the body guard of the commander-in-chief, with flying colours entered the immense silken tent of the khan, which was covered with embroidery in silver and gold. The victors did not lose a hundred men, whilst they took all the enemy's baggage and sixty pieces of cannon, but only about

thirty prisoners ; Falkenskiöld also on this occasion was honoured by being decorated with the order of St. George. Whilst Romanzoff was advancing along the Pruth to the Danube, near which the grand vizier was encamped with more than 100,000\* men, the Turks and Tatars again united and furnished Romanzoff with a new opportunity of exciting the astonishment of the whole of Europe. The glory which he gained by this campaign was especially magnified by the boldness of his attack upon the army of the grand vizier, six times the number of his own, with only 20,000 Russians, whilst the khan with 80,000 men was in his rear, and might at any moment have surrounded and cut off his left wing. Immediately after the battle of Larga, intelligence was brought to the Russians that the grand vizier, whose army was stated by the Turks at 300,000 men, but which Falkenskiöld computes at 160,000, was encamped on the left bank of the Kahul, to which it had in the meantime approached. The 18,000 Russians did not hesitate a moment to advance by forced marches against the Turkish camp, which was almost destitute of defences ; general Bauer led the attack upon the left wing, Bruce and Repnin that on the right.

The battle of the Kahul, or as the Turks say, at Kartal, or rather the storming of the Turkish camp, resulted in the same way as the assault upon the Tatar army on the Larga ; camp, baggage and immense treasures became the booty of the Russians, together with 160 pieces of cannon and 7000 carriages, but the prisoners did not amount to a hundred in all. The flight of the Turks was so hasty and precipitate, that it was alleged their loss did not amount to 500 men. The grand vizier again first assembled his troops on the farther side of the Danube, as the small Russian army was obliged to turn its attention to the fortresses and the occupation of the Tatar territory on the Pruth, as far as the lines of Perekop, that is, to the isthmus of the Crimea. From the 6th of August one fortress fell after another, till the Russians were able to take up a safe position in the country of the Tatars on the shores of the Black Sea. Repnin conquered Kilia-Nova, after having previously reduced Ismail at the end of a ten days' siege ; Ackerman fell after a very short defence ; Bender, which is situated on the Dnieper, and in the very heart of the Tatar country, offered a more obstinate resistance ; and when art failed, the Russians were obliged to purchase

\* It is generally stated 150,000, but this seems to me an exaggeration.

the possession of the town at a tremendous expenditure of blood. Maddened by the losses which they had experienced in their rash attempts to take the town by storm, they at length forced an entrance on the 27th of September, cut down thousands, and were obliged to take one street after another by storm, till the town lost two-thirds of its population in these days of dreadful slaughter, and the conflagration continued for three days\*. The Tatars of Edissa and Budzak renounced the sovereignty of the Turks on the 17th, and did homage to the Russians, who then pushed forward into the Crimea. A deputation from the Tatars between the Pruth and the Dnieper was received by the empress herself in Petersburg on the 3rd of March 1771, on which occasion they did solemn homage, and submitted to the sovereignty of Russia. The success of the Russian arms was not so expeditious in the case of Brailow as in that of Bender; the fort of the former city held out for two months longer, and a vain attempt to storm the fortress cost the Russians a great loss in men; it was however obliged to capitulate at the end of November 1770.

The circumstances connected with this war show us how deep the kingdom of Poland had sunk, and how utterly dependent it had become. On the command of the Russians, the government was obliged to declare war against the Turks under the pretence of their having violated the Polish territory; but no attention whatever was afterwards paid to the declaration. This campaign, which shed a glory and renown upon the empress and Romanzoff only to be compared with that of Buonaparte after his first campaign in Italy, filled the country far and wide with lamentation and mourning, and loaded the miserable inhabitants of the whole region from the Vistula to the Danube, and from thence to the Crimea, with inexpressible calamities, and completely desolated the country. Romanzoff took up his winter-quarters in Jassy, and Olitsch in Bucharest, whilst Weissmann commanded on the Danube, and sent single divisions of his army to Kilia, Ackerman, Brailow and Ismail. The attack in the following

\* The Russians had recourse to all the arts of military science, and employed a French engineer who boasted loudly of his skill. He constructed a whole labyrinth of mines, one close upon another; this process he called *globe de compression*; the result however did not correspond to his expectations. In storming the streets all persons were cut down without distinction, so that the population, which had previously amounted to 32,000, after two months only reached 11,000, who were all made prisoners.

year was chiefly directed against the Crimea, and the favourites of the empress received a commission at the same time for the re-establishment of a Grecian kingdom in the islands and in Greece proper.

Three Russians,—Romanzoff, Dolgorucky, and one of the terrible brothers Orloff,—according to Roman custom, received the respective names of Zadunofsky, Krimaky and Tchermensky, from the scenes of their splendid victories or exploits, and from this time forward the empress was denominated *the Great*; every one was astonished at the splendour of the deeds, but no one dared to call to mind the millions which were spent on the useless expedition to the Grecian Archipelago, or the misfortunes which were brought upon unfortunate Greece! We shall notice the victors and their conquests one after another, and refer first to Dolgorucky. In 1770 Panin had already pushed forward as far as Perekop, but afterwards retired and took up his winter-quarters in the Ukraine. Dolgorucky had no sooner replaced Panin in the command of this army, than he advanced and directed his whole force against the Crimea. In the same manner as China was protected against the incursions of the Tatars by a wall, the Crimea was secured against the inroads of the Russians by fortified lines, which received their name from the city of Perekop, to which they also served as a defence. These lines consisted of a ditch seventy feet broad and forty-two feet deep, bordered and backed by a broad embankment of earth, which extended across the whole isthmus from sea to sea. The Tatars had already learned from experience in the year 1736, of how little avail such fortifications are against the military arts of modern Europe and the undeniable valour of a Russian army well-commanded; Münnich scaled and passed these lines in the year just mentioned, and Dolgorucky confirmed the former lesson, by performing the same exploit at the head of an army of 40,000 men. The khan, with all his forces and 7000 Turks who had been sent to his aid, was obliged to yield to the impetuosity and valour of the Russians on the 26th of July, and in less than a month the whole Crimea was in the power of the Russians. They no sooner surmounted the difficulty of the lines than they took Perekop and stormed Kaffa, which was then the capital of the whole Tatar dominions; they afterwards occupied Jenikale and Kertsch, and as an introduction to future conquests, entered into an agreement with the Tatars. The

latter held a large assembly, in which a new khan was chosen on the 9th of July 1771. The new sovereign was wholly dependent on the Russians, and elevated to this dignity by their influence and power, precisely in the same manner as Stanislaus had been previously placed on the throne of Poland.

At the same time as Poland and Crim Tartary were made footstools of the empress's throne, a similar honour was designed for Greece. The whole of Europe was filled with rejoicing, and lauded in unmeasured terms the splendid phrases in which the glory of Greece was magnified by the Russian empress on the one hand, and the noble stand of the North Americans and their Franklin on the other. They were the very same rhetoricians and sophists who extolled despotism with its dazzling splendour, and at the same time praised the democracy and simplicity of the North Americans. Voltaire alone remained true to the cause of the high and fashionable world; he therefore regarded it as a high and honourable exploit for the empress to expend enormous sums upon an expedition to Greece, which was designed and commenced on a colossal scale, but which eventually led to the ruin of those for whose freedom it had been undertaken. The chief command of this expedition was conferred upon Alexis Orloff: he was one of the brothers of that name to whom the empress was especially indebted for the empire, which, together with her person, she afterwards laid at their feet. Among these brothers Iwan was least burthensome to the empress, and Gregory was distinguished for his beauty and enjoyed the first place among the numerous personal favourites of Catharine; all the honours and dignities of the empire were united in his person, and the public treasury was at his command, so that he played with millions as if they were dollars\*. It is said, that the em-

\* When he first entered upon his functions as the acknowledged favourite of the empress, he first received the key of high-chamberlain and the order of Alexander-Newsky; then followed the dignity of counts for himself and his brothers. Immediately afterwards he was made adjutant-general to the empress, director-general of fortifications, commander of the chevalier guard and lieut.-colonel of the horse-guards. He was then general of artillery, invested with the order of the Russian blue ribbon, covered with foreign orders, and finally prince of the empire. He alone was the only person who for years was permitted to wear at his button-hole the portrait of the empress, together with an immense table diamond. We do not here state the millions with which he played, but he received as presents the Stegelman palace on the Moika in Petersburg, the crown estates of Ropcha and Gatschina, lordships in Esthonia and Livonia, and over the whole vast extent of the Russian dominions.

press was with great difficulty restrained from contracting a formal marriage with Orloff; she had however issued express commands to all the departments and offices of the treasury, to furnish him with a hundred thousand roubles at all times when he demanded it, merely upon his own order. Alexis had had the chief share in the overthrow and murder of Peter, but he was disfigured by a horrible scar, and could not therefore enter into competition with his brother for the first place in the empress's favour; he possessed however as much bodily strength, and was as brutal and insolent as his more successful brother; he too was overloaded with wealth and estates, and was celebrated and admired in all the courts of Europe for his boundless extravagance. In addition to all the titles which a Russian officer can obtain, and these are very numerous, he, like his brother, was decorated with numerous orders, and was also at the head of all those splendid displays of chivalry and court fêtes, the memory of which the empress thought it worth while to perpetuate in the Hermitage, by hanging up the portraits of the two brothers along with her own.

A magnificent theatrical naval expedition was prepared, in order to despatch this same Alexis with a fleet, to excite and support a rebellion among the Greeks and such of the people of the Slavonian race as were subject to the Turks, but who professed the religion of the Greek church. This expedition was really colossal, and fitted out with that degree of fantastic extravagance which was characteristic of all the genial inventions and fêtes of the empress and the Orloffs, who never thought of anything but what was either horrible or magnificent. With a view to fit out this useless expedition to the Mediterranean, a loan of thirty-five millions of livres was first expended, which had been at the commencement raised by the marquis Maruzzi upon Corfu, and to this was afterwards added large loans which had been raised for this express purpose in Holland, Leghorn, Genoa and Lucca. Alexis had formed the plan of operations, and was nominated generalissimo of the armies as well as high-admiral of the whole Russian fleets in the Mediterranean Sea; and in order that the family of the Orloffs should have all the first places of honour, like imperial or royal princes, without rendering any actual service, his brother Feodore was appointed second in command. Neither of the brothers was at all fitted to lead an expedition, and the whole real direction of the

fleet devolved upon admiral Spiridoff, who alone of the Russians possessed the necessary knowledge and experience, which was in general supplied by the English naval officers, some of whom were to be found almost in every ship, but especially by admiral Elphinstone. Spiridoff set sail in October 1769 with ten ships of the line and four frigates, accompanied by a number of transports: he first touched at an English port, and next at Port Mahon in Minorca. Elphinstone followed with five ships of the line, two frigates, and a number of transports with troops on board. Alexis spent the carnival in Venice, but in the meantime he caused the Mainotes and all the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus to be excited and stimulated by their own chiefs and by spies, who eluded observation by assuming the garb of priests.

The Russian fleet suffered severely by the winter storms, but still more from the inexperience of the Russian naval officers and pilots. The fleet had been driven about hither and thither; some of the ships however had reached the Archipelago in February, and the whole of the Morea was up in arms, when Alexis also arrived in April 1770. Neither Alexis nor his brother Feodor here added anything to their renown, for the Greeks, supported by a few battalions of Russians who were landed to their aid, were in no condition to undertake anything important, whilst they practised inhuman cruelties upon the Turks, who afterwards revenged themselves by desolating, and plundering after their fashion, the country of their rebellious subjects. The Greeks were of no use except for mere predatory incursions or a guerilla warfare, the Russians were not numerous enough, and the Turks, according to their custom, defended themselves behind walls and ditches much better than in the open field. The Russians were compelled to raise the sieges of Modon and Coron, the expedition against Tripolitza failed, and at the end of May the invaders were forced to re-embark their troops and leave the unfortunate Greeks to their fate. That fate was melancholy enough, for the vengeance of the raging and cruel Turks was exercised in the same way, and disgraced by the same enormities as were perpetrated upon the Greeks in Chios and other places during the last war.

The undertakings of the Russians at sea were more successful, because they were under the direction, not of the high-admiral Alexis, but of captain Gregg, who commanded for the admiral,

and vice-admiral Elphinstone. Their object was to fall in with and attack the Turkish fleet in the Archipelago and on the coast of Asia. They succeeded in their design; Elphinstone, with five ships of the line and two frigates, attacked the Turkish fleet of sixteen ships of the line and eleven xebecs, injured it severely, and compelled the enemy to seek for safety and protection under the guns of Napoli di Romania. Elphinstone did not desist from his attack upon the Turks even in their place of refuge, but continued to cannonade their ships for two days (the 15th and 16th of May); they at length however escaped and sailed to Chios. The Russian fleet followed them thither as soon as the ships had again taken on board some of the troops which had been disembarked in the Morea. The Turks now sent 30,000 Arnauts and Bosnians, who most cruelly devastated the country. In the meantime the insurrection had spread amongst the Greek islands, and at the end of July their inhabitants made a formal application to be taken under the protection of the Russians. The Russian fleet had been long searching for that of the Turks to no purpose; at length however they discovered it lying in the channel of Chios, or the strait between that island and the coast of Asia. They came up to them in this position on the 24th of June, and on the 5th of July Spiridoff, with ten Russian ships, attacked fifteen Turkish ships of the line: the Turkish admiral's ship was blown up and the victory remained with the Russians. The Russian admiral had also the misfortune to lose his ship, which took fire in consequence of being entangled with one of the enemy's, and was totally consumed; the officers were saved, but the whole of the crew, amounting to 700 men, fell a prey to the flames. The Turks, terrified by their defeat, were imprudent enough to cut their cables and to run into the narrow bay of Tchesmé, where their ships were driven one against another and had no room to tack or manœuvre; this induced the English, who were in command of the Russian fleet, to make an attempt at burning the whole fleet. The whole merit of the execution of this bold plan was due to the English, to whom by family descent Cruse, the captain of admiral Spiridoff's ship, also belonged: the glory remained with the Russians, and the Orloffs received the reputation and substantial rewards.

It was three Englishmen who conducted the whole of the exploit at Tchesmé: Elphinstone blockaded the Turkish ships, Gregg directed the cannonade, and lieutenant Dugdale was entrusted



with the dangerous commission of guiding the fire-ship by which the fleet was to be set in flames. At the very moment of departure, the Russians who were with Dugdale on board the fire-ship left him exposed to the danger, leapt into the water and swam away; he alone steered the ship, and set fire to one of the Turkish vessels, which rapidly conveyed the flames to the other ships of the fleet. Only one ship of 50 guns and five xebecs remained unconsumed, and these were carried away by the Russians. The small town of Tchesmé also, with its fort, batteries and cannon, was taken by the Russian fleet. Whilst Alexis Orloff was thus raised to all the dignity of a hero by the instrumentality of the English, his brother Gregory also became distinguished and received imperial honours on account of other persons' merits. He at first received extraordinary praise (and even Falkenskiöld concurs in this exaggerated commendation) because he ventured to travel to Moscow at the empress's request when every one was fleeing from the city on account of the plague. In this he undoubtedly displayed resolution and courage, and his example restored order and confidence. To this praise he is fully entitled, but he received commendation also for things which not he but others had done. Surgeon Todte and privy-councillor Wolkow had adopted admirable measures to stay the spread of the plague; all these were placed to the credit of Orloff, and he had no sooner returned to Petersburg than the empress caused a triumphal arch to be erected to his honour before Czarskoeselo, and to be graced with the following inscription: "*In honour of the man who delivered Moscow from the plague.*"

Similar honours were destined for Alexis on his return to Petersburg, whither he hastened to celebrate his triumph. He first received the broad ribbon of the order of St. George, which had by this time been bestowed upon many, and the honourable title of Tchesmensky; this also was granted to others, but in addition he was rewarded for the services which the English had rendered, by the erection of a commemorative column, adorned in Roman fashion by the prows of ships, on the same place on which the triumphal arch in honour of his brother had been previously raised. The empress gave him a still further proof of distinction by granting him double the sum which he asked for the prosecution of the naval war, and which, according to his custom, was unusually large. On his return to the fleet he stopped in Vienna; everything was conducted, as is well known,

at the court of Maria Theresa in a quiet, becoming and moral manner, and was considered more from the prosaic and honourable point of view, than from a poetical, genius-like and licentious one. Orloff here exhibited such a degree of insolence and royal extravagance as astonished and terrified the courtiers of Vienna. His character was in fact so hateful, that many writers have related as credible the fable of his having carried off a woman from Leghorn, who was supposed to stand in the way of the empress. In Leghorn he met with a female adventurer who called herself countess Tarakanoff; he allured her on board his ship and sent her to Petersburg. A report was immediately put in circulation, that this woman was a daughter of the empress Elizabeth\*, whom Orloff in this way placed in the power of Catharine. The subsequent operations of this fleet and Orloff's extravagance in Italy are foreign to our purpose. The fleet remained for a whole year in the Archipelago after both the Orloffs had returned to Petersburg in 1773; for further details, however, we must refer to a German journal of the whole of the operations which were undertaken during the four years in which this fleet remained in the Mediterranean, and which has been printed by Schlözer in his Correspondence†.

Romanzoff's campaign in 1771 was retarded by a variety of circumstances, and Falkenskiöld may be right in alleging that Romanzoff intentionally protracted and delayed the movements of the army, in order to prolong the time of his holding a court in his quarters; however that may be, the grand vizier first put himself

\* It is said, as in the story of Caspar Hauser, that Alexis, during his sojourn in Leghorn (1771), with the aid of the English consul John Dick, seized upon, carried off, and sent to Petersburg where she died in prison, a certain princess Tarakanoff, who was stated to be a daughter of the empress Elizabeth by Alexis Rasumoffsky. The prattling Wraxall, in the first part of his 'Memoirs of his own Time,' pp. 187—197, has treated the whole affair at length. The same story, which resembles that of Caspar Hauser as much as one egg is like another, is found in a different version, but quite as extraordinarily detailed, in Castera, vol. ii. p. 83, &c.

† This journal will be found in the 48th number or 8th part of Schlözer's 'Correspondence,' pp. 337—353. The result is contained in the following note at the conclusion, p. 353: "By the yearly reinforcements sent from Russia, the merchant-ships taken from the Turks and Ragusa, and the numerous ships which had been bought from the English during the war, the Russian fleet finally amounted to sixteen ships of the line, three galliots, twenty-three frigates, nine polacres, nineteen xebecs, nine brigantines and sixteen sloops,—in all ninety-five sail. The support of the Russian fleet in the Levant during the whole war cost the empire thirty-two millions of Venetian zechins; the prizes (provisions, ships and ammunitions excepted) amounted to eight millions of zechins."

in motion in July. The subordinate commanders, Olitz, Weissmann and Oserow, in the meantime however had attacked several places. In March Dschurdscha, or as the Wallachians say, Giurgewo, had been taken by the Russians and again lost in June, nor were they able to maintain possession of Tuldscha. Repnin may be said at that time to have been almost at open enmity with Romanzoff, and this may partly account for the Russians proving unable to hold their ground south of the Danube, where they had got a firm footing in Isaktschy, when the grand vizier advanced with his army. Repnin, on this occasion, behaved as he had formerly done in Warsaw; for without any further inquiry, the Turks had no sooner taken Tuldscha in June, than he not only caused the Russian commander but his officers also to be arrested. Besides, he paid no attention to the commands which had been issued by Romanzoff, who had ordered him to attack the 30,000 Turks who were marching against Bucharest. His refusal in this point however did great honour to his military genius and skill, and he was justified by the event. When he was recalled his successor Essen obeyed the command, and attempted to take the Turkish camp not far from Bucharest by storm, but he was repulsed with the loss of several thousand men and many pieces of cannon. The Turks did not understand how to profit by their recent success; they divided the army which had crossed the Danube into several parts, and the grand vizier remained on the further side of the river, in order to cross at the end of autumn. He most foolishly thought that Romanzoff would await his arrival in his camp. That however he did not do, for he was neither deficient in courage nor military skill, but on the contrary, in the beginning of October, he pushed two divisions of the main army forward beyond the Danube, under the command of Miloradowitsch and Weissmann.

The grand vizier himself with the main army was encamped near Babadagh, and there considered himself securely protected by trenches which he had thrown up and by the fort of Babadagh, whilst two divisions were separated from him, one of which was encamped at Tulcza and the other at Maczin; these were first attacked. On the same day (October 20), these two positions were attacked by the Russian generals, the Turks beaten and routed, all their artillery and baggage taken, their magazines fell into the hands of the Russians, and both the towns and castles were conquered. In the following night an assault was

made on the main army at Babadagh and the trenches scaled. The Turks retreated precipitately, and left their camp and artillery in the hands of the Russians, who also took the town of Babadagh itself. This occurred at the time when the several cabinets interested in the question had come to an understanding respecting the partition of Poland; the Russians therefore retired behind the Danube, and accepted the proffered mediation of Prussia and Austria for negotiations for a peace. It will afterwards appear that these negotiations neither led nor could lead to any result, because Prussia and Austria had interests of the same kind as Russia—to despoil the weak, as they proved in the same year in the case of Poland.

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### § III.

#### PARTITION OF POLAND; CONCLUSION OF THE WAR WITH TURKEY; PUGATSCHOFF'S REBELLION.

The question as to the original source of the idea of a union between Russia, Prussia and Austria, for the partition of Poland, seems to us to be one of very small historical importance, and at the same time not possible to be answered without a tedious investigation; we shall therefore entirely exclude this point. We have moreover already stated, that Kaunitz, at a time then mentioned, had some indistinct idea of the views entertained by Russia and Prussia. Without being able to produce any documentary proof for the assertion, we are of opinion that Russia had weighed the question as to the manner in which Austria and Prussia might find some compensation in Poland for the extension of the Russian empire before her conduct in Courland, and during the acts of violence that were perpetrated in that country immediately after having established a Russian duke as sovereign prince of the duchy. Most writers have connected the idea of the partition and the first plan of its accomplishment with the personal interview between the young emperor Joseph II. and Frederick II. in Silesia, because on that occasion the first formal negotiations on the subject were commenced. The alienation which had previously subsisted between Prussia and Austria now ceased; for up till this time, as is well known, a feeling of mutual jealousy and watchfulness existed between

these two powers, as well as a personal aversion on the part of Maria Theresa to Frederick II.

On the death of his father Joseph II. became emperor of Germany; but because the office of emperor conferred upon him neither income nor power, and his brother was to succeed his father in the grand-duchy of Tuscany, his mother made him, in appearance at least and in all public decrees, co-regent in her hereditary states, although she herself always remained at the helm of affairs. On the commencement of the war between Russia and the Turks, Kaunitz thought it advisable to open a way for a closer alliance between Prussia and Austria in reference to Turkish affairs. With a view to this object, Joseph was to avail himself of the king of Prussia's sojourn in Silesia. On the 19th of August 1769, the emperor Joseph visited the king in Nice, and the latter returned the visit in the following year when he came to Silesia, as was his custom. It is said the plan of a partition was agreed upon on this occasion, and that prince Henry, Frederick's brother, was induced in its furtherance to make a pretence of paying a visit to his sister in Stockholm, in order to avail himself of the opportunity of visiting Petersburg and entering into a personal agreement on the subject with the empress Catharine. We regard it as perfectly fruitless to enter into inquiries respecting the partition of Poland, founded upon the miserable secrets of conversations, letters and cabinet discussions; since public and well-known facts furnish the only sure ground on which we can stand, and the only means of enabling the reader to form his own judgement upon the facts laid before him. In addition to this it may be observed, that the condition of Poland, the pitiful conduct of the government and of the confederates, and the difficulties in which Austria and Prussia would have been placed by the victories of Russia in Poland and over the Turks, naturally and almost necessarily led to a partition.

Kaunitz himself was present at the second interview between the emperor and the king, which took place in the camp near Neustadt, not far from the celebrated Austerlitz in Moravia, in August 1770. The negotiations were not unattended with difficulties, in consequence of the disinclination of Maria Theresa to enter into an alliance for despoiling the weak. It is however well ascertained, that on this occasion very long negotiations were entered into respecting Turkish as well as Polish affairs. Immediately afterwards prince Henry made preparations for his jour-

ney; for appearances' sake he first went to Sweden in October, and then remained till January 1771 in Petersburg: a very considerable time however elapsed before the parties were completely agreed as to the precise terms of the partition, after the general principle had been settled.

The condition of Poland at this time was indescribably lamentable: the government as well as the diet were slaves to Russia and generally despised, and the confederations for the maintenance of freedom and independence more resembled bands of robbers than legal and political associations. The Russians had indeed recalled Repnin from Warsaw, and his successor was complaisant, friendly, and apparently pliant. Wolkonsky deceived the government in Warsaw by the kindness and affability of his demeanour. In order to prevent them from taking advantage of the circumstances of the Turkish war, he flattered and amused those who were friends of their country by hopes and promises, and appeased the extravagant magnates by money and bribery, and thus withheld them from uniting with the confederates for the deliverance of their nation during the time in which a very devil in the form of a Russian perpetrated unspeakable cruelties in the country. General Dewitz caused every Polish nobleman who was taken prisoner in arms by his Russians to be cruelly mutilated without further inquiry. This enraged the Poles still more; the whole country was traversed from one end to the other by bands who called themselves confederates. Immediately after Krasinski and Potocki had taken refuge among the Turks, a new confederacy was set on foot in Lithuania in March 1769, and issued a very threatening manifesto. In November of the same year a new general confederation was proclaimed in Biala or Bilitz, at the opposite extremity of the kingdom, at which deputies were present from all parts of Poland and from the confederacy of Lithuania. Among the deputies of Lithuania was count Pac, who was marshal of their confederation and representative of Krasinski and Potocki, the one of whom was appointed marshal-general of the kingdom, and the other standard-bearer-general, but both were now with the Turkish army.

The confusion in Poland during the years 1770 and 1771 knew no bounds; but the powers could neither come to an understanding respecting the manner in which the intervention of Austria and Prussia should take place in the negotiations for peace with the Turks, nor as to the manner in which the Polish

disputes and the partition should be brought to a conclusion. As to the Turks, Austria received 8,000,000 of florins in order to make preparations for war, and the money afterwards served to terrify the Turks by these preparations; for Catharine would not accept of any real mediation on the part of Austria and Prussia, but merely of what was called their good offices. With respect to Poland, Maria Theresa neither agreed with her son the young emperor, who sought for an extension of territory and renown; nor with Kaunitz, who wished to circumvent Prussia and France and bring them into difficulties.

The king of Poland celebrated a joyous carnival in Warsaw, and distinguished himself by the gallantry and elegance of his conversation and manners, and the splendour of his equipage and dress, at the very time in which the confederates appeared in the immediate neighbourhood of Warsaw, after having fortified the convent and town of Czenstochau. This took place in February 1770; on the 9th of April the confederates even announced that the king was deposed, and an interregnum commenced. At this time Pulawski and the bands who adhered to him played the chief character among the confederates, and Dumourier caused officers and soldiers also to be sent from France, and on the part of the French government supplied Pulawski with money and aided him by soldiers and officers. The Russian generals Weymarn, Dewitz and Suwarrow, who now first appeared upon the stage of public life\*, caused one crowd of men after another to be dragged away into exile and misery in the wilds of Russia, and cruelly mutilated others. Suwarrow distinguished his first appearance in Poland by a splendid military exploit, and thereby prevented the Polish nobles, who were anxious about the preservation of their estates, from joining the malcontents and the party which was in arms. Many of them would otherwise no

\* In the time of the seven years' war, Suwarrow was engaged in the study of German literature and freemasonry, and was an acquaintance of Kant, Scheffner and Hippel. During this period he gave evidence of the severity and imperiousness of his character within the circle of his companions in Königsberg. Scheffner in his Autobiography (Leipzig, 1816 and 1823) gives the following characteristic notice of Suwarrow: "At a late visit to the lodge I formed an acquaintance with Suwarrow, who was then a Russian lieutenant, but afterwards became so celebrated as a general. His father was at that time governor of Königsberg, and a man of great severity, who often called for the officers of the crown at four o'clock in the morning, even in winter. When he carried the hammer, the young Suwarrow exhibited a most exaggerated predilection for strictness and petty tyranny."

doubt have been inclined to imitate the example of the nearest relation of Czartorinski, who had been a competitor of Stanislaus for the throne. Field-marshal Oginski was defeated near Strolowicz by Suwarrow in September 1770: his defeat did not indeed terrify the confederated bands, but the magnates became more cautious and anxious about the future, and consequently remained quiet.

Dumourier, who supplied the confederates with money as long as Choiseul remained minister, in June 1771 fell into a dispute with Pulawski, with whom he then was. The latter, whose confederates had now taken possession of the castle of Cracow, ascribed to Dumourier the loss of the skirmish at Landakron, which has been improperly called a battle. A month after this affair the confederates published an appeal addressed to all the Poles, urging them to join their ranks and drive the Russians out of their country, whereupon the Russians issued orders to treat all the Poles who were taken prisoners as criminals. All civil administration in Poland was at that time completely at an end: the military commanders ruled in their several districts where they happened to be stationed with their troops. Wolkonsky, who was in Warsaw, was very disagreeable to the king, notwithstanding the complaisance and courtliness of his manners; and Stanislaus, finding it no longer tolerable to be completely overlooked in his own capital, sent an humble embassy to Petersburg to effect if possible the recall of the Russian ambassador. The application was attended with success, inasmuch as Russia now needed the services of a man in Poland who was deeply skilled and experienced in legal and diplomatic affairs: Wolkonsky was recalled and Saldern appointed in his stead, who afterwards ruled Poland with more skill, but quite as much harshness as Repnin.

Saldern's first artifice was the annihilation of what was called the union party to which Oginski belonged,—a party which wished to restore peace and unity between the different confederations and the king without the aid or intervention of foreign powers. This party was no sooner broken up than Saldern conducted himself in Warsaw just as if the Russian police had been already legally established in Poland. He declared the confederations, which were sanctioned by the unholy laws re-established by the Russians themselves, to be associations of robbers and murderers, and issued proclamations to the inhabitants of Warsaw, which



were sometimes abusive, sometimes threatening, and occasionally really penal, and treated the king as his inferior and subject. During the winter the king lost all the remainder of that small respect which was left to him by the Russians by a bold feat of Pulawski, because on this occasion it was made manifest to all the world that his own countrymen did not recognise the royal dignity in his person. A Polish general received orders from the government in October to put an end to the committee of the confederates at Biala: the officer who received the commission failed in the execution of his orders, and Pulawski undertook a predatory expedition to Warsaw. A Russian colonel fell in with Pulawski's band on the last day of October and routed them, but in the meanwhile Warsaw was left without protection: Pulawski, who had escaped from the enemy with a small number of attendants, was desirous of taking advantage of this opportunity to carry off the king from his own palace.

The plan was, that a number of resolute men, who had partly provided themselves with Russian uniforms, should make their way secretly into the well-known capital, seize upon the king as he was returning to his own palace from the fashionable society which assembled at his uncle's, and convey him to Czenstochau; whilst Pulawski, by a predatory expedition, allured the Russians out of Warsaw to follow him. This plan was really carried into effect on the 3rd of November. Pulawski succeeded in drawing away the Russians from Warsaw, whilst thirty brave and adventurous Poles, among whom Kosinski, Lukaski and Stravinski have obtained a melancholy celebrity, advanced rapidly to the city, and so distributed themselves in the darkness, that one party waited before the city whilst the other was to seize upon the king within the walls. The latter party learned that the king would take his departure precisely at nine o'clock in the evening from the society at his uncle's, the high-chancellor. Some of them assaulted the outriders and attendants of the king, whilst others seized the coachman and horses: the attendants were so frightened as to be unable to give heed to what was passing behind them. Five or six of the conspirators made themselves masters of the king's person at the very moment in which he was about to enter his coach, cut down his Hei-ducks (Hungarian footmen), slightly wounded the king himself, and immediately set him, without hat or hair-bag, upon a horse which they led off in the midst of their own. They failed

however in finding the place in which they had left their companions without the city, and were separated from one another in the dark; the king's horse fell, and before he could be remounted he lost a shoe in the morass, and at length found himself alone with Kosinski. The latter, after having long ridden in the dark over stock and stone, either repented of his rashness when he arrived at Willamow, a distance of two hours and a half from Warsaw, and was alone with the king, or he was purchased; suffice it to say however that he permitted the king to send a note from thence to Warsaw, in which he commanded his guards to come and bring him from Willamow into the city. His commands were obeyed, and the participators in this bold undertaking were forthwith accused of high treason, because it suited the purposes of the powers, who were about to divide the spoil, to give the affair all possible publicity; Pulawski was outlawed, and Lukaski, who had been captured, was executed.

This event occurred at the time in which Kaunitz, who coincided with Joseph against the opinion of his mother respecting the partition of Poland, at length obtained a promise from Russia, that in the peace about to be concluded with Turkey, they would not insist upon retaining possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, and would concede the possession of the immensely rich salt-works in Poland to Austria; consequently the Austrian protection which had secretly been extended to the confederates immediately ceased. As Russia was now able for a time to dispense with the services of her armies on the Pruth and Danube, and the Austrian frontiers were strictly guarded, the confederates in Poland were speedily reduced; and afterwards nothing remained to bring the whole country under complete subjection but to put down the miserable royal government. Although the French at that time had sent Viomesnil to Poland to replace Dumourier, and the confederates offered a brave and vigorous resistance, they were unable to hold out for any length of time against the Russians, and in the beginning of the year 1772 they were first driven out of the town and then out of the castle of Cracow, and obliged afterwards to evacuate Landskron, Czenstochau and Tyornieck. The fact of the confederates being immediately afterwards dispersed and the confederation dissolved, furnishes abundant proof that the continuance of the disturbances was intentional on the part of Austria and Prussia. The termination of the war with the confederates did not lead to an

immediate conclusion of the negotiations among the three powers respecting the partition; the discussion of the various articles of the treaty which was to be concluded in the midst of peace completely occupied the former half of the year 1772. The pen of the diplomatists proved insufficient to bring the affair to a satisfactory conclusion, and recourse was again had to the generals and their cosacks. General Elmpt advanced into Poland with a new Russian army, and then the defensive treaty respecting the partition of Poland was signed in Petersburg on the 5th of August.

In the course of these negotiations there was first a long contest about Danzig and Thorn, which Prussia specially coveted, and Russia felt it impossible to concede as long as Poland was not totally annihilated. Prussia having yielded her pretensions to these cities, then mediated between Russia and Austria. The diplomatic part of the history of this event, the difficult and intricate negotiations, have been historically and politically elucidated by Dohm in his 'Memoirs,' the circumstances connected with the partition have been carefully detailed by Manso in his 'History of the Prussian State,' and the questions of national law are to be found recorded in 'Herzberg's State Papers'; we shall here briefly present our readers with the results. We must besides remark, that the violent and forcible seizure of that portion of a foreign and sovereign state of which each of the three powers took possession preceded the manifestos of the political sophists and jurists which were published in its defence or alleviation. It seems to us not to be worth the trouble to mention any of the reasons alleged in justification by these hireling scribes, as such government-writers always find sufficient guarantees for the truth of their allegations among the police and gens d'armes. By this partition Russia obtained 2200 square miles of territory, inhabited by 1,500,000 people; Austria between 1500 and 1600 square miles, the salt-springs of Wielicza, and 2,500,000 subjects; Prussia 700 square miles, and about 900,000 people. Such were the real contents of that deeply-learned manifesto which was published in September, and whose study may be more useful to diplomatists and jurists than to the general readers of this history. The superficial extent of Poland at that time was 9057 square miles. This violation and partition of the territory of an independent kingdom was besides aggravated by the contempt with which the inhabitants were treated; for both the nation and the king were required formally to consent to their spoliation,

and certify their satisfaction by documentary evidence. The emperor was the first who communicated to the king and the nation this treaty of Petersburg, which was signed on the 2nd of September; and the most remarkable thing with respect to the audacity of the sophists of the Russian cabinet was and is, the declaration of the Russian ambassador respecting this treaty.

Saldern had been at that time recalled and replaced by Stackelberg, who, although of a more courtly and refined nature than his predecessor, was nevertheless obliged, on diplomatic grounds, to do what was contrary to his feelings and in contradiction to his habits; that is, to violate the usual and becoming forms of politeness towards the king. The king indeed was entitled to no real respect; for on the one hand he had sold his nation and himself to strangers out of mere feelings of empty vanity, and on the other evinced a desire to play the part of a patriot. Inasmuch as the Russians were now opposed by the government and the members of the general confederation of Radom, who had been of the highest service to them in 1768, they suffered the four chief enemies of the government to return to Poland, set the bishop of Kaminiac, who had also been taken prisoner, at liberty, and persecuted their own protégé Radzivil. The latter possessed not only immense wealth, was the owner of the greater part of Lithuania, and maintained his own troops in that province, but was incensed by the universal oppression exercised by the Russians during the late years, came to a rupture with them, and left the country; the Russians took their revenge on his property. They confiscated his estates, seized upon and carried off his plate and moveables, and conveyed his library, which was one of the richest in Europe, to Petersburg, where it was afterwards converted into a public library. In order to gain his acquiescence in the measures which were now imposed upon his country, and his assent to the document which they wished to extort from the nation, they offered to restore him everything of which he had been robbed except his library and plate; but he answered, that his ancestors had lived free, and he would die free.

The same kind of vengeance was inflicted upon the aged chancellor and his nephew, who had subscribed\* an admirably

\* The aged chancellor, by command of the king, signed and published a declaration in reply to the manifesto and the demands of the three powers. In this paper the sophisms of the powers were thoroughly exposed, and a most affecting account was given of the injuries and devastation to which Poland had been subjected for the last five years; it showed, that the misery of the

written manifesto, which gave a most complete refutation to the sophisms of the venal perverters of justice, and proved the injustice of the pretensions of the three powers. The estates of Czartorinski, which lay within that portion of Poland which was taken possession of by the Prussians, were confiscated; and Austria followed the same course with those of the starost Kiscki of Lemberg, who refused to do homage to their usurpation, although he was unable to do this till Poland had consented. In order to obtain this consent, an attempt was made to force a resolution upon the senate, then through the senate, from which all opposing members were carefully excluded, to cause a diet of the nation to be summoned which was to grant the final confirmation of the injustice. In September the senate was summoned, whose meeting was a necessary preliminary to that of the diet; in the following year however (1773) only thirty out of about 120 senators assembled, because all those senators whose estates formed part of the territories respectively appropriated to themselves by any of the powers were kept away from the meeting, and others refused to enter upon any consultations respecting the fate of their country under the terror and dread of foreign bayonets.

The small number of magnates who were present resisted the urgent demands of the ambassadors of the three powers and of the commanders of the troops who were encamped around their place of assembly till the 19th of April; on this day, surrounded

people had increased precisely in proportion as Russia and Prussia had interfered in their affairs, as well as the manner in which Austria since 1770, under the most holy assurances of desiring nothing, had appropriated one piece of territory after another. The rights of the republic, founded upon ancient documents, to those portions of its territory were derived from long and uninterrupted possession, acknowledged by the most solemn agreements and guaranteed by the greatest powers of Europe. It will be asked, what claims the powers could oppose to these well-established rights? With the same right which was then enforced, Poland might now lay claim to many provinces which had formerly belonged to Poland, but which may have been governed by the powers which now brought forward their obsolete pretensions. All the claims had been abolished by agreements, but all the agreements of the Poles with the powers would be opposed to their demands, and if insisted upon, therefore, *would undermine the rights of every state and shake the foundations of every throne.* A declaration was immediately made in the name of the king, that the conduct of the three powers was unjust, violent, and contrary to existing rights. The king appealed to positive agreements and to the powers which had become guarantees for the peace of Oliva, and finally both king and senate appealed to the Divine Providence, to whose protection they recommended their rights, and solemnly protested against every step which was taken for the partition of Poland.

and besieged by soldiers, they first gave their assent to a call of the general diet of the kingdom. They had no sooner agreed to issue a summons for the assembling of the diet, than they were commanded to abstain from all further consultation or even meetings, in order that those who overawed them might prevent the possibility either of their revoking their order or protesting against it as issued under constraint. Before the diet assembled a protest was however made in an assembly at Cracow by prince Czartorinski, the high chancellor of Lithuania, the primate of Poland, the high chancellor of the kingdom, and others of the chief nobles against such a diet as that which was about to meet, which they called a conspiracy to destroy the rights and privileges of their country by force. The powers, who regarded power as right, paid no attention whatever to the protest. The diet in due time met and the armies of the three powers advanced, in order to compel its members to acknowledge the deed of partition drawn up by the authority and agreement of the three powers, and to force upon them the adoption of a paper drawn up by themselves in three-and-twenty articles, as the future constitution of Poland.

Complete success would never have been gained by the diet alone, and recourse was therefore had to the anarchical Polish constitution, in order to be able to carry out the views of the three powers by the instrumentality of Poninski, who was venal, and of the king, who was decoyed into an acquiescence in their designs by the promise of a yearly stipend of 1,200,000 florins. The diet was first compelled to assume the form and adopt the laws of a confederation (*sub nexu confederationis*), and, in consequence of this step, the grand-marshal became, according to the Polish laws, in some measure military ruler of the country, as long as such a confederation lasted: Poninski was now appointed grand-marshal. The scheme was followed by complete success; the vain king, whose declamations and exclamations on the subject of rights and country had been universally disseminated since October 1772, and which are to be found in such abundance, especially in French books; the Czartorinskis and other magnates, who had made and issued such high-sounding protestations in Cracow, all thinking upon the flesh-pots of Egypt, subscribed the confederation. The diet, whose sittings were only allowed to extend to six weeks, were next to elect a committee invested with unconditional powers, as in the time of

the disputes respecting the dissidents ; it was a long time however before those members of the diet who neither belonged to the party which was to be bought, nor to that which was to be frightened, could be brought to acquiesce in such a measure. The six weeks appointed by law had elapsed, before the threatenings and military demonstrations of the powers proved efficient in compelling the diet to nominate a committee, and in inducing it to grant to this committee the full rights and privileges of a *plenum*.

Even the committee, whose nomination was extorted by the influence and threats of the three powers, defended and maintained the rights of the nation with the greatest resolution ; and three of them continued their resistance when all the others had yielded. When we only think of the conduct of the German princes in the time of Buonaparte, these Polish magnates must be regarded and admired as Scævolas and Catos in comparison. There was no hope either of aid or protection, and the patriotic Poles were exposed to much greater danger of bad treatment than Buonaparte would have inflicted upon a patriotic German prince, had there been such a one existing. Some fifty or sixty men, Russians and Austrians, were billeted in the houses of the most distinguished Polish nobles in Warsaw, the Czartorinskis and Lubomirskis were threatened with being altogether banished from the kingdom, and the estates of almost all those who either hesitated to give their assent or refused it, were ruined by excessive impositions most cruelly levied ; for in the cases of many individuals of great wealth, as much as 100,000 ducats were extorted.

The committee at length found themselves unable to offer any longer resistance, and in August they yielded to the imperious dictates of the powers. The diet was again assembled ; and as it had now assumed the form of a confederation, its decisions no longer required unanimity of opinion, but depended on the votes of the majority ; still however it continued to defend the privileges of the nation till September, and then only adopted the treaty of partition, by virtue of which a third of the kingdom was sacrificed, by a majority of two. The senate concurred in everything which was proposed, and promised, by means of plenipotentiaries, to come to an understanding with the ambassadors of the three powers respecting the form of government to be maintained in the remaining two-thirds of Poland, and the

circumstances connected with those who professed the Greek or the protestant faith. On the 19th of November the king subscribed all that the senate had approved. The most extraordinary measures were now enforced upon the nation after the conclusion of this compulsory treaty in November; and the cruel and malicious irony with which the diplomatists understood how to recommend to the ill-treated remnant of the mutilated kingdom the maintenance of that anarchy which they ventured to call the freedom of the nobles, by which Poland had already been sunk so low in the scale of nations, and which they put forward as an evidence of their goodness, care and sympathy, will be best learned from the commencement of a ministerial note which was sent to the government as early as September 1773\*.

The diet moreover still continued to resist the oppressive demands of the spoilers; such resistance however merely served to prolong and increase the sufferings of the unfortunate country. Whilst the nobles in the following year, 1774, and in the first three months of 1775, were striving against the formal acceptance of the territorial cessions which had been agreed to by the committee, and their concessions respecting the constitution, the other part of the nation, which had nothing either to gain or to lose by constitution or partition, was suffering all the evils of war in the midst of peace, because no one had troubled himself about its condition and interests for an incredible time, and it

\* It would be useless in this place to enumerate the whole of the single articles; we shall therefore merely give the introductory passages of the original, which we have denominated bitter irony, and subjoin four of the *general* resolutions. It runs as follows:—"Les cours sont si fort intéressées à la pacification de la Pologne, que pendant qu'on s'occupe à mettre les traités en état d'être signés et ratifiés, leurs ministres ne croient pas devoir perdre un instant de cet intervalle précieux, pour rétablir l'ordre et la tranquillité de ce royaume. Nous allons donc communiquer à la commission, une partie de ces loix fondamentales à l'acceptation desquelles nos cours ne permettrons pas qu'on apporte aucun obstacle, ni retardement. 1. La couronne de Pologne sera élective à perpétuité, et tout ordre de succession restera prohibé. Toute personne qui tenteroit d'enfreindre cette loi sera déclarée ennemie de sa patrie, et poursuivie en conséquence. 2. Les étrangers qui aspirent au trône, occasionnant le plus souvent des troubles et des divisions en seront désormais exclus, et il sera passé en loi qu'à l'avenir il n'y aura qu'un Polonais de race, né gentilhomme, qui puisse être élu roi de Pologne et grand-duc de Lithuanie. Le fils ou le petit-fils d'un roi ne pourra être élu immédiatement après la mort de son père ou de son aïeul, et il ne pourra l'être qu'après l'intervalle de deux règnes. 3. Le gouvernement de Pologne sera et demeurera indépendant et de forme républicaine. 4. Les vrais principes de ce gouvernement consistant dans une exacte observation des loix et dans l'équilibre des trois ordres, savoir le roi, le sénat et la noblesse, il sera établi un conseil permanent, auquel le pouvoir exécutif sera attribué. On admettra dans ce conseil," &c. &c.



appeared to be forgotten even by Providence. The termination of the Polish affairs was delayed by a fresh outbreak of a war with the Turks and by Pugatscheff's rebellion, for the Russians required to employ those troops elsewhere which had been sent into Poland to overawe and constrain the resolutions of the diet. The war with Turkey was no sooner ended, and Pugatscheff executed in January 1775, than the diet expressed its concurrence in the laws which had been prescribed by foreigners and accepted by the committee. Poland at least gained so much by this step, that it now received friendly protection against the harassing insults and injuries which were inflicted by the Prussians and Austrians till 1786.

The negotiations between the Russians and the Turks had been opened in Fokschan in 1772. They were carried on, as it must be said, with the *assistance* of Prussia and Austria, because the Russians had expressly refused what diplomatists understand by mediation. At this moment also the intervention of Austria and Prussia was ridiculous, because at that very time they were actually engaged, in connexion with Russia, in despoiling Poland, and making it wholly dependent on Russian power. The appearance of such a brutal despot as Gregory Orloff in the character of the imperious plenipotentiary of the empress, and of baron von Thugut as Austrian minister, announced clearly enough that they were prepared to command but not to negotiate a peace. Thugut here commenced his character as a minister, fertile in expedients and intrigues and always accessible to bribery, which he played at the end of the century in Vienna, and as internuncio in Constantinople, to the destruction of Austria. The effect of his labours was to induce his court, like himself, to prefer the degrading love of gain to public and private honour; for, by a trick of his empress, he procured the ten millions which in a secret convention were agreed to be given for the performance of certain specific services, without having done anything whatever in return. As Austria did not come forward as a mediatrix, the Turks insisted upon the repayment of the three millions which had been received in advance; but Thugut succeeded in inducing the Turks to promise that, if Austria prevailed upon Russia to consent that the Crimea, together with Moldavia and Wallachia, should still remain under Turkish sovereignty (which in fact Austria and Prussia had already settled with Russia), they would not only not insist on

the repayment of the three millions above referred to, but would also afterwards pay the remaining seven millions, and cede the district called Little Wallachia to Austria.

The dreadful Gregory Orloff, the favourite of the empress, was to play the chief part in the congress at Fokschan, whilst the business, properly speaking, was entrusted to Obreskoff, who had been formerly ambassador in Constantinople. This congress was actually opened on the 19th of August 1772; and it has been affirmed that Orloff intentionally insulted the Turks, one of whom he personally maltreated, in order that he might play the part of a great military hero in a new war, for which reason he also thought of having Romanzoff removed from the command of the army. At this very time, however, he was supplanted in the empress's favour by a successful rival, who for some time publicly assumed all the rights of a husband; on this account he left Fokschan very suddenly in September, in order to hasten to Petersburg and personally to tyrannise over the empress there as he did over the Turks at Fokschan. We shall mention some circumstances in a note\* which will furnish an idea of the cost which Gregory's sojourn entailed upon his nation, of the pomp which he displayed when contrasted with the simple retinue of the grand vizier, and of the immense plans which he cherished for himself and his brothers. On his departure the congress was at once broken up; and neither Gregory's brutal behaviour towards the Turkish plenipotentiaries, nor the preparations and armaments of both powers which were made during the congress, allowed any reasonable expectations to be entertained of a favourable result. Gregory Orloff left his embassy, the negotiations for peace and his diplomatic duties, without the command or the permission of the empress, to hasten in his rage to Petersburg, where a ministerial intrigue, conducted by

\* Before his departure from Petersburg, preparations were made for his journey as for that of one of the most powerful monarchs; he had marshals, chamberlains, grooms of the chambers, pages and imperial servants, and went to the first sitting of the congress in a carriage which was accompanied by four state carriages. The procession was preceded by a troop of hussars and a hundred and fifty servants on foot in magnificent liveries. His kitchen, cellars, and all the rest were in the same style of splendour, and the jewels on his dress were of immense value. As to Romanzoff, it is said that Gregory wished to remove him from his command, in order that he himself might be at the head of an army in the Crimea, his brother Alexis in command of a fleet in the Archipelago, and Theodore of another in the Black Sea, and thus become heroes at the expense of the Turks.

Panin and prince Baratinsky, had set up a rival against him: they had succeeded in inducing the empress to give Orloff's place and the chamber which he had left in the palace to Wasiltschikoff, an officer in the guards. Wasiltschikoff however was only a substitute for Orloff in the grossest sense of the term. A woman of genius like the empress must have confidants and favourites who were fitted for undertakings in her name calculated to excite universal astonishment, to exhibit unbounded pomp, to devise and execute what was great and splendid, although the execution should be carried out by violent and even criminal means; Wasiltschikoff, therefore, only maintained his ascendancy for twenty-two months. Gregory's journey to Petersburg filled the empress with the greatest dread; it is true she caused him to be detained at Gatschina, but he set her at defiance, and Catharine negotiated. The empress spared Gregory, sought to win him over, and yielded to his demands, as she did afterwards to those of Potemkin, because she wished to employ the services of both against a party who was anxious to elevate her son to the throne, in the same manner as Jupiter is represented by Homer as availing himself of the hundred-handed Briareus against Juno and the other gods. He received immense sums of money, a marble palace, splendid services of plate, and was allowed to exhibit his wealth and his brutality at all the courts of Europe; he appeared however only twice in Petersburg.

The negotiations at Fokschan, which had been interrupted by Orloff's sudden departure, were indeed opened again in October in Bucharest, but as early as March (1773) the negotiators began to despair of the possibility of an agreement on the terms of a peace, and the war was renewed. The grand vizier was an able statesman, but neither inclined to, nor capable of, carrying on a war; he had however made excellent use of the time which was spent in negotiating at Fokschan and Bucharest, in order in some measure to restore discipline in his army, which had completely disappeared, and order and quiet in the kingdom. The grand vizier engaged the services of the French, who were no longer of any use in Poland, especially of those who had been sent from France and were deeply versed in the science of gunnery and engineering, in order to make the Turkish artillery at least serviceable, which it had not been before. The Turks were at this time again become masters of Egypt, which Ali Bey had

long governed as an independent state. The Russians and their fleet in the Archipelago proved not only unable to uphold Ali Pasha, but they were obliged to evacuate the island of Lemnos, which they had previously taken at great expenditure and loss. The same Capudan-Pasha, or high-admiral, who had gained such great renown by the reconquest of the islands and the restoration of the fleet, which had been nearly annihilated within a few years, had become seraskier of the Dardanelles and was to command a fleet in the Black Sea, now distinguished himself also by the eminent services which he rendered in the campaign on the Danube, when the grand vizier prudently delayed. General Weissmann had gained some advantages at Silistria, but had retreated, and the grand vizier in May sent one of the small divisions of his army against Kudschuk, where he gained an important victory, and made a prisoner of the younger brother of prince Repnin, well-known by his measures and conduct in Poland. Weissmann first took revenge upon the Turks for this victory by falling upon them by surprise at Karassu, on the 7th of June, and capturing sixteen pieces of cannon; Romanzoff next crossed the Danube and attacked Silistria with his whole force. The commander in Silistria was Hassan Pasha, high-admiral and seraskier of the Dardanelles; he succeeded in repulsing the Russians, who on this occasion suffered considerable loss. Hassan was rewarded with the title of *Ghazi*, or the *victorious*. In the following month the imprudence of the seraskier of Karassu gave the Russians an opportunity of surprising the Turks, who were encamped near Kainardsche, which led to their defeat and the loss of twenty-five pieces of cannon, whilst the Russians on their part had to deplore the loss of the brave general Weissmann. The two main armies, the one under the grand vizier and the other under Romanzoff, were now in the presence of each other; but the Turks sought to avoid a decisive engagement, although the grand vizier had appointed a most unusual number of new seraskiers, and had called Hassan Pasha, seraskier of the Dardanelles, to his head-quarters. Several Russian generals served under Romanzoff whose names were then known in foreign countries, but with which the world became better acquainted at the end of the century. Dolgorucki, the conqueror of the Tatars, was Romanzoff's second in command, and Suwarrow and Kamenskoi were each at the head of separate divisions. The Russians at that time exercised revolt-

ing cruelties, but were resolved to remain on the further side of the Danube till they had effected something decisive. A Russian division made a successful attack upon a portion of the Turkish army at Karassu on the 12th of October, but the grand vizier remained quietly in his camp at Shumna, because he had neither confidence enough in his generals nor in his troops to venture on a pitched battle. Three days after the defeat at Karassu, he was however fortunate enough to vanquish one of the three divisions of the Russian army, which was wasting the country whilst the two others under Ungern and Dolgorucki pushed forward in all haste to Varna, in order to take that city by storm. This attempt also proved unsuccessful, although the Russians had made good their entrance into the town; on this occasion they lost many of their men and some pieces of artillery; one division retreated upon Karassu and the other upon Ismail. Winter brought a cessation of hostilities; on the 24th of December 1773, sultan Mustapha died, and his successor Abdulhamet wisely retained the prudent and cautious grand vizier of his predecessor.

The new sultan might have concluded the most advantageous peace which the Turks could ever hope to obtain, and according to Von Hammer's account, he himself, his grand vizier, the other ministers, and the army in general were anxious for a peace; but the sultan had been unfortunately brought up in the pietism of Islam, and the Mahometan jesuits had much more influence with him than the advice of his wisest ministers, his own inclinations, and the representations of the Austrian and Prussian ministers. Pugatscheff's mad undertaking had no sooner given rise to an internal war in Russia, and the Poles shown a disposition to offer a continued resistance to the demands respecting their constitution, than Romanzoff offered to make the articles which had been previously signed by the Turks in Bucharest the foundations of the present peace; but according to Von Hammer, the theological jurists or ulemas would hear nothing of the proposal, and therefore the grand vizier was obliged to continue to carry on the war. He remained true to his defensive system and kept within his camp at Shumna till Romanzoff again crossed the Danube in June and took advantage of the unexampled disorder which reigned among the Turks. Towards the middle of June 1774, three divisions of Romanzoff's army crossed the Danube, and two of these, one

under Soltikoff and the other under Suwarrow and Kamenskoi, offered battle on the 20th to the two divisions of the Turkish army to which they were opposed, whilst Romanzoff himself remained in camp at Silistria. Soltikoff came into contact with Hassan Pasha Ghasi, seraskier of Kudschuk, whom he defeated after an obstinate and well-contested field, but Hassan retired in good order. Suwarrow and Kamenskoi, who attacked the Reis-Effendi in his camp at Koslidsche, gained a much easier victory. The Turks did not await the attack of the Russians; their whole army, consisting of 25,000 men, fell suddenly into disorder, forsook their standards and fled, as the Tatars had done on the Larga, and left the whole of their baggage and artillery in the hands of the astonished Russians. The panic or treachery which caused the rout of this division immediately afterwards infected the main body of the army.

The army of the grand vizier is said to have been 100,000 strong, but Romanzoff no sooner advanced to attack them than the whole cavalry fled directly to Constantinople and practised unspeakable cruelties\* by the way, so that, in order to be free from their depredations and violence, they were obliged to send them in all haste to Asia Minor. The European and Asiatic troops in the service of the grand vizier afterwards fought some regular battles, and the grand vizier presently found himself suddenly surrounded by the enemy in his camp at Shumna, and so completely cut off from his own troops that he could only obtain the means of life by the intervention of the Russians, and yet he could neither attack his enemies nor retreat from his position. Romanzoff and Panin, who then conducted Catharine's foreign affairs, had at that moment many political reasons to lead them to wish for an end to the war; Romanzoff therefore in Kudschuk Kainardsche, in July 1774, offered to agree to a peace on the same conditions on which it had been previously offered. The whole of Europe was now filled with the glory of Romanzoff and that of his empress; Poland and the Crimea were forgotten, and nothing was heard of but his magnanimity towards the Turks, although every one who reads the conditions stated in the note†,

\* Von Hammer, quoting an authority which we have not seen, relates, "that old men and women who were not fortunate enough to find safety in flight were put to death, those who escaped with life were dragged forth and trampled in the mud, and the soldiers dashed the heads of the children against the walls."

† All observations upon this treaty are rendered quite superfluous by the

and carefully compares them with the history of the following time, will perceive that the approaching dissolution of the Turkish empire was therein announced. Whilst Catharine in reality released Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, Budschiak and the Crimea from Turkey, and secured for her country the dominion of the Black Sea and the passage of the Dardanelles, she contrived to have her government magnified for its inexpressible magnanimity. Shortly before, her general Romanzoff had gained immortal honour throughout the whole of Christendom, for the most signal triumphs over the Moslem power which had been effected under the banner of the Cross since the days of Eugene. Moreover Potemkin took good care that the conditions of the treaty of Kudschuk Kainardsche, which had been concluded on the 17th of July 1774, should never be fulfilled.

About the time in which Poland was fully taken possession of by the Russians, and the empire of the Turks was threatened with destruction, an adventurer raised a commotion in the interior of the country which seemed to threaten the empress herself, but in reality only brought ruin on the educated part of the nation, because neither the originator of the rebellion,

last pages of Von Hammer's history. Every reader who wishes thoroughly to understand the subject, will do well to read the admirable remarks of this excellent historian. We shall here only call attention to the fact, that Von Hammer informs us that the grand vizier appointed the well-known and venal Greek renegade Resmi Ahmed as the first plenipotentiary in these negotiations, and then to an abstract of the conditions of the treaty in his words: he says, p. 443, "The treaty of peace contained twenty-eight articles and two secret ones, which related to the payment of 4,000,000 of roubles and the evacuation of the Archipelago. The first plenipotentiary and minister of the interior, Resmi Ahmed, in his considerations on the peace, only announces so much respecting the purport of these articles, that the grand vizier had at first authorized the plenipotentiaries to offer 20,000,000 roubles, and then consented to its being increased to 40,000,000. The articles which were published confirmed all those conditions which had been previously settled at Bucharest and in the congress of Fokschan, viz. the freedom of the Tatars in the Crimea, Bessarabia and Kuban, with the exception of the religious dependence of Islam; the restoration of all their conquered countries, except the harbours of Kertsch and Jenikale; the restoration of the Russian conquests in Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, Georgia, Mingrelia and in the Archipelago, with the exception of the two Kabartas, Asoph and Kilburus, and the release of all prisoners; *the free navigation of the sea of Marmora, the Black Sea, and the passage of the Dardanelles*; the greatest facilities and protection to all travellers, especially for the pilgrims to Jerusalem; the most honourable treatment of all ambassadors, consuls and interpreters; the mild administration of Wallachia and Moldavia was ensured by ten special conditions; therefore, properly speaking, the Tatars and the Crimea were withdrawn from the Porte, and Wallachia and Moldavia placed under Russian protection." The other conditions do not bear upon our object.

nor those who attached themselves to his cause, were in a condition to offer any permanent opposition to an organized power. Russian peasants and cosacks might be very suitable instruments for terrible devastations and the practice of enormous cruelties, and that indeed they proved themselves to be for a year and a half under Pugatscheff; but they were by no means fit elements to lay the foundation of a permanent revolution. The rebellion in Russia of which we are now about to speak had its origin in the circulation of a report, that Peter III. had escaped from the hands of his murderers; an opinion which, however absurd in itself, was maintained by distinguished Russians and ecclesiastics, to whom Catharine's philosophy, education, splendour and extravagance, and the insolence of her favourites were equally hateful. This opinion was taken advantage of by adventurers and deceivers in various parts of Russia and at various times, in order to excite temporary disturbances or to promote personal designs. It is said that four Russians and a native of Montenegro had made attempts at various times to pass themselves for Peter III. previous to that of Pugatscheff. Pugatscheff was more fortunate than his predecessors, and might have been very dangerous had he not preferred the character of a leader of bands of barbarians to that of an intelligent man and friend of the oppressed. During the two years of his dominion, he proved the worst friend to himself. He was a Don cosack who had originally served among his countrymen as a common soldier, and afterwards as an officer at the time of the conquest of Bender; at a later period he spent some time in Poland among monks and ecclesiastics, where his attention was at first called to his pretended resemblance to Peter III.\* Pugatscheff's countrymen, as well as almost all the other cosacks of the Don, belonged to the old orthodox party or Roskolniks of the Greco-Russian church; he no sooner returned than he found adherents among them, and

\* In reference to this portion of history, we occasionally adopt facts which have been established from other sources, but in general follow the report given by an eye-witness, entitled 'A True Account of the Rebel Jemelian Pugatscheff and of the Disturbances excited by him,' which is given at full length in Büsching's Magazine for Modern History and Geography, part xviii. pp. 5—50. The dreadful nature of this rebellion may be at once learned, without going into details, from the two lists which are given as a supplement to the account:—1. A list of the churches which were plundered by Pugatscheff and his rabble, which occupies three pages (52, 53, 54); and 2. A list of the persons who were murdered by Pugatscheff, occupying 25 pages,—a fearful catalogue of names.



in Malinkowka on the Wolga first began to give himself out for Peter III.

The Russians themselves paid very little attention at first to the follies which were exhibited by Pugatscheff on his first appearance. He was seized upon in Malinkowka and brought to Kasan, but his guards were so negligent of their duty, that he found means of escape and immediately endeavoured to collect a number of adherents among his friends the cosacks on the Wolga, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea. Pugatscheff remained on the banks of the river Jaïk, which since his time has been called the Uralsk, from the middle of the month of August 1773 till the 17th of September; he then appeared with 300 cosacks before the town of Jaizkoi, and published a manifesto addressed to the orthodox believers, and calling upon them to acknowledge him as Peter III. The number of his partisans speedily became very great; immense crowds of the rudest tribes collected around him; but the unheard-of and unprovoked and useless cruelties which they perpetrated deterred all respectable and educated persons who might have given some degree of importance to his cause from joining in his adventure. In the meantime Pugatscheff had collected an army of several thousand men, and a considerable number of cannon; but he besieged Orenburg without success from the beginning of October till the 9th of November, and another time afterwards.

Pugatscheff had no sooner defeated colonel Tschernitscheff, who had been sent against him in December, and afterwards general Carr, who was sent with a division to suppress the rebellion, than it began to be thought he would make rapid progress, but both he and his followers were utterly deficient in military capacity and in all sense of discipline and order. The peasants at first collected around this barbarian adventurer, who was half monk and half soldier, because he proclaimed their freedom, sanctioned the rude outbreaks of their barbarous nature, and gave them opportunities for robbery and plunder. His success against his first opponents encouraged him to push northwards, and he now caused money to be struck in his name, as if he were the lawful emperor. Bibikoff, to whom Catharine entrusted the command of the troops assembled from all quarters to act against the rebels, was slow and uncommonly cautious; he did not live to see the end of the war; but his subordinate com-

manders, Galitzin and Michelson, were proportionally more active. The rebellion assumed a dangerous aspect, because the Tatars, Kirghis and Baskirs seemed disposed to take advantage of the occasion to shake off the Russian yoke. The people rushed in crowds to the standard of the pretended Peter III., and many of the Poles who had been banished from their country joined in the rebellion only because it was raised against their tyrants. The people in and around Moscow itself were anxiously looking for the near approach of the rebels, in order to break out. During Bibikoff's illness, and up till the time of the nomination of a new commander-in-chief, Michelson appeared to have put an end to the rebellion, but it suddenly broke out again more violently than before.

Michelson defeated the rebels six or seven times in the field between the beginning of March and the end of May; Pugatscheff's partisans were routed, and he himself being hotly pursued and accompanied only with some hundreds of followers, fled to the lake of Arga and wandered about in the Ural mountains. At this time Panin had received the chief command of the imperial army and strengthened himself by reinforcements; Pugatscheff, nevertheless, presented himself anew, and wherever he appeared collected an army. On the 4th of June 1774 he suffered a new defeat on the Ufa, and again fled to the Ural; but he no sooner returned again from the mountains in the beginning of July, than he found himself at the head of 22,000 men. It then appeared as if all the Russian vassals would unite in his cause, with a view to deliver themselves from their condition of feudal bondage; but at this very time he committed three grand oversights, which made his downfall unavoidable. He excited the indignation of all who did not belong to the common rabble, by setting no bounds or measure to the savage and cannibal cruelties which were perpetrated by his followers, who resembled ravening wolves; as a Roskolnik and rude barbarian, he enraged the clergy and laity by the destruction, plunder and burning of churches and convents; and thirdly, at the decisive moment he gave a wrong direction to his army. He should have made every effort to reach Moscow before Michelson overtook him, for there was the seat of the old Russian faith and prejudices which he wished to restore; whereas, instead of that he marched upon Kasan. He succeeded in con-

quering this city, formerly the capital of a Tatar kingdom; but when he found himself unable to reduce the castle he laid waste everything with fire and sword, and delayed in that city till Michelson came up and compelled him to retire precipitately beyond the Wolga.

He escaped from Michelson's pursuit, and on his retreat to the Wolga burnt and destroyed all before him, wasted the cultivated land like a stream of lava, and again assembled a new army of 20,000 men. The severest blow was inflicted upon the industrious and moral colonies of Moravian brethren on the Wolga, who at that time formed a species of German colony under Russian protection. In Saratow this monster caused all those who came in his way to be murdered without distinction; but his fate and a speedy vengeance overtook him at the siege of Zaritzim. On the 22nd of August Michelson approached, compelled the barbarians to raise the siege of Zaritzim, and to have recourse to a precipitate flight; on the 24th they were overtaken by the Russians, defeated, cut down, or scattered. Pugatscheff was completely separated from his followers; accompanied by only sixty of his most faithful partisans, he swam over the Wolga, and found safety on the further side in a desert 500 versts in extent, but was there cut off from all connexion with any inhabited countries. The Russians notwithstanding were only able to get possession of him by treachery; they won over some of the cossacks who were made prisoners, among whom was Pugatscheff's best friend Antizoff, released them from their imprisonment, and sent them over the Wolga to deceive their friend and to take some opportunity of mastering his person. This opportunity of seizing upon their leader and friend did not offer itself till November, when they took him by surprise, bound him, and conveyed him to Gorodeck in the Ural, a place where Antizoff's tribe was the most powerful. They afterwards delivered him up to the Russians in Simbirsk, who immediately conveyed him like a beast of prey to Moscow, where he was executed in January 1775, and mutilated in the most cannibal manner.

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## CHAPTER IV.

GERMANY.—JOSEPH II. AND FREDERICK II. TILL THE ALLIANCE OF THE GERMAN PRINCES.—BAVARIA AND THE JESUITS.

## § I.

ABOLITION OF THE ORDER OF THE JESUITS.—INTERNAL  
CONDITION OF BAVARIA.—REACTION.

THE abolition of the order of the jesuits, the account of whose expulsion from Portugal and from those countries ruled by the house of Bourbon has been already related in the earlier part of this history, seems to me especially to belong to German history, because it was the means of opening a way for the entrance of the spirit of the eighteenth century into Germany, and even into the most catholic portions of the empire. The facts will show that the progress of events, and therefore the eternal wisdom of God, and not a philosophical cabal, has deprived the order of those temporal supports which neither the declamation of modern sophists, nor the princes who have restored the order, will ever be able to secure for it again. These supports were the exclusive dominion over all education, immense wealth and possessions, and an unlimited power over the princes and aristocracy by means of the confessional. One of those able state sophists\* who have attempted in our century to confer on falsehood the attractive form of truth, in order afterwards to revel at the tables of the great, alleges, with particular reference to Austria, "That the expulsion of the order of the jesuits was an *unhappy mistake*, devised by *faithless councillors*, conceived by *weak heads*, and resolved upon from unworthy *motives* (these indeed Gentz knew perfectly), and partly from *false policy*, or *ignoble fear* of man (Gentz and his fellows alone were familiar with *noble feelings*);" it will therefore necessarily advance our object, to touch upon those facts in German history which will prove that the very opposite of all this is the truth.

In spite of the bombast just quoted, facts will abundantly show, that the revolution by which the catholic states of Germany were withdrawn from a secret government, and their pro-

\* Gentz, in his 'Observations to Schneller,' 'Influence of Austria,' &c.

per distinction restored to their native princes, was not effected by the philosophers, by Diderot and Voltaire,—for it was precisely the scholars of the French, Frederick and Catharine, who protected the jesuits even against the pope,—but that it was brought about by the most pious among the catholics themselves. The most prominent persons in setting bounds to the power and influence of the jesuits in Germany were the noble and learned suffragan-bishop von Hontheim, the very bigoted princess Maria Theresa, the ecclesiastical princes, such as the archbishop of Mayence, and those who showed the most exaggerated honours to the saints, their miracles and relics, such as the elector of Bavaria; and it will appear that steps were taken by the above-named princes with this view before any one ventured to entertain a hope of the abolition of the order. It was not the mere prattlers and court sophists, who can be easily bribed with orders, rank, money and luxuries, but the strictest sect of the catholics, the jansenists, such as Arnould and Pascal, who had taken up arms against the dangerous sophistry of the order in the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth they found their chief opponents in the orthodox canonists, such as Tanucci and Campomanes, when the order and the pope wished to renew the bulls *Unigenitus* and *In cæna Domini*. These learned theologians at length roused the attention of the honourable and truly pious Germans, but who, alas! always suffer themselves to be again speedily thrown into a state of slumber by the apparently pious verbosity of hypocrites and knaves, and by the intentional obscurity or systematic delusions of high-sounding phrases.

We have mentioned in the note\* the events which took place after the occupation of Ponte Corvo and Benevento, and of Avignon and Venaissin in other states, in the time of Clement XIII., when the pope undertook the protection of the jesuits and their system in opposition to the demands of the spirit of the age and that of the temporal monarchies. Even Maria Theresa

\* The Neapolitans at that time fitted out an army to deprive the pope by force of Castro and Ronciglione. The duke of Modena, after having abolished several convents, wished to secularise sixteen others and to take possession of Ferrara: Venice and Naples condemned the bull *In cæna Domini*, and Tanucci announced as his opinion, that the pope was nothing more than any other bishop. The parliament of Paris resolved in *full session* that the brief against Parma was unjust, affecting the honour and opposed to the laws of all temporal sovereignty, and ought therefore to be suppressed. The grand-master of Malta abolished the order of the jesuits and drove them out of the island.

adopted similar measures in Lombardy. Joseph, who was then co-regent with his mother, and the minister Kaunitz were quite agreed in opinion respecting the jesuits; the empress was the more disposed to listen to their advice, as Van Swieten also, who possessed her entire confidence, was of the same opinion as Joseph with regard to the pope. It was then resolved, that all the rights which the pope and bishops had hitherto exercised over the persons and properties of the clergy should be withdrawn, and for the future be transferred to a high commission, to be named in Milan for this express purpose. The Venetians also adopted this law during the papacy of Benedict XIV., but afterwards repealed it: other measures were adopted in Milan at the same time, which were not less inimical to the prevailing system exercised by the pope through the instrumentality of the jesuits. All ecclesiastical possessions which had been gained since 1722 were obliged to be sold, and all the imperial subjects in Lombardy were strictly forbidden to seek for favours of any kind in Rome, with the exception of letters of indulgence, without first receiving the sanction of the temporal authorities. The attention of the whole of Germany was at this very time awakened by a work published by one of its most pious and learned prelates, in which it was shown that the jesuitical system of church government as it had been established in Trent was false, and had been brought into application for the ruin of Germany, which was thereby reduced to a state of subjection to Rome, and tormented and harassed by nunciatures.

John Nicolas von Hontheim, suffragan-bishop of Treves and bishop *in partibus*, did for Germany what Campomanes had done for Spain and the French parliaments for France,—he showed that the papal claims bore precisely the same relation to the rights of the church as the Byzantine laws which had been there introduced bore to those of Germany. This noble-minded man, whose refutation or condemnation the jesuits and the pope attempted in vain to accomplish, performed the same services with respect to canon law, which in our days another worthy, learned and christian bishop (von Wessemberg\*) has undertaken to render to the ecclesiastical history of the fifteenth century and by means of that history. Von Hontheim lived to see the sup-

\* [Von Wessemberg was coadjutor bishop of Constance, and member of the upper chamber in Baden: his consecration was never sanctioned by the pope, and the see dissolved: he is still alive.—TRANS.]

pression of an order which constituted the main pillar of a building which was powerfully shaken by his writings; for he survived till 1790, and arrived at the extraordinary age of ninety. In the year 1765, under the name of Justinus Febronius, he published a learned work\*, in which he laid down the principles of the canon law as opposed to the principles of the jesuits, and supported his views by the authorities of the church. This book was greeted as if it had been a new gospel in all those catholic countries which had been oppressed and exhausted by Rome; all the governments at once readily acknowledged and did homage to the ecclesiastical rights of the ancient church as therein announced, rights which are now again denied and persecuted in every university. The work has been so often published, and so frequently and variously attacked and defended, that its fate would form a history of itself; it may suffice here to remark, that Camomanes in Spain, in his denunciation of the papal brief directed against the duke of Parma, appealed to Febronius, and that a special edition of the book itself was published in Portugal. In Germany the most distinguished canonists of their age, Stoch, Oberhäuser, Riegger and others, defended this system which opposed the usurpations of the pope, and Joseph adopted it as the basis of his radical ecclesiastical reforms. True it is, that pope Clement XIII. had recourse to all allowable and unallowable means to obtain a recantation, by which in such cases the difficulty of a solid refutation is avoided, of which the opponents do not feel themselves capable. The Bavarian jesuit Ferdinand Söhr, confessor of Clement archbishop of Treves and Augsburg, left nothing undone or unattempted to secure success, and the

\* This work was printed in Portugal, Spain and Italy, after appearing in repeated editions in Germany. Its object was to defend the constitution of the church as it existed before the council of Trent, against the usurped power of the bishops of Rome. Its title was as follows: 'Justinii Febronii jurisconsulti de statu præsentis ecclesiæ et legitima potestate Romani pontificis liber singularis ad reuniendos dissidentes in religione christiana compositus.' The first edition appeared in 1765, in Bouillon 4to, and it was afterwards increased in several editions till it reached five parts. Because it was generally alleged that this work contained a development of the views of the Gallican church, the archbishop of Paris, who was a friend of the jesuits, sent to Clement of Saxony, elector of Treves and bishop of Augsburg, an opinion of the French clergy, stating that this belief was erroneous; the same was proved to the catholic duke Louis Eugene of Wirtemberg. The aged Hontheim, in order to enjoy peace and quiet, then published a recantation so called; but that it had really very little of that character is proved by a publication of Hontheim's, Frankfort, 1781, 4to, entitled, 'Justinii Febronii, jurisconsulti, commentarius in suam retractationem Pio VI. pont. max. kalend. Novembris submissam.'

aged man was at length so harassed and tormented that he published an explanation which sounded somewhat like a recantation. The party of the jesuits alone laid any stress upon this recantation, as is usual in such cases, because Von Hontheim himself, in a work afterwards printed, showed that he was still convinced of the justice and correctness of what he had alleged in 1765.

The jesuits at that time had brought matters to such a state, that even Charles Theodore of the Palatinate and Maximilian, Joseph of Bavaria, who were surrounded by the order and supported its interests in every way, began to give ear to the universal complaint, that the jesuits would not accommodate the instruction of the youth entrusted to them to the spirit of the age, and were more zealously devoted to the service of the pope than to that of their country and their princes. The celebrated name of their order, to which the jesuits always appealed, could only deceive the multitude, who to the present day suffer themselves to be easily deceived by the shadow of a name. In Bavaria even the jesuit Stadler, the former tutor of the elector, in connexion with all the Obscurists, was unable to prevent the erection of an academy in the electorate in 1758. The academy maintained itself against Stadler's cabals in 1759, and he was obliged to retire to Ingolstadt. The influence of the jesuits was therefore no longer sufficient to prevent the spirit of the century from becoming powerful even in Bavaria, without any accusations being brought against those men who, in opposition to the jesuits, were zealous in favour of the introduction of a better style and a new orthography, as well as for a better system of theology and canon law. We could mention the names of no inconsiderable number of persons, who till the year 1770, when it again began to become obscure, were protected by the elector against the jesuits, worked diligently in the spirit of the age in Bavaria, and joyfully greeted the new intellectual life of our nation which was then awaking: a few examples may suffice.

Ferdinand Sterzinger, a native of the Tyrol, undertook to play the character of Thomasius in Bavaria, and to put an end to all prosecutions for witchcraft; the consequence was that he was persecuted on all hands, reviled and defamed by the jesuits, and protected by the elector alone. The necessity of this interference with the superstitions of the time, and this abuse of law and justice, may be learned from the fact that in the years 1750—



1756, among other persons condemned, two girls of thirteen years of age were executed as witches. The influence of Peter von Osterwald under Maximilian Joseph is of still greater importance, in reference to the anti-jesuitical, and consequently the anti-papistical and anti-hierarchical spirit of a monarchical age, and in a German country devoted to the jesuits. Osterwald was privy councillor and secret referendary of the elector, who in 1769 erected a college of canon law in Munich, of which he appointed Osterwald director, expressly with the view of preserving and administering the rights of the sovereign in spiritual things. The effect was an attempt to compel the monks and parochial clergy, to contribute some portion of their superfluity to the necessities of the state. Instead of tithes, which were difficult to be collected, the convents were to pay regular contributions; the sum was fixed which a monk or a nun was to bring to the convent, and at the same time the number of the novices who might be received was determined. The administration of criminal justice exercised by the convents, which had given rise to the greatest cruelties within their walls, was abolished.

In the same spirit in which Von Hontheim had written, and like him under a feigned name, Osterwald, under the signature of Veremund von Lochstein, wrote a book entitled, 'Reasons for and against Clerical Immunity,' in order to defend the cause of the poor peasants against the idle clergy and hierarchs, who contributed nothing from their estates. This book was indeed condemned by the bishop of Freisingen, and the spiritual courts in Munich itself caused notices to be stuck on the church doors denouncing it as heretical; the elector however publicly sanctioned it. The college of canon law and its director afterwards limited the system of jesuit church government wheresoever they could. No spiritual decrees or powers were to be regarded as valid, whencesoever they might come, till they were approved of by the ecclesiastical college of the government; commissioners appointed by the crown were to be present at the election of prelates; no one was allowed to take the vows of any order till he was five-and-twenty years old; and finally, no order was permitted to be in connexion with any other order whatsoever whose members resided in a foreign country: this last condition indeed was not strictly observed.

The jesuits, who had previously been condemned in France as fraudulent traders, were afterwards declared to be enemies of the

temporal governments in Germany by the electors of Mayence and Bavaria, because they presumed to set the book of cardinal Bellarmine 'On the Power of the Pope,' in opposition to the wise ordinances of the authorities of Bavaria and Mayence. The jesuits published Bellarmine's work in Mayence in Latin, and in Bavaria in a German translation, but its sale was prohibited by the government in both countries, and the following passage is characteristic of the decree which was specially issued on the subject by the elector of Mayence: "The principles contained in this work are not only calculated but intended to undermine the power of temporal princes, to limit the power of the bishops, to encourage subjects to oppose their rulers, to expose the life and government of princes to danger, to disturb the general quiet, and to introduce universal disorder and sedition."

The dominion of the jesuits however would not have been seriously endangered, had not the emperor Joseph entered into an alliance with the Spanish ministers and with Choiseul, to induce Clement XIV. to release Christendom from the oppression of an order who possessed the key to all secrets, had the distribution of all places in their power, and reckoned among their associates persons of all ranks; because, according to the statutes, persons might still remain in the world and enjoy all the benefits and privileges of the order. It is said that Clement XIII. perceived towards the close of his life that he would be obliged to make some concessions to the spirit of the age, especially with respect to the jesuits; but the accounts on which most reliance may be placed vary much from one another in speaking of the last year of the pope's life, and his feelings and conduct on this subject. The jesuits say that Clement, harassed by annoyances, and especially by the seizure and confiscation of the possessions of the church by the Bourbons, steadfastly rejected all demands for reforms, and had recourse to prayers alone: cardinal Caraccioli, on the other hand, in his 'Life of Pope Clement XIV.' states, that he had seen and recognised the necessity of being reconciled with the Bourbons, and appointed a secret consistory to effect this purpose, when he was suddenly carried off by apoplexy on the 2nd of February 1769.

In these circumstances the choice of a new pope would necessarily be decisive as respects the order, because the Bourbon courts made its abolition, which wholly depended on the personal feel-

ings of the pope, a condition of the restoration of those estates which had been taken by violence from the church, and of their further recognition of the pope as the supreme pastor in their kingdoms. Joseph II. was accidentally in Rome during the conclave, and co-operated the more zealously to promote the election of a man not unfavourably disposed towards the Bourbon courts, as he, in the character of co-regent of Austria, wrote a letter to Choiseul in January of the following year (1770), in which he vehemently expresses his dislike to the jesuits, and his dissatisfaction at the preference which his mother had always shown for the order. In one of Joseph's letters published in 1822, which bear all the internal marks of being genuine, he writes to the French minister as follows: "Do not reckon too confidently on my mother; a regard for the jesuits has become hereditary in the house of Hapsburg; Clement XIV. himself has proofs of it. Kaunitz however is your friend (Choiseul's), and he is all-powerful with the empress; he is quite of your opinion and of that of the marquis of Pombal respecting the abolition of the jesuits, and is a man who never leaves things half-done." These words are the more deserving of a place in this history, because the empress, notwithstanding her preference for the order, was at length obliged to yield to the force of general opinion. Pressed on all sides, she was obliged to restrict the privileges of the jesuits with respect to public instruction, and Migazzi, archbishop of Vienna, who was undoubtedly no friend of enlightenment, was compelled on this occasion to come forward against the order. Migazzi did not dare openly to defy public opinion and to maintain the dominion of the jesuits in the university of Vienna.

The complaints against the condition of the university under the direction of the jesuits had long previously induced the empress to order inquiries and an investigation to be made, first through cardinal Trautson, and secondly by Migazzi, and in both cases the complaints had been proved to be well-founded. Migazzi was now entrusted with full powers to cause these abuses to be reformed through the instrumentality of a commission: in the discharge of this duty he paid no attention to the claim which the jesuits put forward as to their exclusive right to the administration of the university, but he at once proceeded to exclude their rector, and selected an Augustinian and a Theatinian monk as members of the commission. He justified this surprising step afterwards by the following remarkable declaration: "that he

had been prevented from granting this concession to the jesuits by the power of the empress (Maria Theresa), and by the open resistance of all the *grandees* of the court." The empress also deprived them of the privilege of the censorship of the press, which placed the whole literature of the country under their control, and conferred it upon the noble-minded and enlightened Van Swieten, who associated a canon with himself in order to assist in the duties of this important function. The Latin grammar of their Portuguese brother Alvarez, which had been introduced and retained by the jesuits, was in like manner dispossessed, and it was strictly forbidden to make any use of the works of the jesuitical casuists Tamburin, Gobat, Busenbaum and La Croix.

Had Migazzi been in earnest in the cause of religion and science, the empress Maria Theresa would have proceeded still further; but pope Clement XIII. and the jesuits found means to gain him over. The pope created him a cardinal, and permitted him to possess one of the richest bishoprics in Hungary (Waizen) along with the archbishopric of Vienna, and from that time forward he became one of the most zealous friends of the jesuits. There can be no doubt of the hatred which he afterwards felt for Joseph's reforms, because he was obliged to give up the bishopric of Waizen, as the emperor would not allow a richly endowed diocese to be deprived of a chief pastor in order that a cardinal might revel in luxuries. Migazzi therefore attempted also in his own interest and in that of the pope to prevail upon Maria Theresa to have Von Hontheim's (Febronius) hated book upon canon law condemned: in this attempt however he was unsuccessful; for the character, dignity and rank of the noble-minded suffragan inspired the empress with respect, and Van Swieten convinced her, that she, as a ruler, ought not to condemn, but to protect the work. It is no wonder therefore that Migazzi, on the death of Clement XIII., when the question of the jesuits was at issue, assailed the empress on her weak and vulnerable side, and represented the jesuits as martyrs for the defence of that description of religion, which the Migazzis everywhere profess, against the infidel philosophy of the age.

Migazzi appears to have employed the same absurd and plausible reasons in favour of the jesuits which are now used in favour of men and women, who resemble them by referring in favour of the schools of the jesuits to the *celebrated* teachers, as they are called, of their institutions, and to the *celebrated* persons who have

been educated in them, as an argument in favour of the gymnasiums and universities. Whenever Maria Theresa was eagerly urged to abolish the order of the jesuits, she was accustomed to have recourse to the trivial plea, that she could not comprehend how an order could be regarded as destructive and godless to which so many pious, estimable and learned men belonged. The estimation in which the order was held by the empress is also proved in the 'Memoirs' of a certain abbé (Georgel), who, as confidant of the French ambassador (Rohan) in Vienna, was a devoted jesuit, and was obliged to be so on account of the conduct of the wary cardinal to whom he was attached. He states that Maria Theresa, when persuaded to act against the jesuits, always answered, "that she was convinced the rulers of Portugal and Parma, as well as the Bourbons, must have had good reasons for their conduct towards the jesuits; but for her part she had nothing but praise to bestow upon the order in consequence of their behaviour in her own states, and must equally approve of the zeal of the order and the conduct of its members; that she therefore regarded the existence of the order as a blessing to her people, and very important for the cause of religion, and would continue to maintain and protect it." The views of her son Joseph were very different. In his letters written at that time he warmly expressed his convictions, that not only the jesuits, but that religious orders in general were opposed to the demands of the life of modern times. In the spirit of this conviction he used his best endeavours in Rome, during the conclave after the death of Clement XIII., to promote the plans of cardinal Bernis and the Bourbon courts.

The contest was at length brought to a close in May 1769, by the election of Lorenzo Ganganelli to the dignity of pope. The new pope was a man of moderate and reasonable views, but secured his election by promising the abolition of the order of the jesuits to its enemies, and its maintenance secretly to their friends. As pope he assumed the name of Clement XIV., and immediately endeavoured to delay the fulfilment of his promise respecting the abolition by doing everything in his power to appease and soften the feelings of the courts towards the jesuits and their papism. The new pope saw no means of preventing a formal revolution in the church, an annihilation of papal usurpation, and a complete fulfilment of the wishes of the Gallican church and the views of Febronius, except that of concession to the

Bourbons. He might perhaps have cunningly escaped the necessity of abolishing the order in Italy, had not the courts of Naples, France and Spain unconditionally insisted upon this point, and kept possession of Benevento, Ponte Corvo, Avignon and Venaissin till the order was actually and formally abolished. Clement XIV. had come to an understanding with Portugal as early as the beginning of the year 1770: he put an end to the yearly reading of the anti-monarchical bull *In cœna Domini*, raised Pombal's brother to the dignity of a cardinal, although he had caused Febronius' book to be printed and circulated in Portugal, and recognised his opinions as the genuine principles of canon law, and also appeased the duke of Parma. Clement XIV. formally recalled the offensive admonitory and threatening brief which his predecessor had issued against Parma; but Aranda and the French ministers insisted absolutely upon the complete abolition of the order.

Public opinion was at that time so hostile to the order and the king of Spain so deeply incensed, that even Pompadour's death and Choiseul's removal caused no delay in the overthrow and downfall of the jesuits. The miserable duc d'Aiguillon, who received the portfolio of foreign affairs in 1771, as well as his king, was a zealous friend of the jesuits, as was likewise prince Rohan and his confidant Georgel, who had the charge of affairs in Vienna; but they were all compelled, against their will and inclination, to urge on the abolition of the order. It came finally to that point, that even the pope had resolved to accede to the abolition of the order before Maria Theresa could be persuaded to approve of the design. All the efforts of her son and her most confidential minister were in vain; she paid no attention to Rohan's representations; and finally, Charles III. of Spain was obliged to address her in an autograph letter, written in a vehement, and at the same time excited tone; but that also produced no effect. The confidant of prince and afterwards cardinal Rohan, who at a later period defended him on account of his scandalous prosecutions, informs us that the pope himself was obliged to put an end to the connexion between the empress and the jesuits by his spiritual authority\*; and in this point the writer is well

\* The abbé Georgel informs us that the pope in his letter had assailed the aged woman on her weakest side, and had represented to her that by offering a further and obstinate resistance to the church she was laying a burthen upon her own conscience, "for that the church was clothed with authority, and held the keys of life and death in its hands." Hereupon the empress, deeply af-

entitled to credit, to which he has in other respects very little claim.

The pope was no sooner certain of the concurrence of all the catholic powers, than he began to take some steps towards the abolition of the order, by proceeding, in October 1772, in his character of prince of the states of the church, to shut up the seminary in Rome. The building was taken possession of in the morning by soldiers, and the commission, which consisted of three cardinals, announced their dismissal to teachers and pupils, availing themselves of the pretext that the institution was involved in debts. The seminary at Frascati was abolished in a similar manner in December, and in February cardinal Malvezzi, archbishop of Bologna, began the struggle with the jesuits of his diocese, who continued in vain to resist the dissolution which was impending over them till March of this year. The same course was pursued in Ferrara, the March of Ancona, and other places in the states of the church. After having taken these steps in the character of a temporal prince, the pope at length began to act as head of the church. The long brief respecting the general abolition of the order, which was written in May and June, was signed by the pope as early as the 23rd of July 1773, but it was not published to Christendom till the 19th of August.

The order of the jesuits was abolished over the whole world by this celebrated brief, in the same way as the order of knights templars had been suppressed in the fourteenth century. The brief was denominated *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, and in its commencing words a very witty and pointed application, resulting from the disputes and dissensions caused by the jesuits in all countries, was made to the salutation of the jesuits,—“Peace be with you” (*Pax vobiscum*). Colletta, in his own cutting style, calls this brief a master-piece of Romish cunning and subtlety\*, and

fected, answered that she could never be brought to determine to suppress the jesuits in her states, but that since his holiness deemed the abolition of the order necessary, she, as a true daughter of the church, would offer no further opposition, and was prepared to give all due publicity and force to the bull for the abolition as soon as it appeared.

\* Storia del Reame di Napoli, vol. i. p. 97: “Poscia il pontefice mantenendo le date promesse, et ripensando che l'appena sopita discordia nacque o fu insaspita da' casi della compagnia di Gesu cedette alle continuate istanze de' principi e pubblicò un breve che ne confermava la cacciata. Il qual breve era dello stile ingannevole di Roma, quasi mostrando che il pontefice per evitare il peggio piegasse alla prepotenza de' principi; ma cotesti principi dissimularono quella pontificale scaltrezza, ora superbi per la potenza, ora paurosi de' preti per coscienza.”

several of the chief complaints against the order, which we shall proceed briefly to notice, are not once named, openly at least, in the document which pronounces their abolition. They were blamed for their despotic system and their method of instruction, which was much more calculated to obstruct than promote the progress of the learner, and was exclusively designed for the exercise of the memory. They were accused of extending the dominion of the order over all countries, places and ranks, through the instrumentality of affiliated laymen; of maintaining a system of espionage, and revealing the secrets of the confessional; of the abuse of confessions and absolution; and of the destruction of all genuine faith and pure morality by their casuistry. These were connected with other accusations, which may be briefly embraced in a single sentence; they were accused of having erected an *imperium in imperio* with immense possessions and under foreign authorities in all countries and kingdoms, which was governed through blind obedience, founded upon blind faith, and imposed perpetual blindness as a duty upon its citizens. The papal brief was cunningly silent respecting all such abuses as those which yet prevail in Italy and other catholic countries, in which the people blindly cleave to the religion of the middle ages, and priests profess to be able to open and shut the gates of the kingdom of heaven for money and fair words. If however the general and the higher officers of the order were severely dealt with, this arose from the belief that the jesuits would still prove more cunning than the papal curia. The general and his assistants were arrested and prosecuted, because it was alleged they had destroyed or concealed papers which were most important for the secret history of the order, and contrived to transfer their debts to the authorities rather than the expected wealth.

The words of Joseph II., or a passage quoted from one of his letters written to Aranda immediately after the abolition of the order, may show what opinion ought to be entertained of the detestable sophists of our times, who employ their talents and the philosophy of the schools to make truth out of falsehood and virtue out of vice. One of the most celebrated legal sophists\*

\* In reference to that description of writers who at the present day, as is well known, convert the whole of literature, philosophy and history into a splendid and clever lie, a French writer uses the following words, which are strikingly characteristic of the Schlegels, Gentzses, et *id. genus omne*: "Un de ceux qui font aujourd'hui de la servilité idéale comme jadis on composoit l'âge d'or de la liberté."



of the nineteenth century brings forward in favour of the jesuits one of those traditionary reasons which have always been adduced by students; he presumes to regard the voice of the students as the voice of God, at the very time in which the governments which honoured and paid him for his sophisms and gave him splendid entertainments and delicacies, to which he attached especial value, were everywhere persecuting students on account of their inclinations and disinclinations for certain persons. He says: "*The students of the jesuits clung most tenaciously to the church. Is it possible to say anything more honourable or advantageous to the society than this\*?*" On the other hand, the emperor Joseph, amongst many other things, writes as follows to count Aranda, who was at that time Spanish ambassador in Paris†: "Clement XIV. has gained for himself permanent renown by the abolition of the order of the jesuits; its name will in future only be mentioned in the history of controversies and of Jansenism. . . . The synedrium of these sons of Loyola had made it the first object of their plans to promote the glory of their order and the extension of their greatness, and the darkness of all the rest of the world. . . . Their intolerance was the cause of Germany being obliged to endure all the miseries of the thirty years' war. Their principles have deprived the Henrys of France of their lives and crown, and were the cause of the scandalous revocation of the edict of Nantes," &c. &c.

The abolition of the order of the jesuits moreover operated precisely in the same manner in Bavaria, and in the other blind countries of the catholic or rather ecclesiastical states of Germany, as the removal of the archbishop of Cologne a few years ago,—the darkness became thicker than before. The ex-jesuits, now become martyrs, proved more dangerous and pernicious in the form of an opposition which creeps into secret societies and assumes a thousand Protean forms, than they had previously been as a dominant and envied power. The dominion of the

\* In the sentence following in his text, the *vox* of the students, which, as is very well known, is not *vox populi*, and still less *vox Dei*, is elevated to the latter. What would the sophist and his table companions have said, if the *Burschenschaft*, who also had their church, which they so cruelly persecuted, had brought forward the same defence for themselves which is here so decisively alleged in favour of the jesuits?

† The letter to Choiseul above quoted stands among the letters of Joseph II. as a characteristic appendix to the history of the life and government of this never-to-be-forgotten autocrat (never before printed). Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1822, p. 11, &c. The letter here quoted to Aranda will be found at p. 14.

order over the multitude, as it always was and will remain, may be easily explained. The jesuits connected the whole life and vanity of the learned, as well as the happiness of a future state, with the mere exercise of the memory, cold understanding and mechanical devotions, of which every human being is more or less capable, and at the same time gave sufficient play to the flights of imagination and to empty superstition. We learn not only from Gentz in the passage already quoted, but from a witness whose testimony is above all suspicion, and whom we quote with greater satisfaction as he was an eye-witness of the abolition of the order, who proves to us to what an incredible extent the jesuits were able to lead the noblest youthful minds into fanaticism. The letter, from which we shall give an extract in the note, was written by Reinhold from the seminary of the jesuits to his father; this is the same Reinhold who afterwards became son-in-law of Wieland and a protestant, and was the first interpreter and disseminator of Kant's philosophy in Germany. It will be seen from the letter that even this admirable and distinguished genius would have been withdrawn from and lost to his country through the jesuits\*, had not the pope, by the abolition of the

\* Karl Leonhard Reinhold's 'Leben und litterarisches Wirken,' &c. &c. Jena, 1825. In p. 13 there is a most interesting and attractive notice of the method by which jesuitical (and also pietistic) education operates upon the minds of the young. This is contained in the account given by Reinhold, then fifteen years of age, of the abolition of the order of the jesuits in Vienna, and of the impression which this made upon him and his school-fellows. The letter is dated Probus near Santa Anna, Sept. 13, 1773. Among other matters, he relates, that their (the novices) dismissal was announced to them, and we shall quote the passage, which shows the manner in which children are terrified by superstition and fanaticism, robbed of their first and holiest natural feelings, and how that attachment to the order so much boasted of by Gentz, or rather to its distant and foreign superiors, was put in their stead. We select only single passages as examples of jesuitical instruction: p. 9..... "But as the law of love, as our teacher reminds us, always bound me to my holy rule, I did not dare with affection and heart to think upon you and my parental home, which can in no otherwise be done without a violation of the rule, than with a view to remember parents and those connected with them in prayer. A christian so zealous as you are, my dearest papa, knows almost as well as an ecclesiastic, that *there are more holy bonds than those of sinful nature*, and that a man who is dead to the flesh and born to the spirit can, properly speaking, have no other father than his heavenly one, and no other mother than his holy order, no other relations than his brethren in Christ, and no other country than heaven. Dependence on flesh and blood, as all spiritual teachers unite in affirming, is one of the strongest chains which Satan forges to bind us to this earth. I have had a struggle with this hereditary enemy of our perfection yesterday evening, during the night, and the whole of this morning, which was scarcely less arduous than that which I was obliged to encounter in the very commencement of my ecclesiastical career. Every moment the

order, released him from the unnatural bonds of a superstitious dread of the Almighty, and again restored him to the natural exercise and freedom of the human mind.

It was principally the jesuits who, under Leopold and Francis, destroyed all the fruits of Joseph's exertions and labours in Austria, and true to the spirit of the casuistry which they had learned in their order, they continued to offer a hypocritical homage to enlightenment during the reign of Joseph, and distinguished themselves under the following reigns by a foul system of espionage, calumny and accusations. A few examples may serve to illustrate this remark. The cunning professor Hoffman, who was an ex-jesuit, pretended to be such a friend of the light of the new age under Joseph, that he crept into favour with the Illuminati, and became a scandalous spy and common informer under Leopold II. Haschka, the ex-jesuit, was distinguished under Joseph as a poet, and a man of clear and vigorous understanding; under Leopold he was engaged in tracking out and denouncing all those who were partisans of the French revolution. Carl Hofstätter, formerly high-steward of the prince Von Lichtenstein, councillor Gotthardy, and other ex-jesuits, were the men who, under the reigns of Leopold II. and Francis II., in their zeal for the monarchy, calumniated and accused the most honourable men in their scandalous journals till they deprived them of their freedom or life, in the same manner as their contemporary Marat, in his fanatical rage for democracy, by means of his attacks and calumnies in the 'Friend of the People,' plunged noble-minded and honourable men into destruction. Migazzi was at least an open defender of the jesuits, even under Joseph, who deprived him of the bishopric of Waizen; he was therefore peculiarly favoured by Pius VI., because the latter protected and promoted the ex-jesuits wherever and however he was able. Besides, since the time of his embassy in Spain, Migazzi had been well known as a wolf in sheep's clothing. Having himself previously found the jesuits guilty and excluded them from the management of the university of Vienna, in consequence of the abuses which they had introduced or allowed to continue, he wrote as follows to pope Clement XIV. immediately after the abolition of the order:—

tempter brought up before my mind and charmed me with the images of my father and mother, my brothers and sisters, my uncles and aunts, and even the domestic servants of my home."

“All the plans and labours of the jesuits were so admirable and attended with such happy success, that they succeeded in bringing back into the fold of Christ a multitude of wandering sheep who had been led astray and infected with the poisonous errors of Luther, Calvin, Arius, the Anabaptists and the schismatic Greeks. In short, the conduct of *individual* jesuits (for so he expresses himself, because he did not wish to offend the pope, who had just abolished the order), in their labours to promote and advance the interests of religion in all institutions founded for that purpose, among children, youths, men of mature age, as well as those in the vale of years, and their earnest and glorious labours, have been such as to entitle them to the confidence of every society and of persons of all ranks.” The degree of importance to which the ex-jesuits rose under Pius, who ultimately induced even Von Hontheim to make an apparent recantation, is obvious from the fact, that Migazzi had great influence with the pope. Frederick II. had the best reasons for taking the jesuits in Silesia under his protection, of whose schools, besides, Voltaire gave him the most favourable account. Prussia did not then possess Münster or Posen, portions of the archbishopric of Treves or Cologne, and had therefore nothing to fear from Romish influence, and would otherwise have been obliged to make large contributions from the public treasury for the purposes of education, of which the jesuits took charge without pecuniary aid. He was in truth perfectly indifferent what his subjects thought or believed, provided they only served, paid taxes, and were obedient.

The bishops in Bavaria were especially enraged at the abolition of the order of the jesuits; they ventured to offer a determined opposition to the age and to the tendencies of the German princes and literature, and extended to the jesuits their protection and aid. The Saxon prince Clement, who united in his person the bishoprics of Treves and Augsburg, and had a jesuit for his confessor, was completely surrounded by the order, and all the fanatics of the jesuit school were collected in Augsburg and Dillingen. Dillingen became the seat of the learned jesuitical combats; father März was permitted to rail against protestants from the pulpits in Augsburg with all the violence of a madman, and he had previously done the same in the presence of his brethren in the Palatinate of the Rhine; that would say much. Charles Theodore of the Palatinate in his

earlier years had done homage to the milder spirit of the age, and made Mannheim the seat of the German arts, sciences and literature, which of itself contributed to toleration and refinement; but the jesuits, supported by one of his numerous mistresses, no sooner began to terrify him by the threats of a future world, than he willingly gave permission to the bitterest fanatics to rave against the protestants in Heidelberg and Düsseldorf. Clement Wenzeslaus of Treves and Augsburg, notwithstanding all the zeal and importunities of his confessor, could not be induced to take any open measures against the will or the authority of the pope; the bishops of Basle and Eichstadt, on the contrary, who were joined heart and soul by the bishop of Freisingen, were desirous of establishing a formal prelatial alliance for the maintenance and support of the order. In this attempt they did not propose to act absolutely and formally against the pope, but intended to give a turn to the question by an apparent change or modification of the order. This design however was frustrated by the intelligent bishop of Bamberg, who had recourse to arguments for their confutation drawn from their own system of polemics. He replied, that it was their duty to presuppose that the pope had been influenced in the whole affair by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and that therefore he could not resolve to offer any opposition.

In consequence of the clamour raised by the Obscurists and Mystics, and of the calumnies which were heaped upon every man of intelligence, with a view to expose him to suspicion, a design was entertained in Bavaria of instituting another secret society to oppose the secret association of the jesuits in favour of ignorance and superstition, and for the maintenance of what its founders called knowledge and light, and whose members therefore were to be distinguished as *Illuminati*. In Bavaria the jesuits continued still to be the favourites at court; the men in office, or those who surrounded Charles Theodore, preferred their orders and their places, as they universally do, to truth, justice and knowledge, and they therefore suffered themselves to be used as the mere tools of Frank, the prince's confessor, who continued till his death (1795) to exercise unlimited power over his sovereign. Even Kreitmayer, notwithstanding all the services which he rendered under Maximilian Joseph, and especially in introducing the most important improvements into the administration of Bavaria, fell in with the current of the time, although it was a dis-

graceful period. He himself had shown favours to Zaupser, the secretary of the college of war, who had put into circulation, in a German translation, the bull which the pope had issued in Latin, and yet he afterwards signed the ridiculous cabinet order which was issued against Zaupser, an order which had been dictated by a jesuit, and to which we shall hereafter allude. Maximilian Joseph had indeed nothing but jesuit confessors; but neither Geppert, who died in 1772, nor any of his three successors, nor, finally, even Härtel, had the same influence over him which Frank possessed over Charles Theodore.

It was therefore even at that time to be foreseen, as has actually taken place in our days, that the jesuits would again endeavour to push themselves forward, as the inheritors of the *ancient* faith, and of the *ancient* government of certain individuals and castes, who either have the power in their hands, or who are ever ready to seize and hold it fast. All this was known in Bavaria, and this the *Illuminati* were anxious to prevent, and therefore their struggle for life and death with the jesuits and papism, which appears incapable of maintaining its ground without jesuits. This opinion is expressly stated by Stattler, who understood how to prove, by means of the demonstrations of the Wolfian philosophy, the creed of the catholic council of Trent to be the only genuine wisdom of the world, precisely in the same way as the newest school of philosophers among the protestants have attempted to prove the same thing respecting the orthodox confessions of the sixteenth century. Stattler, in his vehement attack upon Febronius, or rather upon Von Hontheim's defence of the ecclesiastical rights of the ancient church in opposition to that established by the council of Trent, states that he, as well as the other ex-jesuits, was thoroughly convinced that their order would soon be revived, although under a changed form\*. It will therefore excite no surprise, that the opponents of the order, both in protestant and catholic Germany, unjustly ascribed to the cabals of the jesuits alone the remarkable phenomenon, that precisely at that very time the public mind was wholly occupied with miraculous faith, mysteries and secret associations, and men believed they saw jesuitism stalking like a ghost in all the occurrences of life.

\* Stattler, p. 58 of his 'Refutatio amica reflexionum in litteras retractatorias Justinii Febronii,' uses these words: "Pone institutum erigi *prorsus ad illum morem*, qui in extincta societate Jesu erat."

It will however in fact appear obvious, by reference to a few examples, that the feeble light which was suffered to shine on Bavaria under Maximilian was again obscured by the influence of the jesuits under Charles Theodore. Canon Braun had succeeded in giving an improved direction and tendency to the form of instruction in the lower schools; among other books, he put into the hands of the children copies of the gospels in German, to the orthodoxy of which no objection could be made; but this gave great dissatisfaction to the jesuits, merely because the language was not barbarous and the orthography was altered according to the modern form of the language. They immediately raised an outcry and declared that the orthography was *Lutheran* and the language *heretical*, because it was somewhat purer and better than the common dialect. In consequence of this, the bishop of Ratisbon, who was a fanatical favourer of the jesuits, formally called Braun to account; first, because in his new edition he had altered the old orthography of the small catholic catechism; and secondly, because he had written to “believe *on* God” (*an Gott*) instead of “*in* God” (*in Deum*), as the jesuits did. The highest ecclesiastical authorities under Maximilian Joseph aided Braun in this absurd prosecution before the ordinary’s court in Ratisbon; but when the question of believing *in* God was again raised under Charles Theodore, the jesuits obtained a verdict. Rector Sutor also, who wrote a work upon ‘Morals for the Use of Schools,’ was obliged to appeal to the assistance of the electoral ecclesiastical authorities, who were both anti-jesuitical and anti-papistical, in order to obtain protection against the intrigues and calumnies of the jesuits. Westenrieder, who gained great credit at that time for the improvements which he had introduced into the whole system of instruction in Bavaria, and produced most beneficial effects by his exertions as a member of the academy, took up Sutor’s cause; but he quickly fell more deeply under the suspicion of the jesuits than Sutor himself, who was prosecuted by a Herr von Schönberg alone, who was an ex-jesuit.

Westenrieder wrote an epitome of religion, which every one, except the jesuits in Freisingen, acknowledged to be orthodox. The surrogate of the bishop’s court not only presumed to summon this distinguished man before it, but when he was condescending enough to present himself, in order to justify his orthodoxy, the court treated him with as great harshness as if it had

possessed all the privileges of the Spanish inquisition, and even caused him to be arrested. He would have been still worse treated, had not the canon Von Kolman, who was a member of that more reasonable ecclesiastical council which Maximilian Joseph had appointed in München for the promotion of the interests of education, snatched him out of the claws of these fanatical persecutors in Freisingen. The ex-jesuits were moreover highly pleased with that visionary system which then began to prevail among the protestants, in opposition to the frivolity of the encyclopædists, the dry abstractions of the Berlin philosophy, and the fashionable superficial licentiousness of Wieland's writings. It is the tendency of German and northern natures to form delightful conceptions drawn from the obscure depths of imagination, and in the midst of the labours and efforts of their social life, under the influences of a rude climate, to create another mental and spiritual life, which was exalted to philosophy by Lavater, Claudius, Hamann, Obereit and Hippel, and drove all the deep feeling minds of Germany at that time to sentimentality and visionary dreams.

The eager zeal and delusions of secret societies, and the exaggerated and absurd religious sentimentality of many of the fashionable writers of that period, are to be explained from the natural propensities of the good Germans to emancipate themselves, not only from jesuitism and deception, but also from the sorrowful bondage of servility, obedience and humiliation in which they dwelt in the body, and to solace themselves in the airy realms of imagination and fairy regions. Thence sprung Lavater's sentimental bombast, Jung's doctrine of spirits, and upon that foundation Gassner built his system, which for years he practised by miraculous cures and exorcising demons. To the prevalence of this feeling Mesmer was wholly indebted for the confidence which men possessed in his prophetic gifts, which were the results of his magnetic sleep; St. Martin for the applause with which his new platonism, to be announced by revelations, was received; Claudius, Hamann, Hippel and others for the astonishing effect of that wonderful species of writing by which in the clear day of the eighteenth century they contrived to bring back the darkness of night. We shall now very briefly relate the events of the time, from 1773 till 1783, which bear upon this point, in reference to the contents of the following section, without however confining ourselves to strict



chronological order. All these were undoubtedly more or less taken advantage of by the jesuits for the promotion of their objects, although it is not to be denied that the catholic and believing jesuits were accused by the protestant and infidel jesuits of many things of which they were completely innocent.

The case of father Gassner and his system of miraculous cures is that which lies in most immediate connexion with the jesuits; he carried on his delusion in Swabia and Bavaria from 1775 till 1779, and found such a numerous body of partisans, and excited so much public attention, that the books and pamphlets which have been written concerning him and his exorcisms would in themselves form a small library. He kept up a constant correspondence with Lavater, who, as well as himself, believed in the miraculous efficacy of prayer. A passage from one of the celebrated Zürich prophet's letters to Gassner may serve as a specimen of his manner of writing, and of the way in which, without the assignment of reasons or evidence, but by the mere force of personal assurance, he gained the ear and confidence of his contemporaries. He wrote to the catholic priest as follows :—" *Let us secretly, secretly communicate our minds to one another. The world is not worth the trouble of our throwing the power of God at its feet.*" Contemporaneously with Gassner, Mesmer in Vienna began in 1775 to issue to the high and fashionable world, accounts of the miraculous cures which he had effected and was able to effect by virtue of the application of a magnetic power. As early as 1766, he professed to have observed the similarity in their laws and effects between the magnetic and the electric fluids. In reference to his miraculous cures he appealed to father Hell, who was indeed a very strenuous advocate of the magnetic system of cure, but would not undertake to bear testimony to Mesmer's miracles, merely however because he was an ecclesiastic, and the church alone has the privilege of working miracles. It was only after two very celebrated physicians, Unzer in Altona and Deimer in Amsterdam, and even the Berlin Academy, had pronounced an opinion in favour of magnetism as a *scientific* means, that Mesmer's *mystical* applications found very numerous believers. His magnetism became the fashion in Paris in 1778; in the following year his writings attracted an immense concourse of applicants for his miraculous cures, and what was called harmonic societies were formed. Both Gassner and Mesmer were however

preceded on the same path by a person named Schröpfer, who was the keeper of a coffee-room, and had contrived by secret arts and secret associations to deceive some of the most distinguished persons in Frankfort and Leipzig. He gave currency to the opinion, that by ghostly means he was able to put himself in immediate communication with the souls of men and with the world of spirits in general. He however shot himself in October 1774, because he had pushed the abuse of his fellow-countrymen's credulity too far, and his deceptions as well as his bankruptcy eventually came to light. The celebrated mystical and apparently philosophical book of St. Martin (*des erreurs et de la vérité*), which continues to the present day to be the gospel of all visionaries, had no sooner appeared in Lyons in 1775 than it was translated by Claudius; and in the preface to the translation, the contents were declared to be revelations from above. On this occasion also Lavater was active, but he merely pretended to protect the system against hasty and derogatory judgments. A certain count St. Germain, who at least made no trade of falsehood and deception, boasted that he had got possession of the elixir of life, that he was 300 years old, and had learned to make diamonds in India. Many persons believed his pretensions, and it is said that in 1773 he actually broke a diamond to pieces in the house of the French ambassador at the Hague. This fashionable mysticism and these idle fancies opened up a very splendid career for an Italian mountebank in Germany and even in Paris. This fellow was a Sicilian named Balsamo, who, under the name of count Cagliostro, made his way into the circles of the high nobility and princes, in which Stark also afterwards played his part. Stark was a jesuit, and availed himself of religion precisely in the same way as Cagliostro did of his legerdemain, magic, exorcism, freemasonry and secret orders. Persons were foolish enough to allow themselves to be initiated by him into the mysteries of a secret order, of which *Enoch* and *Elias* were said to have been the founders, and of which he was to be the restorer. As grand-master of the order, he assumed the name of *Gross-Kophia*, under which Göthe has furnished a dramatic delineation of him for the public. Another of these charlatans was a man named Gablidone, who gave himself out as the spirit of a Jewish cabalist who had died before the birth of Christ: he revealed himself to count Von Thun in Vienna by means of one of his accountants. Cagliostro opened

his career in 1778-79, and first played the character of a miracle-worker in Mitau, where he was favourably received and aided by Frau von Recke, who afterwards unmasked him. His deceptions and impostures first came to an end in Paris in 1787, in connexion with the necklace story. He however went from Paris to Rome, where he continued his phantasmagoria till he was eventually thrown by the inquisition into a prison, the very contemplation of which fills the mind with horror\*. Stark was at that time professor in Mitau; he afterwards became very active in all secret societies, died as late as the beginning of the present century as a declared catholic, and was at the same time a Lutheran court-preacher in Darmstadt.

\* A further account will be given of Cagliostro afterwards, when we come to refer to this story of the necklace. Here perhaps it may prove agreeable to our readers to learn something of the end of this singular man, with which the author was not himself acquainted till last year, having met with the account accidentally in the report of a traveller, who was lately commissioned by the French government to visit and examine the Italian prisons. The writer gives an account of the cells, which are partly in the old castle of St. Leo itself and partly excavated out of the rocks on which it stands. The castle lies between Urbino and Pesaro, three hours from St. Marino and seven from the Adriatic sea. We shall give the remainder in the words of the reporter:—"La roche est inaccessible, les environs sont à peu près déserts, et les chemins qui y conduisent ne sont praticables que pour les chevaux dans la bonne saison et seulement pour les piétons dans les mois d'hiver. Aussi le gouvernement pontifical y a disposé toutes choses pour que les coupables de doctrines dangereuses y trouvent une reclusion éternelle. Les galeries ont été divisés en compartimens solides, les anciennes citernes restées à sec ont été converties en fonds de fosse pour les plus criminels, et l'on a exhausé successivement les murs d'enceinte, bien que les tentatives d'évasion ne puissent s'effectuer que par un escalier unique taillé dans le roc et gardé jour et nuit par les sentinelles.

"C'est dans l'une de ces citernes de S. Leo que le célèbre Cagliostro fut descendu en 1791. Son adresse, son crédit, un certain prestige, dont il étoit entouré, l'avoient pourtant sauvé de la Bastille, où il avoit été enfermé auparavant sur la dénonciation de la comtesse de Motte qui l'accusoit d'avoir reçu le fameux collier des mains du cardinal et de l'avoir dépécé pour engrossir le trésor occulte d'une fortune inouïe. Après sa justification Cagliostro avoit quitté Paris pour continuer ses voyages aventureux, mais il vint tomber à Rome dans les filets de l'inquisition. Arrêté comme alchimiste et franc-maçon, il fut condamné à mort par le saint tribunal. Aux yeux de l'Europe la peine fut commuée en une détention perpétuelle; pour l'inquisition la commutation équivaloit à la peine, car elle envoyoit sa victime au fort de St. Leo.

"Dans les derniers mois de sa vie Cagliostro dut à l'humanité personnelle du gouverneur du fort d'être retiré du puits, où il avoit langué durant trois années sans air, sans mouvement, sans communication avec ses semblables, excepté au moment où le geolier levoit une trappe pour faire descendre la corde qui lui portoit sa nourriture, et il vint occuper une cellule au niveau du sol. Les curieux qui obtiennent du gouverneur la faveur de visiter la prison, peuvent lire sur les murs diverses inscriptions et sentences du malheureux alchimiste, dont la dernière porte la date du 6<sup>me</sup> Mars 1795." This was also unknown to Göthe.

The condition of Germany, and the imprudence of the illuminati, who were desirous of limiting to dry morality and cold reflection a people, that by its natural propensity, its life and temper of mind, pressed forward eagerly into the world of supernatural fancy, served to restore their whole influence to the ex-jesuits, especially in Bavaria, and that as early as the time of Charles Theodore. It was therefore a piece of great good fortune that a lucky accident, and the dread of the other orders at the revival of the jesuits, gave a different destination to the property of the order which Maximilian Joseph had kept together. Those estates, which had been presented by pious souls to the jesuits for the benefit of the youth entrusted to their care, Maximilian Joseph ordered to be employed for pious uses, although their value was estimated at 6,000,000 of florins. A committee, consisting of count Perchem, Kolman, Von Lori, Von Zech and Kreitmayer, under the presidency of the count von Seinsheim, were entrusted with the execution of the plan for the abolition of the jesuit establishments, and, with the consent of the elector, the estates were destined for the promotion of general education. Charles Theodore and father Frank would undoubtedly, in one way or another, have restored them to the hands of the ex-jesuits, but the eldest of the elector's numerous natural sons, the prince von Bretzenheim, was fortunately still nearer to him than the jesuits. Charles Theodore was desirous of founding for this son what was called a Bavarian branch of the order of Malta, and, for this purpose, of raising considerable sums of money from rich convents. The pope had already approved of this scheme, when it was suggested as a means of saving the useless monks, that the estates of the jesuits intended for institutions and teachers should be given over to the prince of Bretzenheim and the Maltese order. The ignorant monks of the order, whose estates were threatened, offered to perform those services without remuneration which should have been paid for out of the produce of the jesuits' estates, and hence those properties that were presented and destined for promoting instruction and religion were applied to the equipment and maintenance of some noble knights of Malta, adorned with a cross and star, at whose head was the prince von Bretzenheim as grand prior.

As early as the time in which this took place, the ex-jesuits were more powerful than the public authorities; they pushed themselves forward into all public affairs, and made Zaupser,

secretary of the council of war in München, feel the weight of their influence. Zaupser indeed gained great credit in Bavaria by his translation of the pope's bull for the abolition of the jesuits, and great renown in the whole of Germany for his 'Ode on the Inquisition' and a treatise upon false zeal in religion; but for this very reason he was involved by a few ex-jesuits in some harassing disputes with the cabinet of his prince. Permission to print the ode above alluded to had been granted by the college of censorship established under the previous government; but an ex-jesuit, at the celebration of the feast of the Rosary in 1780, delivered such a grossly abusive and raving discourse on the subject, that the college which had been thus publicly scandalized and defamed applied for redress to the elector. This gave rise to the administration of a piece of cabinet justice, which was the result of the importunity of Frank, the elector's confessor, and is too characteristic of the oriental notions of dominion exercised by the priests and princes, of what is called German paternal government, and of the nature of the Bavarian cabinet and its style, to be passed over, when we are speaking of the life and customs of the Germans in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. On the instigation of Frank, a reproof was first given to the college of censorship, and then a rescript was issued from the same cabinet directed to the various administrative courts, which we subjoin in a note\*, because it is the model of hundreds of others, which at that time excited no sort of surprise. The jesuit on this occasion used the elector as his tool, and the supreme court was obliged, *nolens volens*, to condemn the secretary unheard, and to impose upon him a new species of

\* The rescript, directed to the chief administrative court, dated October 11th, 1780, runs as follows:—"Serenissimus Elector,—The order issued to the college of censors *sub hodierno*, in reference to a printed paper written by Zaupser, entitled an 'Ode upon the Inquisition,' will be found *copialiter* in the paper hereto attached; wherein the supreme court is commanded to suppress the said ode, to seize upon and take the existing *exemplaria*, to refer the publisher for compensation *ad auctorem*, and at the same time to call the said *auctor* before them, and not only sharply to reprove him for his offensive writings against the constitution of religion, but to require him to make a *public profession of the Christian-catholic faith* at a sitting *in pleno*, because there is great reason to doubt of his faith: they are commissioned also earnestly to admonish him in future to avoid further intermeddling with the department of religion and theology, and not to undertake to write either secretly or publicly upon a subject to which he is neither called nor has he the necessary talents, wisdom or prudence. The *directorium* of the council of war has also been admonished so to occupy their *secretarium* Zaupser, that he may have no time to devote to theological and other writing."

arbitrary punishment invented for the occasion. Something similar to this took place in Düsseldorf, where a fanatical priest had given way to the ravings of passion, and uttered the most abusive and calumnious language against his opponents in a sermon which he afterwards sent to press, precisely as father März was accustomed to do in Augsburg. The authorities ordered the sermon to be suppressed, and rebuked the priest for his violence; the cabinet however commended his zeal, and allowed the sermon to be put into circulation.

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## § II.

PHILOSOPHICAL CATHOLICISM.—JESUITISM.—THE ILLUMINATI AND FREEMASONS.—INTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE GERMAN STATES AND THEIR POLICE.

The pope had power to abolish the jesuits as an order, but jesuitism is something which it is beyond the reach of any earthly power to root out, and those who profess this creed, whether protestants or catholics, will always and everywhere enter into close alliance, when they perceive that those prejudices and irrational ceremonies are either threatened or shaken, on which alone their knowledge and their hopes both in this and in a future world are founded. This principle furnishes a key for the explanation of that vehement reaction which took place on the part of both papistical and protestant zealots in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, of the apparent triumph of the defenders of obscure or subtle traditions, and finally the intimate alliance of all kinds and descriptions of obscurists at that time as well as in our own. The old, dull, pithless or fanatical sermons respecting blind faith no longer met with acceptance from any, except the multitude, who made father März and other catholic controversialists their idols, as well as Göze, Desmarées and other Lutheran zealots, and were therefore wholly powerless against a protestant Hamann, Hippel, Lavater, Stark and others, or against catholics such as Stattler, Sailer and Mutschelle, who clothed whatever was obsolete or repulsive in the doctrines or usages of their church in a new philosophical or sentimental dress. The part which Stattler played in Bavaria is too intimately connected with the efforts of the ex-jesuits to repossess

themselves of the dominion of the whole territory of university instruction and with the origin of the order of illuminati, to be overlooked in this place.

Stattler, even after the abolition of his order, continued to perform his functions as professor of philosophy and of some departments of theology in the university of Ingolstadt; he made himself completely master of, and adopted the Wolfian system of philosophy, which was then predominant, and according to the Wolfian method, demonstrated the whole orthodox creed of his church, precisely in the same manner as Leibnitz had previously demonstrated transubstantiation. He possessed powerful speculative talents, and was vehement and imperious, as partisans of systems usually are, but took good care not to enter the lists in the spirit of blind fanaticism or papistical zeal against the spirit of the age, and with jesuitical cunning wrote far more vehemently against Von Hontheim than against C. F. Bahrdt, and most vehemently of all against Kant. He adopted the cause of toleration, and like his scholar Sailer, was an inexhaustible writer. He justly enjoyed a high degree of consideration, and the best philosophical writers in Bavaria, such as Mutschelle, Sailer, Lechner, Dietel, Baader and Hübner, were brought up in his school. Under Maximilian he made a quiet attempt again to bring the university of Ingolstadt, of which he was vice-chancellor, into the power of the ex-jesuits. In consequence of this attempt, four of the professors of theology in 1777 applied to the judicious and well-meaning elector himself, and represented to him, that even the pious Maria Theresa had taken the precaution that neither the teaching of logic nor metaphysics, of canon law nor ecclesiastical history, and still less theology, should be entrusted to any ex-jesuit in her hereditary states. These representations were listened to; the jesuits did not however allow themselves to be deterred from their design, but in the following year they made a representation, stating that a great sum of money would be spared if the whole administration and teaching in the university were left to them alone. The ecclesiastical privy council, or, properly speaking, the authorities, declined this proposal, and in 1779 assigned the most substantial reasons for its rejection; in this year however Charles Theodore became ruler of Bavaria, and under him the jesuits gained a preponderating influence in the cabinet. The report of the authorities was suppressed, and in 1781 Stattler had become so far master of the theological faculty, that he was the person who drew up their

reports. The order of the jesuits was in fact then more powerful in the university than in the time of its legal existence. At the former period they had only four votes, now they had seven.

With respect to Sailer, he had never been a jesuit, nor had Mutschelle and some others who were called ex-jesuits; neither was Sailer, properly speaking, a zealous papist; but his visionary character made him hostile to protestantism. He was Stattler's best scholar, and continued to lecture in Ingolstadt, when Stattler himself, as an ecclesiastical councillor and a member of the college of censors, was employing all his energies in München to strengthen the foundations of catholicism. Sailer pursued a different method for accomplishing his views from that of his master; he was not only a philosopher, but an uncommonly prolific writer, and his literary and entertaining works were much read by persons in high life: Stattler, on the contrary, was neither master of a good German nor Latin style, nor could he write the German language purely without provincialisms and errors. Sailer was the Lavater of catholicism, for he laid aside all the harshness of his creed, as Lavater did the prose of Calvinism; and in the same way as the latter favoured a mystical poetry, the former adopted a philosophical rhetoric. These two men were intimate friends, and both were often accused of heresy—Lavater by the dogmatists, and Sailer by the jesuits and strict papistical party, whilst both were also admired and idolized by the tender and sentimental of both sexes, because they understood how to give mildness and attraction to the sternest faith. Stattler never pursued this course, and yet the court of Rome was often dissatisfied with him, because he left the mere outworks unheeded or undefended in order to rescue the main building itself. These accessory buildings however were precisely those which seemed the most important to some of the more zealous, and two monks named Fröhlich and Mamachi raised the cry of heresy in Rome. Sailer defended his teacher against Fröhlich the benedictine in two publications\*, but the fanatical monk, in connexion with father Mamachi, laboured for twelve years in Rome in the persecution of this aged man, till he at length succeeded in procuring a condemnation of the dogmatics of this most orthodox catholic and most powerful opponent of protestantism, who was

\* 1. *Praktische Logik für den Widerleger an den Verfasser der sogenannten Reflexion*, 1780. 2. *Neueste Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens und Unterdrückung der Wahrheit*, 1780.



consequently dismissed from his office in Munich in 1794. Sailer met with many cases of similar treatment; he was however milder, more amiable, and better disposed to toleration and patience with his opponents and adversaries than his teacher Stattler; this spirit was particularly manifested towards the close of his life. Stattler was not satisfied merely with his rude and abusive polemics directed against Kant, but in a genuine jesuitical manner, and as a member of the college of censorship, he succeeded in obtaining the issue of a *secret* command to the booksellers of Munich, forbidding them to sell any of Kant's writings, and he even kept back the *imprimatur* to Sailer's 'Logic' for a whole year, because he thought it contained some traces of Kant's ideas.

We are furnished with the best account of the situation in which the university of Ingolstadt was placed with respect to the jesuits, and of the condition of the professors Wiehmer, Schölliner and Weishaupt in a seminary, where they were sometimes to teach in a papistical and sometimes in another sense, by Weishaupt himself, whom we are obliged to mention in this place in consequence of the illuminati, of which order he was a member. In his apology\* for his order, he states, that after the abolition of the order of the jesuits in 1773, he had been appointed *professor ordinarius* in the faculty of law and lecturer on canon law, a subject which for ninety years previously had been treated by jesuits alone. Two years afterwards he was commissioned to deliver a course of lectures upon Feder's practical philosophy and the rights of the church, and in this way had become the very antipodes of the theology and philosophy of the jesuits in general and of Stattler in particular; that as early as 1777 he had been in danger of losing his situation, by the direction of Von Lippert, a councillor of the supreme court; and in 1781 he had been so involved by the cabals of the jesuits and of the chapter in Eichstadt in the disputes respecting Whiel's orthodoxy in Baden-Baden†, on account of his practical philosophy, that from that time forward he had been obliged to give up the subject altogether. At this time, he adds, there was a constant change of professors, an incessant struggling

\* Apology for the Illuminati: Frankfort and Leipzig, 1786, Appendix A. To the Abbé Cosandey, p. 202.

† See the documents concerning the dispute at full length in Schlözer's Correspondence.

and wrestling after power, a succession of defeats and victories on the one part and the other. Now at length (1786) I hear all is quiet, for they have obtained what they desired, and the whole of the professors' chairs have been long occupied by jesuits.

It will be obvious from this brief report that Weishaupt and the no inconsiderable number of persons in Bavaria who shared his principles and convictions were influenced by the example of their opponents themselves, to institute another order with a constitution similar to theirs, with a view to counteract and defeat the secret machinations of the jesuits. Weishaupt and his illuminati, as the pretended masters of the light, wished to avail themselves of the folly and absurdity of decorations, symbols and initiation, in order to draw the people out of the power of the priests into that of their own. These masters of the light and their light itself were indeed of such a description that the people would have gained nothing by the change; but when or where have the people, who are everywhere oppressed, gained anything by the change of their leaders and rulers? That moreover an order, founded by an obscure professor of canon law in an obscure German university, and reduced to form by the co-operation of a student (Von Zwackh), then only twenty years old, should have found adherents and partisans through the whole of Germany, in the Netherlands, in Denmark, in Sweden, and even in Spain, can only be comprehended and explained by a still fuller acquaintance with the connexion of the enthusiasm, jugglery and imposture of the secret orders of that time and their relation to freemasonry. We have already referred to the origin of a belief in the power of superstitious prayers, incantations, secret arts, and associations in general; we must here go more at length into the history of the freemasons. The most of the persons whom we shall have occasion to mention, were either, in the proper sense of the word, impostors, or insignificant, or, like Knigge, altogether contemptible, because their schemes were merely founded upon hopes of advantage or pleasure, and they were not only strangers to all high and noble human feelings, but despised and abused them. So much for the leaders; as to the associations themselves, we can neither say so much evil of the freemasons and the illuminati as Barruel and Germans of his stamp have said, nor bestow upon them such commendations as the enemies of the jesuits and their doctrines are accustomed to do. The men whom we are about to mention, their orders, and the longing

after secret initiations and revelations, appear to us not to have been the causes but the effects of a new order of things which had been slowly developing its form, and consequently means and instruments of that eternal order and of that invisible overruling Providence, by whose power kingdoms and worlds come into existence and disappear, and which sometimes uses the external for the promotion of the internal, and sometimes the internal for that of the external.

Among the visionary sects of the century, the Swedenborgians are usually first referred to; we shall only notice them however in passing, because their doctrines had very little immediate influence, or indeed any influence which could easily be pointed out, and the sect as such only found resting-places in Sweden and in England. The Swedenborgians were believers in divine revelations, which Swedenborg their chief and founder professed to have received from immediate intercourse with God, with angels, and the souls of the departed. There were some thousands of these Swedenborgians in Sweden, and king Gustavus IV., before he became quite insane, the duke of Südermanland, and prince Charles of Hesse, with Swedenborg, sought the new Jerusalem in the interior of Africa. Some apostles of these Swedish theosophs came to Germany immediately after Swedenborg's death (1772); but his doctrines found much less acceptance and favour among the secret orders than the obscure wisdom of Pasqualis and St. Martin. Besides, almost all the dealers in secrets sought to avail themselves of symbols, hieroglyphs, and freemasons' lodges for the promotion of their objects, and the innocent foolery of this secret society was much and variously abused. Initiation, oaths, solemnities, subordination, and ranks allured them to orders; symbols and hieroglyphs inspired simpletons and fools with the hope of learning important secrets for their money; men of the world, lovers of pleasure and adventurers sought and found in these orders, protectors, acquaintances, recommendations and social enjoyment, which was seasoned by its exclusive character. In these secret societies the doubter might more freely express his opinions than in the common intercourse of social life, where they were carefully and minutely watched by both the civil and the ecclesiastical police. Those who wished to avail themselves of an order in these times for the promotion of their objects, allured their brethren, the freemasons and others, by the forms of strict or lax obser-

vance, of Zinnedorfians, Rosicrucians, Martinists and Templars. Princes, counts, barons, idlers and men of wealth sought for the philosopher's stone in these secret associations, for wisdom gained without exertion or toil, and therefore the privileges of knowledge for the privileged. People of rank were especially attracted, because they, as well as the higher classes in general, in their ignorance of the nature of human training, imagined there was a nearer road to true wisdom than the usual beaten and arduous path. It has been so from the beginning of the world; those who have found the way prescribed by Providence for the attainment of the objects of human efforts to be tedious, who become weary of labour, anxiety and thought, have always placed their confidence upon miraculous revelations and some sudden disclosure of the secret of certain signs and symbols.

Frederick II. himself continued to belong to this order till after the Silesian war; he ceased to be a member shortly before the commencement of the seven years' war, at the very time when these orders began to be abused for every species of deception, and he also commanded such of his ministers of state as belonged to the order, to desist from visiting their lodges. The lodges and secrets of the freemasons began to be abused by impostors from the year 1760 till 1770, some of whom exercised such a considerable influence upon the order, which was then very widely extended, and upon the whole state of German life and literature, as to call for especial notice in this history. The most remarkable among these impostors was Rosa, and a man who in ordinary life was known under the name of Becker or Leuchs, but in the lodges under that of Johnson. Rosa was a protestant clergyman whom professor Darjes assisted in his career when the former gave the tone at Jena. By his instrumentality Rosa gained such a high degree of distinction among the freemasons, that he was able to make the best use of his knavery. Darjes was afterwards called from Jena to Frankfort-on-the-Oder (1763), to be director of the university in that city, in consequence of his reputation as a philosopher, and appointed *professor ordinarius* in the faculty of law. When he came to Jena he found a lodge already in existence there, which was founded by the lodge in Berlin, and which again derived its authority from England. Darjes became master and received the four degrees, but he believed nevertheless that he was not in possession of the proper secret. Rosa the clergyman de-

ceived the philosophical jurist, the lodge was provided with some new degrees, and a theosophic, magic-cabalistic system was introduced. By this means indeed Darjes gained a secondary object; he brought Jena and his lodge into great renown by extending the mantle of his reputation over such insignificant adventurers as Rosa, and Becker or Leuchs. The latter no sooner came forward under the name of Johnson, than the new theosophic character of the Jena lodge furnished him with an opportunity of effecting a complete revolution in the whole system of freemasonry in the countries on this and the farther side of the Elbe. Johnson continued to practise his impostures in Saxony and Thuringia for a length of time, till he was finally unmasked by baron Von Hund. Because the most of the persons of princely and noble rank in Darmstadt, Brunswick, Saxony and elsewhere pressed into these secret orders, and were consequently amongst the number of those who were deceived, Johnson was imprisoned in the Wartburg without having been formally prosecuted, and baron Von Hund took his place. The latter sought to form an order of knighthood for the nobility out of the freemasons, or in other words, he again found something new to lead astray persons belonging to the higher and highest classes of society. The nature of this new knightly order will be best understood from the words of Mauvillon, which we have given in a note, inasmuch as he was himself initiated into this noble and priestly band, and was therefore best able to give an account of its constitution and objects\*. Visionaries and impostors found it very convenient

\* Mauvillon's 'History of Ferdinand Duke of Brunswick,' part ii. p. 402. "Hund produced credentials, which he professed to have received from the true preservers and guardians of the secrets of the knights templars, and by virtue of which he was appointed provincial grand-master for Germany and the North. He formed a council of the order, consisting of members whom he regarded as most necessary and most capable of promoting his objects. By the adoption of this and other measures, the cause made great progress. This association was regulated by the whole of the ceremonial of an order of knighthood, with its offices of commander, companion, its divisions into provinces, &c. Great attention was paid to questions of rank, birth, property, &c., and payments were made from the income of the society, if not to all, yet to several of the working members within the order itself, as well as in its different lodges. This branch of freemasonry was called the *strict observance*, and it professed to exhibit a singular purity of conduct, and to be peculiarly attentive to the selection of its members. It separated itself from all other branches, and required those lodges which were subordinate to it, to exclude all members of other lodges of freemasons from their meetings, as all those who expect and hope for great wealth are accustomed to shut out others who

to avail themselves of an order which was designed to give an explanation of the hierarchical and secret obscurity of the times of hieroglyphs and symbols, and that only to a few who were initiated into its mysteries. This society, which was called the *Strict observance*, was the means of making many German princes, barons and counts the tools and victims of impostors and cheats, and some of them, as in the case of the brave Ferdinand of Brunswick, never came to their senses, whilst one impostor after another was unmasked. Prince Louis of Darmstadt, if we may judge from the letter which he gave to the disreputable C. F. Bahrddt, himself a gross impostor in his way, directed to the authorities of the London lodge, appears to have entertained immense ideas of what might be accomplished by the instrumentality of this order. Bahrddt, in whom however no great confidence can be placed, gives an account of this in his life, and adds that the English laughed heartily at the follies of the German prince.

The reigning duke Charles, as well as his brother Ferdinand, the celebrated general in the seven years' war, belonged to the *Strict observance*. The grand lodge of London, who knows with what right, had appointed duke Ferdinand grand-master of all the freemason lodges in a great part of North Germany, and the members of the *Strict observance* succeeded in having him chosen in 1772 as grand-master of *all* the German lodges. And now princes, counts and barons, together with the legions of those servile souls who think it an honour to associate with such persons, pressed into these societies; and even the successor of Frederick II. was early in life deceived by the foolery of these institutions. The frauds which Schröpfer had carried on by means of these secret associations from the year 1771 came to light on his suicide in 1774; but those who had been made the victims became nothing wiser in consequence of the lesson which they had thus received. Cagliostro found numerous adherents

might cherish any hope of sharing in the spoil. All offices, high and low, were distributed by the master and other high functionaries of the order, and not, as formerly, left to the choice of their brethren. When it was seen that so many persons of wealth and distinction became members of this society, others eagerly pressed into the association. Admission however was by no means easy, and the door was not open to all; especially because the expenses were really great, and in order to meet the demands upon their exchequer, scarcely any but persons of wealth could be received. That this was no freemasonry is obvious on the first look. Nay, it has been conceded that it was a deception."

among the lodges and believers in his exorcisms, his miraculous cures and his magic, which he professed to have derived from Egyptian priests and their secret doctrines, as well as Mesmer, in his magnetism and somnambulism.

By the fanaticism of the orders, such vain persons as Lavater became the prophets of the fashionable world: and Hippel himself has revealed to us in his life the manner in which such corrupt and worthless men, as he undoubtedly was, jesuitically used fanaticism, orders and lodges, together with their hypocritical and fantastic style of writing, for the attainment of their own mean and selfish ends. We the more willingly select a passage from his 'Autobiography', as we there find him in company with the cunning court-preacher Stark, to whom we have already referred: "I publicly acknowledge," he observes, "*that I am indebted for all my knowledge of men and of the world to freemasonry*; in the few lodges with which I have been in connexion, I have been fortunate enough to meet with admirable men, who *indeed were not from Athens, but from the world.*" He was therefore neither concerned about Athens nor Bethlehem, but had to do with Paris and Berlin. His biographer gives us some additional information on this point\*, and on the consecration of the priests, which is well worthy of notice. We do not speak of it in reference to catholicism, for in that respect it had nothing to do with Hippel, but because he made it an instrument of his own egotism. His biographer observes, "It was his chief wish, in connexion with freemasonry, to make its members men *altioris indaginis*; he was therefore accustomed to be very angry at the numerous admissions into the body which took place, and made attempts and proposals more than once to give the order its only true, that is, a moral tendency. The universal spirit of *clubs* however, which was only directed to *mere agreeable pastime*, was not to be banished or resisted by any exhortations. The ill-success of his attempts led him, not indeed altogether to give up these societies, but to confine his visits to their assemblies to rare occasions. *His connexion with freemasonry began in 1760, at the very period in which a number of higher consecrated offices were introduced into this order, in addition to the three gradations of rank in the order of St. John*; these additions found acceptance in Königsberg, at which place a court-preacher, Stark, who was one of the most active promoters of the higher

\* Nekrolog. 1797. vol. i. pp. 274-275.

*freemasonry, filled distinguished offices and had many friends. At this time Hippel also entered into priestly orders.*" However, he said, "I would not wish to encourage any hope in the minds of the idle or dissipated of being supported in their old age at the expense of any foundation. Labour is the path to virtue." On the other hand, on one occasion he said to one of his oldest friends, in the course of a conversation upon clerical orders and rank, that he himself *was as much an ordained and consecrated clergyman as his friend.* These words of one of the initiated, who was a very cautious man, show that the ex-jesuits sought to avail themselves of the institution of freemasonry for the promotion of their views: the numerous body of the rosi-crucians was a tool of the jesuits in Bavaria. In this way Weishaupt and his friends were led, by the example of their opponents in their own country, to found an institution of which they might avail themselves for the advancement of those opinions and doctrines, which they regarded as exclusively worthy of the name of enlightenment and light, in the same manner as their adversaries availed themselves of secret orders and consecration to promote superstition and fanaticism. No doubt can be entertained with respect to their views from the very title which they gave their order\*.

\* The illuminati first assumed the name of *Perfectionists*, and to the theological shield of the jesuits inscribed with the phrase, "*Extension of the Kingdom of God*," they set up in opposition a philosophical standard emblazoned with the words "*Perfection of Man*." We shall not waste our space either in the text or in the notes, by entering into the labyrinth of the history of sects, divisions, degrees and doctrines, because it is sufficient for our purpose to treat in general of the existence and objects of these secret associations in Germany; and we shall therefore only mention a few of their exoteric doctrines. The good-for-nothing persons who founded the order and wished to use it for the promotion of their own selfish and scandalous views, who neither believed in God nor immortality, and what was still worse, who had no regard for morality, truth, or right, allured such men as Feder, Dalberg, Mieg of Heidelberg, Nicolai in Berlin, and many other able men to join the illuminati, because they saw with dislike the way in which mysticism and fanaticism were penetrating and pervading the whole system of freemasonry. Such men were enticed by principles like the following, which were issued as a lure: "A society shall be formed consisting of men of all ranks, without reference to their differences of opinion, or to the religious denominations or churches to which they may respectively belong. Its grand object shall be to disseminate true knowledge among all classes, and to bring the ruling princes under the guardianship of the order. With that view, every means will be employed to surround the rulers of the land with persons of well-known and experienced ability, who love the truth, and who will have courage enough boldly to make it known to those who may have power in their hands." Whole books were written after this fashion, and people put some faith in the fine phrases of Weishaupt and Knigge, for Von Zwackh was only busy as an intriguer.



The order of the illuminati, as originally founded in Bavaria and for Bavaria, was altogether dissimilar to the order of freemasons, and all that its founders knew of ceremonies, consecration and pretended secrets was very insignificant: Knigge was the first who gave the order a form, which he borrowed from that of the freemasons. This nobleman and bon-vivant was very far indeed from having any tendency towards mysticism and a contemplative life, since he, as well as Weishaupt and Von Zwackh, troubled himself very little about morality; but he was thoroughly acquainted with outward life and all its intrigues. Moreover, in the then existing condition of things in Bavaria, it might have been expedient and useful to found another order for the promotion of enlightenment, after the model, but expressly in opposition to that of the jesuits and mystics; and these circumstances induced many of the noblest men of our German plains, whose names are to be found in the lists of the illuminati, to unite with such persons as Weishaupt, Zwackh and Knigge. Among the names of those Bavarians who were persecuted as illuminati, there will be found those of the most distinguished and best men of the country, but at the same time many, such as that of Montgela and others, of a very different description. The principles of the illuminati however even opened the eyes of those last mentioned, for they afterwards combated with success the prevalence of the monkish spirit in the high offices of state, which from the earliest times had proved ruinous to Bavaria. In May 1776 Weishaupt and his anti-jesuitical friends and hearers in Landshut first conceived the idea of founding a new order, which in its first, or what was called its minerval degree, was to be an institution for the cultivation of a free spirit in a country in which no man durst venture to utter a free word. In consequence of Von Zwackh's exertions among the young men and students, the order not only soon obtained many members, but as soon as two other persons, contemporaneously with Von Zwackh, began to make a business of seeking for recruits for the order, it was also widely extended amongst other classes and ranks.

Von Zwackh had procured some knowledge of the external forms of freemasonry, of its symbols, degrees and initiation, with which Weishaupt was wholly unacquainted. The founders of the new order proceeded, according to their imperfect knowledge of masonry, which was then in Bavaria in a melancholy condition, to establish gradations and classes in the new order,

which at first deceived many freemasons, and led them to look upon it as a branch of freemasonry. The order of the illuminati, which was instituted in this manner as one of the numerous sects of freemasonry, which was then very widely extended, included in its ranks, as early as 1778, twelve lodges in catholic Bavaria, Franconia and the Tyrol. Such distinguished men as Born and Sonnenfels in Vienna were received into the order, and these were the persons who afterwards, under Joseph II., gained great renown by the extension of a system of education in Austria in accordance with the demands and improvement of the age. The order first obtained a completely new form when Herr von Knigge, who was a Hanoverian baron, devoted his attention to its constitution, and applied his accurate knowledge of the order of freemasons in such a way to that of the illuminati, that he and such like men were afterwards enabled to avail themselves of the freemason lodges, as all the fanatics, visionaries, ghost-seers, alchymists, martinists and magnetizers had long previously done.

This Herr von Knigge, who became so prominent a member of the illuminati in 1780, and was discredibly known under the name of *Philo*, which he adopted as his appellation in the order, was, like his antagonist Zimmerman, a native of Berne; he however lived as councillor and court physician in Hanover, and became one of those German celebrities who knew well how to practise upon and deceive the world; an art which, as is well known, is a much surer path to renown than true merit, which only a few persons either understand or respect. Both of these men, by their connexion with the world, their access to fashionable life, their knowledge of the means of flattering their patrons, and a superficial style of writing suited for the usual class of sentimental novel-readers, understood how to obtain a name and to exercise an influence in society, which has given them an importance in history which is precisely in the inverse ratio of their merit. Knigge, by his residence as chamberlain in Weimar, and his sojourn in Frankfort and Heidelberg, had been in the very centre of mysticism and freemasonry, and made himself minutely acquainted with everything which was calculated to promote such objects as those which persons like Zimmerman and Knigge regard as the highest and most important in life. In order to make trial of everything, Knigge even became a catholic and then again a protestant; mysticism and orders,

priestcraft and enlightenment were equally welcome and acceptable to him for the realization of his designs, whilst they were hated like death by Zimmerman for the advancement of *his*, and towards the end of the century they haunted him like a ghost, till he was finally driven actually mad. Both Knigge and Zimmerman attained their respective aims,—their names became universally known. Knigge first played a prominent part in all the orders, and then he became almost as celebrated a writer as Kotzebue, with whom he might be compared, except in the department of the popular drama. He spent his whole life in going from place to place and in the indulgences of the table, and at length died as captain and scholar\* in Bremen. Zimmerman received orders or distinctions from several princes; he was in correspondence with Catharine and Frederick, wrote at first only upon subjects which he understood, but at last upon all possible subjects of which he knew nothing, and it was precisely these writings by which he gained the highest reputation. All the newspapers teemed with praises upon his thick volume on *Solitude*; the great world regarded him as a prophet; whilst every honest man, every man who was a master of style, or capable of deep thought or true feeling, looked upon him as a miserable wight; and Lichtenberg of Göttingen, the greatest satirist of Germany, treated him as such.

We mention the names of these two men here at the same time, because their disputes concerning secret orders, and Zimmerman's vain, unworthy and presumptuous conduct, gave these orders some value in the eyes of the better part of learned men, who judged rightly, that as Zimmerman could recommend nothing but what was empty and despotical, they must find truth and freedom in whatever he opposed and persecuted. At all courts and in all capitals Zimmerman was extolled to heaven, whilst he was contemned and despised by all men of understanding. Lichtenberg and others not only made him ridiculous and contemptible, but even Hippel annihilated him by his wit, when like a charlatan he wrote his ridiculous books respecting Frederick the Great and himself the great physician, who administered dandelion to the dying king. He was afterwards driven out of his senses by a scandalous pasquinade entitled '*Bahrdt with the iron brow*,' which he and others ascribed to his untiring opponent Von Knigge. The latter would have been

\* A species of supervisor of schools.

quite capable of writing such a piece; Zimmerman however failed in the prosecution which he instituted with respect to this defamatory publication, and 'it afterwards appeared that one of his good friends, a man who in all respects was worthy of forming one in the triumvirate with Zimmerman and Knigge, who were universally despised,—that Kotzebue was its author.

As early as 1781 Knigge had indicated his principles and views in a publication which he entitled 'Story of my Life' (*Roman meines Lebens*), and afterwards wrote a book 'On Intercourse with Mankind' (*Ueber den Umgang mit Menschen*), which has gone through ten editions, and will probably yet pass through many more in the country of the servile Germans, in which it is believed that everything may be learned out of books, and from learned systems hewed out and polished in the study. From these publications we get an acquaintance with the superficial views and principles by which he was guided in the intercourse of life. As however our object is not to criticise his writings, but merely to indicate their nature and refer to their effects, it may suffice to observe that his readers were of the same class as those of Kotzebue and immensely numerous, and that when he passed over to the ranks of the illuminati, his first publication could leave no doubt upon the mind as to the spirit which he would bring with him. In the year 1780 the counts Costanza travelled to North Germany, in order to gain recruits among the freemasons for the lodges of the illuminati, whom they announced as a sect of freemasons. The counts were favourably received by Knigge, who from that time forward was known under the name of Philo, whilst his friend and co-operator Weishaupt assumed that of Spartacus, and the former now began to play the most important character in the new order. Among the freemasons at that time, the prudent and sagacious, to whom undoubtedly, precisely on account of his egotism, Knigge belonged, everywhere met with mystics, and frequently with persons who were desirous of abusing the order for the promotion of protestant priestcraft, or as it might be, of jesuitical papism. The latter was especially the case among the freemasons who belonged to the *Strict observance*, at whose head was duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, who in his old age became a complete visionary. Knigge readily found numerous partisans of the illuminati among the various lodges of freemasons which were disinclined to mysticism, because he and his fellow-deceivers took care to make

it appear that they designed to put themselves at the head of the whole as a secret council of government, and to make use of the pretence of a union in favour of light and freedom to promote their own mean and selfish objects, in the same manner as the jesuits used the pretence of religion. Many of the most noble-minded men in Germany eagerly attached themselves to an association against despotism and obscurity, and that for various reasons. The kind and well-disposed Feder in Göttingen, for example, was won over to the order, especially by the classes for training and education, which must have been ridiculous in the eyes of such men as Knigge and Zwackh, but were attractive to Feder. Nicolai also cautiously entered into the new society on his journey into Bavaria in 1781, of which he afterwards gave an account in several thick volumes, written in his dull and self-complacent style. He was guided by the belief that this order might be turned to good account for his 'Universal German Library,' for his bookselling speculations in general, or what he and the other literati in Berlin exclusively called enlightenment. In spite of his repeated protestations, so much must be acknowledged; although it appears from his declarations, that so sly a fox as he was and such a practical Brandenburger would not allow himself to be caught, because he must have learned enough from even the lower degrees of the order to see that the whole was mere foolery. Knigge and Weishaupt also speedily came into collision; for the Bavarians and their old-fashioned catholic education stood in too sharp a contrast with what Knigge needed for North Germany and for protestants. Many of those things which might have been very useful for the Minervalia in Bavaria would have been ridiculous in North Germany, and Knigge, when he himself came to Weishaupt in November 1781, found also that neither he nor any of those with whom he had taken counsel knew anything whatever of freemasonry and its institutions.

Knigge afterwards introduced into the new order everything which he found in the ceremonies, consecrations, doctrines and hieroglyphs of the various systems of freemasonry with which he was acquainted, which he found suitable to the objects of the illuminati, or calculated to decoy the fashionable and the vain; at length an opportunity appeared to offer for engrafting the new order completely into that of freemasonry. The freemasons began to complain of the decline of their system of lodges. On the one hand the system of Herr von Hund, or the *Strict ob-*

*servance*, had fallen under the suspicion of being a deception and imposture, and on the other, vehement complaints were heard on all hands against Stark's jesuitism and the influence of the rosicrucians. It was at length said, that some means must be taken to stop this decline. Several conventions were held for this purpose; but, like the meetings held for religious discussions in the sixteenth century, all those conventions to which the respective lodges sent deputies tended much more to shake and destroy all order and unity than to renew and establish it. Knigge set up a new system which he denominated *Eclectic*, in opposition to the *Strict observance*; this, like all the rest, was a mere mountebank device, but it furnished Knigge with an admirable means of recruiting the ranks of the illuminati, and of driving the obscurists out of the holes of the lodges with their own smoke. A general council of freemasons was at length to fix the articles of the society. With this view a general convention of masons was held in Wilhelmsbad in 1772, at which duke Ferdinand of Brunswick was present as grand-master, and to which deputies were sent from all parts of Germany as well as from foreign countries. At this meeting the system of the *Strict observance* was shaken to its foundation. The system of baron von Hund, who died in Meiningen in 1776, with its templars, commanders and districts, was declared to be a deception, and his demand of money for the purpose of founding an aristocracy within the order an imposture; duke Ferdinand however was elected anew as grand-master. The obscurists afterwards carried on their game with the duke, whilst J. J. C. Bode and Knigge availed themselves of the *Eclectics* for the dissemination of the views of the illuminati. Bode was a very zealous freemason, and had already previously played an active and distinguished part in the affairs of the order as one of its officials. When some of the most distinguished members of the order were desirous of giving it a rosicrucian or jesuitical direction, he struggled against and suppressed this tendency by all the means in his power. In June 1782 Bode was received by Knigge among the illuminati of the highest order.

Bode had previously rendered many services as a printer and publisher in Hamburg, although he had not succeeded in realizing any considerable pecuniary advantages for himself. As a writer he was well known by his successful translations of the English humorous writers, and in Hamburg he lived on terms of friendly

intercourse with the only liberal Lutheran clergyman in the city (Alberti) and with Lessing, whose 'Dramaturgy' he published, and at a later period Hartwig von Bernstorff's widow took him with her as a companion to Weimar. In Weimar he had leisure enough and made in some measure a business of his freemasonry, and as he had been already high in office in Hamburg, he now attended conventions, carried on extensive correspondence, and superintended the publication of works upon the craft. Knigge readily won him over to the illuminati, because he communicated to him without circumlocution the object of the new order, which he was desirous of incorporating with freemasonry, and told him, what indeed the greatest part of the Bavarian illuminati were not allowed to know, that the object of the order was the destruction of *every species* of superstition and the bursting of *every* chain. Stollberg was therefore indescribably enraged against Knigge, and gave expression to his feelings on every occasion, because he thought that under superstition, Knigge and the few illuminati who kept the keys of the order included every form of positive religion—the Christian among the rest; and under chains, all monarchical forms of government; and this Stollberg's visionary and fanatical spirit led him to regard as the greatest crime.

All those members of the order in North Germany joined Bode, who, like him, thought that the time was now come in which a completely new order of things must be substituted for the old, by an intimate union among the whole body of independent-thinking men; among these major Von dem Busche and Leuchsenring, the tutor of the princes, were the most remarkable. They made the dissemination of the eclectic system of freemasonry a pretence for spreading the principles of the illuminati, which by their instrumentality found partisans and adherents in foreign countries. Bode was the apostle of the new order in Saxony, Leuchsenring in the Prussian dominions, in which he was aided by Nicolai, Feder in the Hanoverian territory, and Von dem Busche in the Netherlands. As a provincial chief, Bode now clearly saw that the discipline, exercises and degrees which were suitable for Bavaria were by no means calculated for the province assigned to his administration, and he therefore induced Weishaupt to consent that he would disseminate not precisely the principles of the Bavarian school in his diocese, but others which were more in accordance with the civilization of Saxony

and of North Germany in general. The order speedily embraced all classes, and its members consisted at the same time of the most distinguished men of the higher classes and students of the universities, among whom it took its origin. Among the Bavarian heads of this order, there were, alas! too many persons who despised and rejected every noble principle, together with the old religion, and who had no idea of any aspirations of the soul reaching beyond the visible and palpable world; these only added another to the many examples which the history of the world has and will furnish of what usually takes place when men suddenly pass from the blindest superstition to its opposite. The government therefore must necessarily have been stimulated to action, even although no Utzschneider had roused its attention.

Even Frederick II., who in other respects was far from cherishing the spirit of a spying and persecuting police either in his words or writings, had kept a sharp eye upon the order and its proceedings long before the storm burst upon its head. We must notice this very briefly, although we can only mention the constitution of the order and its catastrophe in reference to the internal history of Bavaria or of the whole of Germany, without suffering ourselves to go into the minute history of the order itself, or into details respecting its individual members. An internal division took place between the Bavarians and that part of the freemasons whom Knigge had drawn over to the illuminati, and this internal division preceded the persecutions from without to which it was speedily subjected. A dispute arose between Weishaupt and Knigge respecting the constitution of the order and ceremonies, and the result of this dispute was a complete separation of the North German party in 1784, before the illuminati in Bavaria were persecuted by cabinet ordinances, the police, and Byzantine criminal tribunals. This caused the governments of North Germany to show some indulgence to the illuminati on account of the freemasons, although the former members of the order were everywhere under a species of police superintendence, like the Carbonari of our days.

Nicolai and Knigge, who, according to their egotistical and purely practical nature, considered everything with reference to its purely practical objects, entertained no very high idea of that portion of the statutes of the order which might have been very suitable and useful to catholic Bavaria and Swabia, where the education of youth was jesuitically neglected. Nicolai, with his



Berlin notions of perfection, regarded the exoteric part of the constitution, with which alone he was acquainted, as too completely Bavarian; whilst Knigge on his part regarded the esoteric doctrines as not sufficiently well calculated by complete mystification to make the commonalty, after a jesuitical fashion, the mere tools of the chiefs of the party; and this alone was his concern. He therefore no sooner proposed to receive the whole pomp of the catholic church, its consecration, ceremonies, garments, &c., into the ritual of the order, without himself having any belief in their influence, but merely to mystify the North Germans, than he met with resistance in Bavaria. The Bavarians were unwilling to fall in with these views. They were partly honest or even blind catholics, and therefore felt a repugnance to see the services and ceremonies of the church profaned; and consisted partly of persons, especially the founders of the order, who hoped to render the ceremonies of the church, to which they were now required to give a new form, completely superfluous by the institution of their new order.

As long as the illuminati appeared in the character of freemasons, the jesuits could not well make any crime out of their association; they waited therefore till they had some important document in their hands. They no sooner succeeded in getting possession of such a document, than they urged the elector of Bavaria to prosecute an association to which one of his ministers, several of his daily companions, the ablest men in Bavaria and the members of the first families in the country belonged. This document was communicated by Utzschneider, who was a baron of the exchequer, to the rosicrucians and other freemasons, and above all to the jesuits, who were breathing out revenge, and who, through the instrumentality of father Frank, scandalously abused the weakness of the elector. Utzschneider, to whom Ritter von Lang, in his memoirs, has erected a well-merited column commemorative of his disgrace, on account of a scandalous proposal which he made to him in the times of Maximilian Joseph, and a priest named Dillis, retired from the order, in order to gain the favour of the jesuits by becoming informers against their late friends. The former at first handed in a secret accusation to the elector, and afterwards, in September, he preferred a public complaint against the order to the elector in person; two years however elapsed before anything beyond secret persecutions resulted from the information. Utzschneider's secret no-

tices to the cabinet were succeeded in 1784 by a public warning against the order, which was at first anonymous, in which its principles were stated to be dangerous to the well-being of the state and described as destructive to morality; but no reference was made in this public complaint, as there had been in the secret information, of irreligion, immorality, treason, poisoning and attempted assassinations. The order answered this warning by a public challenge to their accusers to justify their allegations by proof, and now for the first time, Utzschneider, Renner, Grünberger and Cosandey, all of whom had been formerly members of the order, published a *necessary appendix* to the warning. Weishaupt, in his 'Apology for the Illuminati,' calls these four men *Isariots* and *Cylons*, in allusion to the betrayer of Christ, and to that of the Pythagoreans who were so cruelly murdered in Magna Græcia. This introduction to the persecution was conducted with the most complete jesuitical cunning, and may in truth have some connexion with Knigge's prudent secession from the order in this same year 1784. As early as June 1784 a general ordinance was issued, strictly prohibiting all secret societies in Bavaria, and as some apprehensions were entertained of incautiously and suddenly commencing a struggle with somewhere about 2000 men of the higher ranks and belonging to the most distinguished families of the country, all their steps were taken by the adversaries of the order with deliberation and caution. The meetings of lodges of illuminati and freemasons were first forbidden by name in March and August 1785, because their adversaries had not resolved till that time to let loose the spirit of reckless persecution against the members of the order, and incidentally against all those who were offensive to the jesuits. The edict of the 1st of March 1785, against the freemasons, is generally ascribed to the duchess Clementine, who, because devotion and love are kindred feelings, lived on terms of great intimacy with Utzschneider. The duchess is said to have prevailed upon Charles Theodore to refuse an audience to count Von Sceau, which had been promised him with a view to defend or explain the conduct of the freemasons.

On the 9th of September 1785, Utzschneider, who in the meantime had been joined by Zaupser also, warned by his former fate, published a formal accusation against the illuminati in a paper signed and sworn to by himself, priest Cosandey and professor Grünberger; at the same time he furnished long lists contain-

ing the names of persons who were said to belong to the order, although many of them had never been members. In this way he found means of destroying his own enemies and the opponents of the jesuits, without their being able to defend themselves. In the list affixed to the necessary appendix there were only found the names of Weishaupt, the marquis Costanza and count Savioli, Bader, Von Zwackh, Berger, Härtel and Fronhofer. We shall neither refer to the dreadful accusations which Utzschneider and the Bavarian government, supported by the original documents afterwards discovered in the house of Von Zwackh, made against the order of the illuminati, nor to the defence which may be found in Weishaupt's 'Apology,' although the whole system of persecution which was organized in Bavaria and Prussia from 1785 till 1794, and directed against every free-thinking German mind from the Alps to the Baltic, rested upon this foundation. We shall merely quote some individual cases from the long series of these persecutions, in which it is particularly worthy of observation, that the views of the illuminati, in despite of the abuses which resulted from the secret constitution of the order, had contributed most materially to introduce and diffuse light into the darkness of the middle ages which prevailed in the benighted countries of Germany.

In Utzschneider's list there will be found the names of many of the most distinguished men who at a later period still remained associated with one another, and although they did not always entertain the best moral views, as in the case of count Seinsheim and Montgelas, yet on the whole their exertions contributed largely to the dissemination of knowledge and truth. Among the persons who belonged to the order, we may mention among others Charles von Dalberg, afterwards coadjutor of Mayence and prince primate, and at that time governor of Erfurt, and Ernest II. duke of Gotha, at whose residence Weishaupt afterwards found protection for years. The efforts of the leading men were especially directed to the rooting out of that servility and cringing which had become engrained in the Germans, in consequence of the number of their petty and ceremonious courts; but as appears from Bode's words, this was to be accomplished in such a way as must necessarily arouse the attention of the state police. "There was a desire," says Bode, "for a progressive improvement of the world, it is true, but by allowable means; and it could not be sufficiently inculcated on the minds of the

illuminati, that half the improvement of the world has been effected when people have improved themselves. We had not among us, properly speaking, secret chiefs; but recourse was had to a plan by which all exhortations to duty and blame for misconduct were not conveyed immediately from a known superior, whom his subordinates knew to be a man of like passions and frailties with themselves, but as if from a higher and invisible hand (! !). This was the *persona mystica*, BASILIUS, with which name all the answers to the (Q.L.) *questiones loci* among us were subscribed." Because the illuminati had received students into their order, and used them for the dissemination of their principles, the whole of the associations among the students at that time were as much objects of suspicion to the diet at Ratisbon, and were persecuted in a similar if not in so severe and continuous a manner as the political societies of the students (*Burschenschaft*) of the present day by the diet of Frankfort. We can however bear witness from our own experience in Göttingen, from 1794 till 1796, that the orders of the Amicists, Black Brothers, &c. were politically speaking as little dangerous, and morally as destructive as the local and social associations (*Landsmannschaften*) which are so much encouraged and cherished (as conservative) at the present day.

Bode, who is no doubt a competent witness, in the words which we are about to quote, gives a striking account of the kind of influence which the illuminati produced on the minds of the young men in the German universities, who were only striving after a sufficient share of knowledge to gain their living and the performance of routine duties, or upon that mode of thinking and mental tendency which is at present contemptuously called visionary, poetical and highly unpractical, and which Buonaparte abused as *ideology*, but which universally prevailed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. "The seminaries," he observes, "which included the noviciate and the minerval classes, and which were calculated for young men in the universities, and other circumstances, were attended with the happiest results. Many a former minerval calls to mind with emotion and gratitude the way in which his industry was stimulated in this school, his love for knowledge awakened and promoted, and his heart made accessible to and susceptible of all good and noble feelings. Much was thereby done to counteract the evils which prevailed in consequence of the associations among the students

at some of the universities, by endeavouring to win over the better-disposed youths to join this society."

The illuminati of that time, as well as the freemasons, have, as is well known, been brought into connexion with the French revolution; we do not venture to express any decided opinion upon that point, but we shall quote some incidents from the lives of Bode and Mauvillon, which appear at least to lead to a connexion between these men and some of the leaders of the revolution. Mauvillon often appeared to be a republican and democrat; he sometimes uttered principles which were opposed to monarchy, and was dissatisfied with Mirabeau's conversion to constitutional monarchy in the year 1790. We only make these remarks in passing, in order to mention some facts which refer to them; but we are far from laying any great stress upon these points, as is done by Barruel, Robison, and the German scholars who either concur with them or belong to those who with Zimmermann are always seeing spectres in their path. Great events always proceed from *great* causes. No newspaper, no freemason, no Mirabeau or La Fayette can give occasion to a revolution; Voltaire himself scarcely believed what he said—that he regarded the burning match as the cause of the effect produced by an 80-pounder; the plain-spoken, honourable Schlözer should not have in some measure given his sanction to this theory of Voltaire, who in other cases knew well how to distinguish between an incidental and a primary cause. As to Bode, he too preached the doctrines of the inspired orators of the first national assembly, when in connexion with Knigge he introduced the eclectic system into the Saxon lodges. There was indeed on these occasions much speaking concerning freedom and equality, but in a very different sense from that in which these words were understood in 1792. Bode travelled on the business of the order to Paris, and sojourned there with a view to dissolve the connexion between the German lodges and that of London, and unite it with that of Paris, because it is peculiar to our nation in all things to be dependent either on London or on Paris. The chief reason for this course was, that the London lodge admitted every one for money, and was at heart aristocratic, and in Paris at that time revolutionary ideas were predominant. We leave it undetermined, whether that journey and sojourn in Paris had the effect which the French themselves no doubt wished they should have; that is a question which belongs to the history of

the lodges, which we are neither able nor desirous of writing: we pass on to Mauvillon.

Mauvillon was one of those men who were most active in all the affairs of the order, and indisputably cherished revolutionary thoughts without exposing themselves to a legal prosecution for what in our days is called CONSPIRACY. He was a man of great scientific military knowledge, and as little fettered in his operations by any principles of morality as his friend Mirabeau, and would therefore have indisputably been the man best suited to lead a revolution in Germany, if every one who is acquainted with the nature of the German nation, its circumstances, and the contending interests of its various stems, were not obliged to regard the idea of a revolution as something ridiculous. Mauvillon shared his friend Mirabeau's hatred for courts, and yet the tone, manner and modes of life which prevailed at courts was a necessity of their lives. As good an opinion respecting Mauvillon's mode of thinking may be deduced from his experience in Cassel, as of Mirabeau's hatred to ministerial despotism from his own fate, because he himself, without judgement or law, was locked up in prison by a *lettre de cachet*. We must therefore deduce the secret hatred felt by the lodges, who were continually striving against the servility of the public officials and the exercise of brute force, and by men of Mauvillon's kind, from the conduct of the small German princes, who were all imitators of Louis XIV. We shall now give two examples of the protection which the petty German despots at that time extended to the sciences, simply because they were of opinion that a court resembling that of Louis XIV. must be adorned by scholars as well as be surrounded by soldiers. Charles duke of Wirtemberg and Frederick landgrave of Cassel have both undoubtedly found numerous eulogists, although they erected their splendid institutions with the blood and sweat of the poorest countries in Germany.

In Wirtemberg, the duke and the aristocracy of the clergy, citizens and nobles, which was called the estates, emulated each other in oppressing the poor inhabitants of the country, and the emperor was unjust enough to declare the duke of age when he was merely a dissolute boy of sixteen. We have previously given an account of the manner in which duke Charles tormented the country and the estates by his mad behaviour in the time of the seven years' war, and overloaded the people with an almost in-

credible amount of debts, till at length Joseph II. took up the cause of the estates. This occurred in the year 1770, when the duke's credit was completely exhausted. The empire therefore continued to look quietly on at the oppression of the country till 1770, and then at length the emperor and the protestant princes began to mediate between the people, as the country was called, and the duke. The result of the mediation was, that one half of the debt which had been contracted by duke Charles, amounting to not less than eight millions, was thrown as a burthen upon the country. After this the duke sought to play the great man in another way, and to earn the praise of French and German rhetoricians and sophists by monarchical pomp, that is, by institutions and academies which were more splendid than useful. A similar course was pursued in Cassel, but there was this difference: duke Charles himself had some knowledge and taste for the designs which he formed, the landgrave on the contrary only for curiosities. Herr von Schlieffen, whose work upon his ancient family Müller the historian, whose Mæcenas he was, has brought into great renown, was, properly speaking, the creator and founder of the ephemeral institution erected in this recruiting country. The landgrave himself probably never entertained the thought of gaining public opinion in his own favour by allowing the groans of the widows and orphans of his country to be stifled by vain and flattering men of learning. We have already stated, that the money which was obtained from the English for the blood-wounds and lives of the brave Hessians, as well as the compensation which was given for the devastation of the country and the capital, never reached the hands of the sufferers, but all flowed into the private funds of the landgrave: in the American war it was still worse.

Seventeen thousand Hessians were sold to the English aristocracy to fight and fall for them in America; but neither the English pay, nor the pensions which England paid for every mutilated Hessian limb, ever comforted or enriched any one except the elector. It was therefore no doubt prudent to cause the moans and secret lamentations in the land to be smothered and overborne by the loud boastings of the newspapers about arts and sciences. A mongrel institution, called the *Carolinum*, was erected in Cassel, which was totally without an object and had therefore a very brief existence, but in which men were brought

together for the brief period of its existence, of whom Germany will always speak with esteem. Dohm, Johannes Müller, Tiedemann, Runde, Stein, George Forster and Sömmerring lived there for some time together, and some of them found themselves again united in Mayence, when the elector was desirous of reforming the university of that city in the spirit of the age. Mauvillon too was among the men invited to Cassel, to whom we now return.

Mauvillon as a Hessian captain first taught in the Carolinum in the cadet school, where, properly speaking, there was nothing to teach, and he was afterwards appointed a major in the service of Brunswick, that he might give instructions in tactics in the same institution. As a military man and a freemason he was favoured by Ferdinand of Brunswick, and occupied himself incidentally with attention to the system of orders which prevailed in his time. In Brunswick he formed an intimate acquaintance with count Mirabeau, the celebrated orator of the French revolution, who was at that time sent by his government to reconnoitre the Prussian and other German courts. The two friends loaded each other with praises, and continued to carry on a close correspondence till 1790; Mauvillon has given the letters to the public. In Brunswick they at that time worked in common on their notorious work, 'On the Prussian Monarchy under Frederick the Great,' a work which may be equally attributed to Mauvillon and Mirabeau on account of the part which each had in its production; and in fact it was published in French in the name of the one, and in German in that of the other.

As early as the time of the persecution against the illuminati, Mauvillon was marked out as a most suspicious character by Zimmerman and the jesuits; after Joseph's death he was denounced as a propagandist by the Prussian pietists and the Austrian and Bavarian ex-jesuits, especially by Von Haschka and professor Hoffmann. An office was at that time established in the post-office department in Prussia for opening letters; the whole of Mauvillon's correspondence was searched, and all those to whom they were directed were kept under strict surveillance by the police as political conspirators. A great noise was made in Germany, especially respecting two letters, one of which was directed to Knoblauch, a government counsellor in Dillenburg, and the other to Cuhn, librarian in Cassel. These letters were



opened in the post-office, and then the persons to whom they were directed were strictly interrogated respecting their contents. Germany began to quake and tremble at the contemplation of such a system of jesuitical espionage as that which was carried on in its worst form during the persecution of the illuminati in Bavaria under Charles Theodore, and in Austria under Leopold II.

The Bavarian persecution, which ought rather to be called Turkish, was commenced by the two ex-jesuits father Frank and Johann Caspar Leppert, both of whom were electoral privy councillors, before the discovery of those most scandalous papers which were found concealed in the house of Herr von Zwackh in Ingolstadt, in October 1786, and the correspondence of such people as Bassus, Knigge, Weishaupt and Zwackh in Landshut, all which the government afterwards published\*. These ignorant men from this time forward continued in every case to persecute the doves, whilst the kites were allowed to escape. Weishaupt was to be dismissed from his office and set at liberty, with a pension of 400 gulden, but he escaped to Ratisbon before his dreadful papers were discovered, and from thence to Gotha; the marquis Costanza and count Savioli left Bavaria; Zwackh, although the most guilty of all, found means of evading any evil results. He placed his confidence in the government of Maximilian Joseph. The elector's brother, Charles duke of Deux Ponts, had already taken the most distinguished men among the illuminati into his service; even the electoral minister count Seinsheim, who was obliged to submit to a jesuitical interrogation, became minister for the duchy of Deux Ponts in Ratisbon, whilst all those who stood upon the list of traitors were subjected to the severest prosecutions in Bavaria. We shall now bring forward a few examples of this jesuitical mode of administration and justice, in order to show what singular ideas these governments entertained shortly before the revolution respecting rights, justice, and secu-

\* 'Some original Letters of the Illuminati, found among the papers of Freiherr von Bassus and Councillor von Zwackh,' Munich, 1787; 'Further Additional Correspondence, relating to the sect of the Illuminati in general and Weishaupt in particular,' 2nd part, Munich, 1787; 'Appendix to the original Letters of the Order of the Illuminati,' Frankfort, 1787; 'System and Results of the Order of the Illuminati, deduced from their original Correspondence,' Munich, 1787; 'Remarks upon some original Letters of the Illuminati,' Frankfort and Leipzig, 1787.

city against arbitrary dominion, with what sort of confidence they inspired their subjects respecting determined forms and rules of criminal proceeding, and what was the nature of that thing which among us at the present day is, in highflown and bombastical language, called paternal and patriarchal government.

Weishaupt found an asylum in Ratisbon, although the jesuits in München besought the authorities of the city to drive him out; commands were issued for his arrest as soon as he should set foot on Bavarian ground, and his friends were forbidden, under heavy penalties, even to write to him. All this took place without any legal grounds, for no offence against the state was capable of being proved even from the papers which were afterwards discovered, although they contained very bad principles of action, and were full of miserable Machiavellianism. When baron Frauenberg, chief magistrate Fischer, school-inspector Drexl and first-lieutenant Kaltner visited their friend Weishaupt in Ratisbon, they were seized upon by the inquisition, because they were said to have held lodges, and on their return to have eaten meat on a fast-day. Drexl and Fischer were deprived of their situations, and Von Kaltner was placed in a penal garrison. Baron Frauenberg was banished from the university of Ingolstadt and deprived of his salary as a chamberlain, and fifteen students who accompanied him from the town were all relegated. Professor Wiehmer, who was chief pastor of the town, was called to account, on the express commands of the elector, for having given him a friendly salutation as he rode past his house on his departure. Von Delling, one of the town council of München, after having been kept for three days in prison, was deprived of his office and cashiered, merely because he had expressed his sympathy at the fate of his friend Fischer, whose family was plunged into poverty by his removal from his office. Kramer, professor of law, fell into the hands of the inquisition, because two of the illuminati visited him in the evening, and licentiate Duschl was banished from the university without inquiry or proof. Priest Lanz, on his journey through Ratisbon to Silesia, was struck dead by lightning when standing by Weishaupt: this was immediately pointed out as an instance of the divine indignation and vengeance, and officers were immediately sent to his place of residence in Edring to seize upon his papers. This might

have taken place with some appearance of justice, because all secret societies were forbidden by law; and it was said that he had been bishop of the order, and was on his way to Silesia to recruit for the illuminati. The same course was pursued with the persons who took a farewell supper with Costanza and Savioli, in a village between Munich and Freisingen. A courier was immediately sent from Munich to the bishop of Freisingen, to request him to have the whole party arrested and delivered up to a Bavarian guard, which should be sent to the frontiers for the purpose. Baron von Weggenhofen, who was stationed as auditor of a regiment in Burghausen, after having been once judicially examined and having given security, was summoned a second time, interrogated anew on a great variety of points, and obliged to sign a second bond, in which he renounced all associations whatsoever; a very innocent letter to baron Von Leiden brought him however a third time into the hands of the inquisition. He was suspended from his office, called to Munich, imprisoned and harassed for a long time with the most absurd and ridiculous interrogatories, till at length a judgment was pronounced by the cabinet in November 1785, which we shall subjoin in a note, as a specimen of Frank and Leppert's administration of justice and style\*.

In the same manner, Widman, who was a country magistrate, professor Bader, Kennedy, member of the ecclesiastical council, and the meritorious canon Braun, were subjected to visitations, interrogatories and such like proceedings. Canon Hertel was alleged to have been treasurer of the order, he was therefore summoned to give an account of the pretended treasures of the society. When he could not meet their expectations in this re-

\* In the opening of the judgment, it is said that his crime was attachment to the order, which was betrayed by the words of his letter. Then it proceeds as follows:—"Um aber diesen naseweisen Philosophen und Illuminaten von einer so verführerischen Secte, von welcher man weder die vorgespiegelte Besserung der Sitten noch Aufklärung des Verstandes an ihm oder seinen Mitbrüdern im Geringsten wahrnehmen kann, ab und auf den rechten Weg der Tugend und Aufklärung zu bringen, soll er nach vorläufig ernstlichem Verweis und Ermahnung in das hiesige (Münchner) Franziskaner-Kloster überbracht und alldort in den Christ-Catholischen Sitten- und Glaubenslehren (also wird er wie zum Marmorsägen zur Christ-Catholischen Glaubenslehre verdammt. Wie lächerlich und empörend zugleich!!) der Nothdurft nach unterrichtet werden." The Franks were people who could feel no shame, otherwise they would have taken this step, when Joseph II. appointed this same man school-commissioner in Ried.

spect, his income was immediately confiscated. The censorship of the press was now exercised with more severity than before. All those who had been condemned were strictly forbidden, under any pretence, to make counter-statements, and the newspapers and journals to receive them, that, as it was stated, his electoral highness might not be further annoyed. The most secret conversations were watched; spies and knaves were to be found in abundance, for they are numerous everywhere when governments are ready to give rewards for meanness and dishonour. Lori and Obermaier, notwithstanding their services, were banished, the one to Amberg and the other to Neuburg; Von Andres was sent for some time to a fortress. Zaupser's publications were confiscated, and von Crätz the bookseller, as well as his shopmen, were sent to the house of correction without trial, upon a cabinet order. Milbiller, a secular priest, who is renowned as the continuator of Schmidt's German history, and another secular priest named Schmidt, were first subjected to a severe examination and then banished from München, merely because they had written something which displeased the jesuits. The emperor Joseph II. willingly received baron Von Weggenhofen, whom they had kept imprisoned for a month in the Franciscan convent in München, into his states, and gave him an appointment; the prince bishop of Passau extended his most friendly protection to Milbiller and his companions in misfortune, and they could not therefore have seriously misconducted themselves.

We shall not enter into further detail as to the manner in which the jesuits and their companions, that is, all the enemies of the progress of sound knowledge and all the friends of arbitrary government, employed the feelings of apprehension which they excited with regard to the illuminati, because similar effects have been produced in our own century, by a fear which suddenly sprung up in the minds of the German princes. The spirit of the jesuits will always be best known by the most meritorious men being subjected to the severest persecutions. Von Hildesheim, for example, who had never been one of the illuminati, was accused of bringing religion into disrepute, and was imprisoned in a tower for years. Men such as Fronhofer, Pucher, Socher, Sutor and Sedelmaier, who had gained immortal renown by the services which they rendered to school educa-

tion in Bavaria, were removed from the superintendence of the schools, although at the same time their enemies showed that they were incapable of substantiating any accusations against them, by leaving them in possession of their livings.

All Germany trembled. Wöllner and Bischofswerder called forth manifestations in Prussia in the years 1787-88 such as those which had taken place in Bavaria, and the movements of the revolution threw all the German princes into a state of dread of that light which they themselves had previously kindled. Even Schlözer's 'Political Notices' fell under suspicion, however little reason any man could possibly have for suspecting of revolutionary views the man who was a friend of Russia and the purchased apologist of Louis Ernest, who had been driven out of the Netherlands. How vehemently did not this same Schlözer storm! how enthusiastic did he not show himself in favour of king George III. and lord North's ministry! in what vulgar language did he not revile the North Americans and their revolution, and rave against everything which could not be endured in Hanover! And yet he was at this time treated as a suspected man. Some years before the Göttingen professor had found protection in London against the bishop of Spire, who had carried thither his complaints against Schlözer, because the latter in his 'Correspondence' had published some statistical facts respecting the territory and government of the former; the bishop's circular produced no fruits even at the diet. The Bavarian government pursued the same course, in consequence of Schlözer's having published the documents respecting a judicial murder which had been committed in Amberg. But the enemies of the freedom of the press, who dreaded the light, were neither able to carry through their designs in Hanover nor at the diet. In three years afterwards all had become changed; and as the younger Schlözer, in his life of his father, expresses it, he received "*many an ungracious rescript.*" Matters at length proceeded so far, that Schlözer having received one intimation after another, the Hanoverian ambassador at the diet at length gave an express assurance, that what the obscurists called Schlözer's mischief should be put an end to. In the same manner Winkopp, who published the German Spectator in Dresden, was prosecuted at the instigation of the Bavarians. Nay, even the poor newspaper-writer in Kempten was punished and shamefully

fined by the magistrate of that pretended free town, for having printed word for word a representation of the Bavarian estates to their elector, without having added a single observation. In the Austrian states and in Salzburg alone, the complaints of the fanatical and persecuting Bavarians received no attention, they were altogether rejected, and for that reason the Bavarians forbade the circulation in their state of all the journals which appeared in those of the others.

END OF VOL. IV.

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